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BULLETIN

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PAPERS CONTRIBUTED

Sur certains emplois d'*a*(*n*)° priv. en sanskrit, et notamment dans le Rgveda

Par Louis Renou

§ 1. L'importance de la formulation négative, qui définit puissamment le sanskrit à toutes les étapes de son évolution, apparaît avec clarté dès les mantra védiques. Un nombre considérable de formules ne nous sont données que sous l'aspect négatif, soit dans l'ordre de la constatation, soit dans celui de la prohibition. Certains verbes ne figurent guère qu'en proposition négative, ainsi *dhṛṣ- naś- mṛdh- riṣ- rudh- vyath- sridh-*. Il se produit très fréquemment qu'une formulation faite d'abord en termes positifs soit reprise par voie négative (ou l'inverse, mais bien plus rarement), sous une teneur identique ou analogue : ainsi *uruṣyā́ ṇo mā́ párā dāḥ*, viii, 71, 7 (les références numériques sans nom d'ouvrage concernent le Rgveda), ou avec contre-partie plus stricte *dviṣántam máhyaṃ randháyan mó ahám dviṣaté radham*, i, 50, 13, *duritā́ni párā suva/ yád bhadrā́ṃ tán na ā́ suva*, v, 82, 5. Des séries de strophes sont bâties sur le schème de la " contre-partie " ; on trouvera des exemples groupés à des fins particulières, pour le RV., par Oldenberg, ZDMG., lx (notamment, p. 727 sqq.) ; pour la TS., par Weber, Ind. Stud., xiii, p. 77 sqq. (passim) ; pour l'AV., par M. Gonda, Stilistische Studie over AV. [illegible]ii, p. 33.

§ 2. Étant donné la faveur dont jouit dès le RV. l'expression [illegible]ominale, c'est en général l'*a*(*n*)° priv. qui est à la base de la formulation négative, soit *bhadrám/ anāturám*, viii, 47, 10 (et *anehásaḥ/ suūtáyaḥ*, ibid.). Le balancement préféré est avec deux termes apparentés :

ágorudhāya gavíṣe, viii, 24, 20, *sabardúghāḥ/ ápradugdhāḥ*; iii, 55, 16. Il est plus clair encore là où le même mot est exprimé sous la forme négative et positive à la fois, soit à un cas distinct *bándhumantam abandhávaḥ*, viii, 21, 4 ; *aśéṣasaḥ*, vii, 1, 11/*śéṣasā* 12 ; soit au même cas *kṣiyántam* . . . *ákṣiyantam*, iv, 17, 13 ; avec double opposition et chiasme *suprāvyàḥ* . . . *súṣveḥ/ ásuṣveḥ* . . . *duṣprāvyàḥ*, iv, 25, 6. L'identité formelle peut être le prix d'un jeu de mots, soit pur *matí-/ amáti-* (" image "), AV., vii, 14, 1/2, *ariprá-* [entendu selon Thieme Fremdling im RV., p. 22] : *riprá-*, AV., xvi, 1, 10, soit combiné avec un apparentement *dāmanvanto adāmānaḥ* (" non liés " et secondairement " non donnants "), vi, 24, 4.

La fréquence de telles oppositions a une grande portée pour l'interprétation ; elle fournit pour les cas douteux une présomption que terme positif et terme négatif s'équilibrent et dans une certaine mesure s'équivalent. Les traductions ultérieures des mantra auront à se préoccuper de ce phénomène plus qu'on ne l'a fait jusqu'à présent. Pour nous borner à rappeler un fait connu, *ávāta-* doit s'interpréter pour une part en fonction de *vanvánt-* avec lequel le mot alterne, cf. Neisser Zum WB. des Rgv. s.v. (ouvrage cité dorénavant sous l'abréviation " N.", " N. 2 " désignant les Nachträge du second fascicule). Le parallélisme formel est dans les mantra un instrument d'interprétation.

§ 3. L'antithèse *kṣiyántam* . . . *ákṣiyantam* existe aussi avec contact des deux éléments. Outre les quelques exemples groupés chez Oldenberg ad x, 82, 4, nous avons relevé *kṛtád ákṛtāt*, x, 63, 8, *áditiṃ dítiṃ ca*, v, 62, 8 (§ 9), *bhaktám ábhaktam*, i, 127, 5, *yámann áyāman*, 181, 7 (d'où *áyāman* seul au sens du couple viii, 52, 5, cf. N.), *ūtí ánūtī*, vi, 29, 6 (§ 4), enfin *tṛdilá átṛdilāsaḥ*, x, 94, 11 (§ 16). Cette phraséologie apparaît presque exclusivement dans les hymnes dits " récents " ; quelques exemples pour AV., i–vii, sont donnés chez Gonda, op. cit., pp. 56, 58. L'ordre des éléments est indifférent, comme on voit, et les lois rigoureuses du dvandva ne s'appliquent donc pas à ces juxtaposés ; on observe même que, dans les cas où les deux éléments sont liés par une copule, *ca vā átha*, le terme négatif tend à prendre la première place, v. des exemples pour l'ensemble du mantra dans la Vedic Conc. s. vv. *akṣitiś*, *amataṃ*, *asac*, *ahuta*, *aghorebhyo*, *aprahitau*.

§ 4. Il est visible que l'effort des ṛṣi a porté souvent à accoupler deux termes en contre-partie, sans qu'il y ait profit pour le sens. La gêne de la syntaxe du mantra en *mūrā́ amūra*, x, 4, 4 (cf. Oldenberg),

en est déjà l'indice. De même, à quelque égard, le rapprochement forcé *ámṛta mártyānām*, i, 26, 9 (Oldenberg, Geldner, Wackernagel Gramm., ii, 1, p. 157 — ouvrage et tome cité dorénavant sous l'abréviation "W."). Des balancements purement formels se sont ainsi constitués, où l'élément négatif est adventice : ainsi *aśatrúbhyaḥ*, viii, 96, 16, à côté de *śátruḥ* (ailleurs c'est Indra lui-même qui est *aśatrú-ájātaśatru-* ; tout au moins attendait-on *a°* **mányamānebhyaḥ*). De même le choix du terme *ájātān*, v, 15, 2, à côté de *jātaíḥ*, et le balancement du mantra AV., YV. en *ágne jātā́n prá ṇuda/ práty ájātān . . . nudasva*. Le terme insolite *adyút-*, vi, 39, 3, a pu être suscité par *dyotayat*, comme plus clairement *áprāṇat*, AV., x, 8, 11, par *prāṇát* (cf. la tentative de correction chez Whitney-Lanman) ; *ániṣṭya-*, KS., vii, 13 : 76, 9, par *níṣṭya-*. De même pour *ábhūti-*, AV., xi, 8, 21 et *ánindā-* 22, *ádhīra-* 9, 22, *áśiṣṭa-* (cité Gonda, op. cit., p. 58). L'hapax *átura-*, AV., vii, 50, 2, n'a d'autre objet que de balancer *turá-*, le terme authentique étant *ā́tura-* (*ā* négatif comme *ā́sant- ā́deva-* et MS. *ā́rāti-* ? Cf. toutefois *turá-* = *átura-*, viii, 79, 2). C'est sans doute pour obtenir une antithèse formelle qu'*átaptāḥ*, AV., ix, 5, 6, s'est substitué à *átapthāḥ* (cf. Whitney-Lanman). De même enfin *ánūtī* (§ 3) n'est là que pour faire contre-partie à *ūtí*. Inversement *mánya-mānaiḥ*, i, 33, 9, a chance d'avoir été refait sur *ámanyamānān*, ce participe se concevant avec apposition, dans des formules comme *ugró mányamānaḥ* (apposition implicite dans *sátpatir* [*sátpatim* ?] *mányamānam*, x, 8, 9, Oldenberg), où d'ailleurs il s'applique aux ennemis des dieux : il n'a guère sa place i, 33, 9, sinon pour équilibrer *ámanyamāna-*. Pareillement *dábhaḥ*, v, 19, 4, appliqué à Agni, est adapté sur *ádabdhaḥ*, *mā́nuṣaḥ*, ii, 11, 10, sur *ámānuṣam*, *jaráyant-*, ii, 8, 2 et 16, 1, sur *ajuryá-*, enfin *apasphúram*, viii, 69, 10, sur *ánapasphuraḥ*. Dans l'AV. *dṛṣṭā́n*, v, 23, 6, forme une sorte de jeu verbal gratuit avec *ádṛṣṭān*.

§ 5. Il était prévisible dès lors que le terme négatif pût exercer parfois une pression sur l'élément apposé pour en modifier le sens ou la forme. L'emploi insolite de *matí-*, viii, 18, 7 (adjectif chez Grassmann Übers., sorte de personnification chez Gr. WB. qui y associe viii, 68, 2, mais cf. Oldenberg sur ce dernier passage) nous invite à voir dans i-v forme une simple contre-partie de *durmatí- ámati-* qui figurent vers 10 et 11 et sur lesquels Oldenberg, ad loc., attirait déjà notre attention. De même *rātí-* dans l'acception inusuelle de nom d'agent pluriel i, 29, 4, résulte du balancement avec *árātayaḥ* qui voisine.

C'est sans doute de l'adjectif *aprati-* (§ 22) que dérive l'usage de

práti comme une sorte d'adverbe (Gr. WB. s.v.) au sens de " en état de résister, en contrepoids ", et qui apparaît précisément en phrases négatives ; le composé *tuvipratí-* sort aussi d'*apratí-* comme l'a indiqué W., p. 123.

Le sens de *pára-* s'oriente en skt class. par opposition à *ápara-*, ou plus précisément au sentiment d'un *a(n)°* priv. dans *ápara-*, sentiment qu'atteste le sens de *apara-* = *anuttama-* dans les inscr., Ind. Ant., xii, p. 193, l. 10 ; xiv, p. 199, l. 2 ; Ep. Ind., ix, p. 7, l. 3. En effet l'acception prédominante en class. " supérieur ; extrême, suprême ", bien qu'elle soit amorcée dès RV. i et x, s'accrédite sous l'influence d'*ápara-* " qui suit, moindre ", avec lequel *pára-* se combine à partir des Up. moyennes (cf. BR. s.v. *ápara-*). La liaison ancienne *pára-/ ávara-* (*ántara- úpara-*) cède la place à *pára-/ ápara-* qui trouve un appui dans les dvandva selon le § 15 en formant *parāpara-*, à partir du MhBh.

Rappelons enfin pour le skt class. les emplois *ahaṃkṛta-* " égoïste ", *vyaya-* " transitoire ", *catura-* " habile, gracieux " (cités W., p. 35), qui émanent des formes négatives correspondantes.

§ 6. L'influence exercée sur la forme est plus rare. L'usage d'un thème " actionis " *martya-* dans *pautramartyá-* Khil. Scheftelowitz, p. 82 v. 4a et YV., *sumartya-* SMB. (? Vedic Variants, i, § 330 ; cf. aussi *put. martyā-* ĀpŚS.) ne répond à aucun type de dérivation connu : l'influence du négatif *ámartya-* semble avoir été décisive, comme inversement les rares *ámṛtyu- ámarta-* sont refaits sur *mṛtyú-* et *márta-*. Cette base de dérivation où les termes positifs divergeaient fortement à l'origine des termes négatifs a été sujette à toutes sortes d'égalisations : un *mara-* " trépassé " est refait sur *amara-* dans l'Āryabh. (cité Barth, Œuvres, iii, p. 161) *amaramarāḥ* (ordre des éléments comme § 18 fin.). Il est probable aussi que le nom d'action *mṛta-*, à partir du MhBh. — peut-être déjà dans l'incertain *mṛtodīrin-* " ressuscité " JB. (Caland, Auswahl, n° 60) — dérive d'*amṛ́ta-* en sa valeur de " non-mort " (N. s.v. *amṛ́ta-* postule il est vrai hardiment un **mṛ́ta-* nt. " mors " comme base du terme privatif).

Indirectement, le dérivé *mitrín-* qui fait face à *śátru-* viii, 35, 12, à *amítra-* AV. xi, 9, 21, et ne paraît signifier rien de plus que *mitrá-* atteste l'action d'*amítra-* suivant l'échange connu *varmín-/ávarman-*, *kavacín-/akavacá-*, *puṣpín-/apuṣpá-*.

Action inverse du positif sur le mot en *a(n)°* dans *aśéṣas-* (ton anomal Oldenberg ad vii, 1, 11) ; *anṛtá-*, iv, 5, 5 (id.) ; *adevá-*, viii, 96, 9, AV. v, 8, 3 (id.). Sur *akudhryàk*, x, 22, 12, v. Oldenberg, ad loc., et

Geldner, ZDMG., lxxi, p. 335. Sur *adevatrá-*, v. W., p. 123, et joindre *ánagnitra-* qui a chance d'avoir la même structure, cf. N. s.v.

§ 7. Le cas de *ṛtá- sūnṛ́ta-* intéresse la forme et le sens. N. s.v. *ṛtá-* signale avec raison que *ṛtá-* adjectif, qui apparaît au sens de " vrai " à partir de la VS., de " conforme au *ṛtám* " à partir du RV. récent (encore *ṛtás kavíḥ*, viii, 60, 5, avec son sandhi archaïque doit-il être " split-compound " pour **ṛta(s)kavi-* cf. *ṛtaspate*) a été reformé sur le négatif *ánṛta-* qui tenait dès l'origine le sens de " non vrai " ou " chose non vraie " ; outre N., v. sur le décalage entre l'expression positive et négative l'étude d'Oldenberg, GN., 1915, p. 177, et plus récemment B. Geiger, WZKM., xli, pp. 107 sqq., Lefever, Ved. Idea of Sin, p. 32.

Le même mot *ánṛta-* est à l'origine d'une autre altération : le substantif véd. *sūnṛ́tā-* a évolué comme adjectif en skt class. à partir du MhBh., avec le sens de " vrai " (en formules, et d'habitude comme ép. de la " parole " : ainsi est employé le mot Uttarar., v, 31, où il est associé à *dhenu-* comme RV., viii, 14, 3, que rapproche avec raison Mme Stchoupak en son éd. d'Uttarar., ad loc.). Le mot est glosé *satyam* + *priyam* chez les lexicographes et commentateurs, sans doute pour maintenir un lien illusoire avec véd. *sūnṛ́tā-*. Le sens authentique est assuré par la place qu'occupe le mot dans les vrata du jainisme (cf. par ex. Weber, Bhagavatī, 2, p. 187, Sarvadarśana-saṃgr. trad. Cowell-Gough, p. 48, n. 1), où il correspond à *satya-* dans la liste des yama Yogasū., ii, 30.

Comme on l'a reconnu depuis longtemps, cette déviation sémantique est due à l'action d'*ánṛta-* qui s'est laissé analyser en *a* + *nṛta-*, d'une façon certes étrange, mais qu'a facilitée la dissociation existant entre *ṛtá-* et *ánṛta-* : le dvandva est *satyānṛt*[illegible] (amorcé pourtant RV., i et x) [illegible] MhBh. avec le dvandva [illegible] d'une semblable influe[illegible] l'adjectif *sūnṛ́ta-* d[illegible]

posée par Oldenberg (ad i, 165, 9), n'est pas davantage conforme aux autres emplois du terme. De même pour *aratí-* iv, 38, 4, et v, 2, 1, ce qui épargnerait l'hypothèse d'une faute pour *árāti-*, hypothèse à laquelle se rallie N. (p. 94, n. 1) et N. 2 (s.v. *āyú-*).

La tradition indigène depuis le Nirukta abonde en interprétations par *a(n)°* priv. de mots à initiale *a-*, révélant ainsi tout au moins le rôle que jouait ce préfixe au sentiment linguistique. Il suffira de rappeler le cas du mot *adhvará-* (en fait apparenté à *ádhvan-*, cf. par exemple i, 23, 16) : le témoignage textuel le plus ancien de l'analyse par *a(n)°* est la variante *adhvaryo/ adhvaro* d'un mantra du YV., v. Vedic Conc. s.v.

§ 9. Les noms en *a(n)°* priv. étant souvent des noms " défavorables ", il n'est pas sans vraisemblance que le caractère progressivement défavorable pris par le mot *ásura-* a été favorisé par le sentiment d'un *a(n)°* priv. ; ce sentiment n'est pas imaginaire, étant révélé d'une part par les analyses du Nir. (cf. par ex. Sköld, The Nir., p. 202), d'autre part, comme on sait, par la création secondaire du terme *sura-* depuis MhBh. et MU. : l'emploi prépondérant du mot est dans le juxtaposé *surāḥ/ asurāḥ* ou le dvandva *surāsura-* qui selon le modèle *kṛtākṛtá-* § 15 se substitue à Br. *devāsurá-* : cf. W., p. 38, qui rappelle à ce propos la création artificielle de *sita-* (mêmes dates ; éventuellement aussi croisé par *śiti°*, doublet dissimilatoire de *śviti-* comme vient de le démontrer M. Debrunner, IF., lvi, p. 171), et quelques cas analogues. Sur AV. *nyá-*, v. maintenant Chowdhury, Bih. Or. Res. Soc., xvii, p. 79. Véd. *ákam* cité par W. et qui n'apparaît d'ailleurs qu'à la faveur de jeux étymologiques est repris dans les lexiques, [illegible] Kāsikh. (Nachträge de R. Schmidt) et dans Pārśvan. trad. [illegible] comme explication de commentaire. On pourrait [illegible] *máti-* comme y incline M. Wüst, [illegible] hesne, Composés de l'Av., [illegible] *díti-/ áditi-*. On a

Oldenberg, ad loc., qui compare efficacement *áditim uruṣyet*, i, 152, 6 ; v. aussi N. s.v. *áditi-* et N. 2 s.v. *uruṣy-*. Pour la coïncidence d'une double valeur protéger/barrer la route à, cf. *paribādh-* (Geldner, Ved. Stud., ii, p. 21), *spṛ-*, *rakṣ-* (AV., v, 7, 1).

Sur le mot *áriṣṭa-*, v. § 10. Pour le mot *arí-* aussi le passage à l'acception défavorable (" der Fremdling als Feind " selon les nouvelles conceptions de M. Thieme, Der Fremdl. im Rgv., pp. 42 sqq.) a pu être facilité par le sentiment d'un *a(n)*°, à quoi concourait la coexistence de *sūrí-*, que M. Thieme, op. cit., p. 158, met génétiquement en rapport avec *arí-*.

§ 10. Le fait qu'un mot en *a(n)*° est souvent " défavorable " a pu entraîner quelques autres déviations. Sans doute l'attribution de l'épithète *anehás-* à la Nirṛti AV., vi, 84 3 (*anāhantrī* Sāy.) peut-elle relever d'un souci d'euphémisme ; sans doute encore la valeur défavorable que semblerait devoir emprunter un *ámṛdhra-* épithète de *mihó nápāt*, i, 37, 11, est-elle subordonnée en fin de compte au sens indistinct de cette formule, cf. Geldner, ad loc. Mais il demeure au moins le cas curieux du terme *áriṣṭa-*. Le sens de " malheur " est bien accrédité dans la langue du MhBh., du BhāgPur. et dans les lexiques ; dans les textes ou passages de caractère omineux, il se précise en " pronostic fatal " : ainsi dans l'AdbhBr., dans le VaikhGS. (trad. Caland, note 2, ad v, 1), dans le ŚāGS., v, 5, 3, dans la littérature médicale (Jolly Medicin, § 21) ; cf. aussi p. *ariṭṭha-*, pkt *riṭṭha-* glosé par *durita-* dans le Pāiasaddamahaṇṇavo s.v., Kauś. *ariṣṭaka-* (Caland, Zauberrit., p. 90), et probablement *ariṣṭyāmaya-* KŚS. (cité Caland, loc. cit.). Une spécialisation autonome apparaît en class. littéraire, " chambre de l'accouchée " (depuis VaikhGS., iii, 14). Par contre-coup *riṣṭa-* (et *riṣṭatāti-*, ce dernier nettement dépendant de véd. *ariṣṭátāti-*) dans les lexiques a pris le sens de " bonheur ". D'autre part, *áriṣṭa-* dans son acception authentique " intact, exempt de mal ou de danger " est limité presque exclusivement aux mantra ; l'emploi du mot Mhvīrac., iv, 18, comme ép. d'Indra (" qu'on ne peut léser " ? ; cf. Rv., x, 166, 2, *índra ivāriṣṭaḥ*), celui d'*ariṣṭatāti-*, ibid., i, 24–5, sont des archaïsmes conscients. La leçon *ariṣṭabandham* MhBh. Bo., iv, 66, 22 (= *kalyāṇānubandhi karma* Nīlak.) est sans autorité et le vers est rejeté d'ailleurs dans l'éd. Sukthankar-Raghu Vira. Seul le Rām. connaît encore *ariṣṭa-* adjectif, au sens védique, ainsi, iv, 60, 19, et 62, 66, rec. du N.-O. éd. Vishvabandhu Shastri.

Des doubles valeurs antithétiques — sans qu'on puisse assurément préciser celle qui est la plus ancienne — atteignent quelques mots

tardifs ou lexicaux à initiale *a-* : *arāla- avāna- apaṣṭhu-* (*apaṣṭhura-*), ce dernier donné notamment dans la Vaijayantī.

§ 11. La coïncidence *ariṣṭa-* = *riṣṭa-* conduit à se demander s'il y a d'autres traces d'une abolition de la valeur négative du préfixe *a(n)°*, abolition dont portent témoignage les commentateurs palis (v. le Crit. Pāli Dict. s.v. 1 *a-*) comme les lexicographes sanskrits, ces derniers d'une manière indirecte, en s'appuyant sur l'acception *sādṛśye* du *nañ* qu'enseigne une vieille kārikā.

Il peut paraître étrange que la langue ait abouti authentiquement à un pareil état de fait. On peut rappeler toutefois que dans certains bahuvrīhi indiquant un rang la forme à *a(n)°* équivalait pratiquement à la forme simple : ainsi *ajyeṣṭhá-* RV. " qui n'a pas d'aîné (devant soi) ", donc " (lui-même) l'aîné ", cf. Oldenberg ad v, 59, 6 ; de même *ápūrvya-* et, en class., *apaścima- apūrva-* et surtout *anuttama-*.

L'apocope des préverbes en *a-* et la chute de certains *a-* initiaux en pkt pouvaient aussi préparer la voie à une équivalence *a(n)°* = zéro.

§ 12. À vrai dire aucun exemple d'*a(n)°* explétif n'est sûr, et plusieurs qui sont spécieux au premier abord s'éliminent à les regarder de plus près. Il est clair par exemple que RV. *paśváyantra-* (où Geldner ad iv, 1, 14, voit un *a(n)°* priv. auquel il donne d'ailleurs une valeur pleine) signifie " dont le bétail (était) enfermé ", littér. " qui ont détention de leur bétail " et s'analyse en *paśvá-* avec un *-a-* thématique rare (Oldenberg, ad loc.), mais à sa place pour un thème en *u/w* (Benveniste, Origines, i, p. 70). *Duradabhná-* AV. semble devoir signifier " infaillible " (Bloomfield), donc = *dūḍábha-* ; mais le mot a pu se constituer par une préfixation pléonastique de *dus°* sur **adabhna-* (cf. *ádabdha-* ; *asunvá- asinvá- aminá-*), ce qui permettrait d'échapper dans une certaine mesure aux objections de W., p. 181.

On ne peut faire état avec certitude d'*anāśú-*, i, 135, 9, qui se trouve là où l'on attend exactement *āśú-* (Hillebrandt, Lieder, p. 62, n. 4 ; tentatives contournées d'explication chez Oldenberg). Il est plus significatif qu'*ájoṣa-*, i, 9, 4, en soi mal explicable (cf. Oldenberg et autres) et pour lequel on attend *jóṣa-* " (manifestations de) contentement ", apposé aux *gíraḥ*, soit précisément remplacé par *sajóṣa-* au passage parallèle du SV. Quant au mot *arakṣás-*, i, 190, 3, le terme attendu, qu'on le veuille ou non, est *rakṣás-*, et de fait plusieurs auteurs ont proposé cette lecture par voie de correction (N. s.v.).

Mais le cas le plus probant pour le RV. serait l'épithète *áviśvaminva-*,

qui se dit de la parole sacrée ou du char sacrificiel comme *viśvaminvá-* se dit ailleurs du chant de louange ou des portes du sacrifice ; comme l'observe N., les deux termes ont apparement le même sens. Les essais d'interprétation tenant compte de l'élément *a*(*n*)°, qu'on trouvera chez N. 2 et chez Geldner ad ii, 40, 3, ne suppriment pas la vraisemblance de cette équivalence ; qu'on pense encore au voisinage des deux termes ii, 40, 3 et 6, et au balancement *viśvavídam*/ *áviśvaminvām*, i, 164, 10.

§ 13. Dans le mantra du YV. en *ápārárum*, un terme à *a*(*n*)° priv. *adevayajano* au sens de *devayajano* s'est introduit dans ĀpŚS. : il est vrai qu'il peut s'agir d'une corruption des mantra parallèles, Oertel, ZII., viii, p. 282, de même que MS. *ánṛṇāni*, iv, 14, 17 : 245, 12, déjà corrigé dans le padap., corrompt le *ṛṇám* du passage parallèle de TB. (Vedic Variants, i, p. 282) ; de même aussi que dans la prose on a *asthūri-* = *sthūri-* dans les mss. — sauf un — de BaudhŚS., xviii, 20 : 366, 10 (noté par Caland, Über das rit. Sū. des B., p. 63 ; corrigé dans l'édition).

L'épithète *akravyād-* AV., xii, 2, 3, qui a sa place authentique ailleurs, est nécessairement ici identique à *kravyād-* du vers 4, cf. Whitney-Lanman et Henry, ad loc. L'expression *viśām ávarjuṣīṇām* AV., vii, 50, 2, remodèle peut-être simplement, sans changer le sens, *v*° *vavarjúṣīṇām* de RV., i, 134, 6. Le terme négatif *aghoraghoratará-* MS., ii, 9, 10 : 130, 1, varie avec *ghóraghóratara-* TĀ., x, 45, i.e. *ghorād api ghoratara-* Sāy. ; l'interprétation, plausible en soit, de MS. par " non redoutable et très redoutable (à la fois) " a l'inconvénient de n'avoir pas de parallèle dans les mantra, cf. § 15.

§ 14. *Árāvan-* figure avec le sens de *rā́van-*, vii, 68, 7, cf. Baunack cité chez Oldenberg, ad loc. ; toutefois il est probable que le mot masque simplement *árvan-* cf. N. s.v. *árvan-* in fin. Inversement *rárāvan* = *árāvan-* en deux passages du RV. où la correction est à vrai dire aisée, v. N. s.v. *árāvan-*. Comme pour *aratí-* § 8, *áriṣṭa-* § 10, la valeur primitivement ambigue de l'élément *ar-* (N. s.v. *ar-* et cf. *arí-*) a pu contribuer à brouiller les valeurs.

Dans l'épopée nous trouvons *pūpa-*, apparemment similaire à *apūpá-*. On sait que la fausse position ou l'absence irrégulière de l'*a*(*n*)° priv. sont fréquents dans les mss., notamment dans ceux du Sud, et que des erreurs de ce type ont passé par exemple dans le texte de Kauṭilya, confirmées par la tradition manuscrite.

Lexicalement on trouve *kūvāra-* (attesté peut-être dans un mantra de KS., cf. Vedic Variants, ii, p. 105), au sens d'*akūpāra-* ; ainsi que

les doublets *paṭī-* = *apaṭī-*, *vala-* = *avala-* (ce dernier dans l'Uddhārakośa éd. Raghu Vira, iii, 68), *kupya-* = *akupya-*, *eḍamūka-* = *aneḍamūka-*, *nṛṅga-* = *anṛṅga-*, *kutsa-* = *akutsa-*, ces deux derniers couples dans la Vaijayantī. La critique de telles formes est naturellement impossible.

§ 15. La juxtaposition, type *kṛtád ákṛtāt* (§ 3) devait nécessairement donner des d v a n d v a du jour où le dvandva prenait la place des anciens juxtaposés et coordonnés. Le plus ancien exemple est *sāśanānaśané* du RV., x — normalisé en *aśanānaśané* au passage correspondant d'AV. — nt. duel d'un type déjà évolué (W., p. 155). En revanche l'expression *párāparā*, i, 38, 6 (manquant chez Grassmann WB.) est analysée à tort par Geldner, contre le padap., en *pára-* + *ápara-*, lequel n'est attesté que bien plus tard (§ 5) : il s'agit du préverbe *párā* répété (comme *sáṃsam*, *prápra*, *úpopa*, *údud*, *abhyàbhi*), préverbe qui figure volontiers en association avec la Nirṛti (*parātarám*, x, 59, 1–4 ; *parācaíḥ*, i, 24, 9, vi, 74, 2 ; *párācīm*, TB., iii, 1, 2, 2,). C'est le même préverbe en āmreḍita qu'on a dans *párāparaitā* AV. ; enfin *párāparā* MS. cité par Geldner, loc. cit., ne nous semble contenir rien de plus que l'adjectif *pára-* réitéré.

Mais l'AV. a déjà *kṛtākṛtám* qui appartient au groupe, bien établi dans l'AV. (W., p. 161), des dvandva sing. dont le dernier membre est un substantif neutre. Les mantra du YV. ont *hutāhutásya*, *sutāsutaú* (et *-ābhyām*) et *satāsatī* (sic : refait sur le précédent W., p. 152 bas) : ces derniers sont les plus anciens représentants du duel dans les dvandva inanimés (W., p. 155), de même qu'AV. *priyāpriyāṇi* inaugure les dvandva pluriels neutres (W., p. 157). Si enfin la forme *aghoraghoratará-* MS. en mantra (§ 13) est confirmée, elle fournirait le seul cas connu en védique d'un dvandva positif/négatif en fonction d'adjectif (W., p. 172) ; que le type fût en tout cas près de naître, rien ne l'indique mieux qu'un autre dvandva de MS. (prose) : *satyānṛtā́m* (*vā́cam*), W., p. 170.

Par ailleurs, la prose védique fait un rare usage elle-même des dvandva positif/négatif, sing. ou duels : nous n'avons relevé qu'*aśanānaśanásya* ŚB. *kṛtākṛté* ŚB. *sutāsutá-* (du.) TB. ŚB. *hutāhutau* ĀpŚS. *sādhvasādhúnī* ŚB., donc presque toutes des formes traditionnelles.

§ 16. En class. ces composés se multiplient, avec prédominance des membres dissyllabiques ou plus précisément du rythme ⏑ – ⏑ ⏓ Ceux d'entre eux qui sont adjectifs tendent à désigner une double qualité qui appartient concurremment à un seul substantif : ce sont

(et *ánapacyuta-* ; une seule fois *vícyuta-*), *áchidra-* (une seule fois *chidrá-*, à la fin du ma. I, avec un sens distinct), le groupe *ajára- ájasra-* et *ajuryá-*, le groupe *ádabdha-* et *ádābhya-*, *ádhrigu-* (étymologie N. ; v. depuis Wikander, Ar. Männerbund, p. 50), le groupe *ádhṛṣṭa- ánādhṛṣṭa-* et *ápratidhṛṣṭa-*, *anehás-*, *ámṛkta-*, *ayás* (s'il y a bien en ce mot, comme il est probable, un *a*(*n*)° priv., v. N. s.v. et Geldner ad i, 64, 11), *áriṣṭa-*, *arepás-* (*répas-* une seule fois, en phrase négative), *avadyá-*, *áṣāḷha-*, *ásāmi-*, *áhraya-*. Peut-être faut-il joindre *ádbhuta-* (le p. *abbhuta-* signifie aussi " pari, enjeu ", proprement " chose inconnue " ?), qui semble avoir élargi un ancien **adbhu-* d'après les innombrables finales en *-ta-* de mots privatifs ; de fait un emploi comme *ádbhutakratu-* est très voisin d'*ádabdhadhīti-*.

§ 21. *Anarván-* " inattaquable " (N.) n'a même pas de positif concevable : c'est la transposition d'une phrase à infinitif **ná . . . arváṇe* " (qui) n'(est) pas à attaquer ", fait comme *dāváne* ; peut-être aussi **anarśan-* dans *ánarśarāti-*, *anarmán-* AV. variante de RV. *anarván-*. Une partie des noms en *a*(*n*)° présentent les formes sans *a*(*n*)° à une date ultérieure ; à RV. *agadá-* répond *gada-* dans *ávijñāta-gada-* AV. (et dans *vígada-*, ibid., si la restitution proposée par M. Lüders, Aufs. Kuhn, p. 322 est juste) ; *akhala-* JB. (Caland, Over en uit het JB., p. 47, n. 69), précède sensiblement l'adjectif *khala-* dans l'usage. De tels faits sont nombreux. Plus nombreux encore les cas où le terme " positif " demeure inusité tout le long de la tradition littéraire, comme dans *ághnyā- ájasra- ádhrigu- anehás-* et dans une masse de noms verbaux en *-ta-* et *-ya-*. Plus d'une fois, lors même que le nom sans *a*(*n*)° coexiste avec l'autre, on a l'impression qu'il est moins solide, plus limité, plus accidentel.

§ 22. Le sens d'**adbhu-* qui serait proprement " qu'on ne peut détériorer ", celui d'*anarván-* nous indiquent que la valeur de l'acte subi est en évidence dans les mots en *a*(*n*)°. De fait, *anehás-* signifie " inaccessible à la convoitise (de l'ennemi) " ; *ámṛdhra-* est " qui ne fait pas défaut " (N.), par opposition à *mṛdhrá-* " qui consiste en hostilité " ou " qui fait acte d'hostilité ". De même *asrídh-* va de pair avec l'aspect " passif " d'*ásredhant- ásridhāna-* et des formes personnelles de *sridh-* au sens de " dévier, errer ", non avec le nom-racine act./ag. *srídh-* " hostilité " ou " ennemi " ; *adrúh-* signifie " inaccessible à la *drúh-* " ; *aśás-* est passif (Geldner) " maudit ". Même dans des formations de caractère purement nominal la nuance de l'acte subi s'affirme diversement : *aniṣavyá-* et *asenyá-* " inaccessible à la flèche, à l'arme de jet " (v. en dernier lieu N.), *ánūrmi-* en partie

" ungewogt " d'après N. *Ámati-* est en général à entendre passivement, du point de vue du suppliant " fait de n'être pas l'objet de la pensée (divine) ", d'où " détresse " ; sans doute aussi *árāti-* " fait d'être l'objet de la défaveur (divine) ", d'où résultent par concrétisation de nouveaux emplois actifs " être nocif " (Thieme Fremdl. im RV., p. 44), et plus généralement " ennemi ". *Apratí-*, en son emploi initial d'adverbe (cf. § 5) signifie " sans éprouver de résistance " ; l'emploi actif (" sans résister ") n'existe qu'en vertu du transfert à la catégorie de l'adjectif (v. les faits chez N.). AV. *avaśá-* est " non soumis à la volonté (d'autrui) ", d'où dérivent secondairement (à la façon des faits signalés § 5) les adjectifs *vaśín-* " soumis " dès les Saṃh., *vaśa-* " id." en class. (BR. ; à supprimer toutefois pour le KSS., cf. Speyer, Studies, p. 84). La nuance active " qui n'a pas de volonté (propre), qui agit contre son gré " n'est pas antérieure à Mn. et MhBh.

§ 23. Même des formes bâties sur des thèmes de présent à nasale attestent cette nuance : en regard de *mṛṇīhi* " détruire ", *anāmṛṇá-* est " qui ne se laisse pas endommager " N. ; même sens très probable pour *aminá-* W., p. 181, par contraste avec *minā́ti*. *Asinvá-* (aussi *ásinvant-*) est rendu généralement comme " insatiable " (ainsi W., loc. cit.) ; il est probable toutefois que le mot est à rejoindre à JB. *asinot* (*sinoti* ?) " lier " (v. les formes Oertel, Journ. Ved. St., ii, 2, p. 95), avec le sens de " impossible à lier, à arrêter ". L'expression *árisaṇyā tanū́nām*, ii, 39, 4, " qui ne souffre pas que les personnes soient endommagées " et plus nettement *árisaṇyant-* " qui ne peut être endommagé " s'opposent à *risaṇyati* " nuire ". On sait qu'avec le préfixe négatif *dus°* la nuance passive s'est établie de façon stable, d'une part dans le type *dūḷábha- dūṇā́śa-*, d'autre part dans les formes en *-tu- durniyántu- durvártu-*. Rappelons à ce propos que la constitution d'un infinitif passif en class. (*na śakyate hantum*) est liée dans une très large mesure à la structure négative de la phrase. Or le type *dūḷábha-* se retrouve après *a(n)°* priv. dans *anavabravá-*, ép. d'Indra-Manyu, sans doute " irréprochable ", et peut-être dans *adábha-* qui équivaudrait ainsi à *ádabdha-*.

§ 24. Comme dans plus d'une des formes déjà citées, mais de façon plus stable, dans les noms en *-ta-* la valeur passive après *a(n)°* priv. s'accompagne d'une nuance éventuelle, encore que les dictionnaires et traductions aient trop souvent négligé de la rendre. *Ádabdha-* ' qui ne peut être trompé, lésé " est indistinct d'avec *ádābhya-* ; *ácyuta-* est nécessairement " inébranlable ", et ainsi de suite. Il est

possible que l'intrusion des verbaux en *-ya-* après *a*(*n*)° priv. soit secondaire — elle est en progrès dans le YV. où figurent par exemple TS., i, 2, 10, 2, *-ta-* et *-ya-* côte à côte, et où l'on a des variations entre *-ta-* et *-ya-*, v. Ved. Conc. s.v. *ánādhṛṣṭā* — comme l'est assurément celle d'*-enya-* dans YV. *anabhiśastenyá-*. À part *adviṣeṇyá-*, il n'y a d'ailleurs pas trace dans le RV. ni l'AV. d'*a*(*n*)° priv. pour les verbaux d'obligation en *-tva- -enya- -āyya- -eyya-* (*-tavya-*) : raison de plus pour éliminer **anantva-* que divers auteurs ont proposé pour ii, 24, 2 : cf. Oldenberg, ad loc. Le mouvement commence avec le YV.

Fait moins connu, la nuance éventuelle (-passive) atteint aussi les noms privatifs à suffixe *-ra-*, *ákhidra- áchidra- átandra- avadhrá-* (aussi *avadhá-*), en partie *ámṛdhra-* " inattaquable ", v. N. s. vv. ; de même *-tra-* dans *avartrá-* " irrépressible " avec Sāy. et BR., vii, approuvés par N.

§ 25. Inversement, l'association de l'élément *a*(*n*)° avec des termes nettement " agentis " est fort rare : *aviśastṛ́-* est avec *asnātṛ́-* le seul représentant pour le RV. et l'AV. de la classe en *-tṛ-*. *Asrídh-* et *adrúh-* précités sont les seuls noms-racines d'origine verbale ; les formules en *ná vartá, ná tarutá* (passim) n'ont de corrélation qu'avec les privatifs passifs *avāryá*° *atúrta-*.

§ 26. Mais le trait le plus remarquable de la formation en *a*(*n*)° dans le RV. est d'un ordre plus général, et corollaire d'ailleurs du précédent. Si nous prenons les bahuvrīhi ou les noms verbaux, c'est-à-dire la grande majorité des formes à valeur adjective, nous constatons qu'elles servent le plus souvent d'épithètes (susceptibles de devenir des désignations indépendantes) à des concepts " favorables ", hommes pieux, divinités, attributions comme *krátu- dákṣa- dhī́-*. Elles ne notent pas le manque d'une qualité, d'un caractère, mais bien plutôt elles affirment un état qui exclut cette qualité, elles délimitent un domaine auquel ce caractère ne s'applique pas. Tel est le sens d'*anehás- adrúh-* § 22, *anarván-* § 21, et de quantité d'autres. Lorsqu'il est dit de Rudra qu'il est *anamīvá-*, on entend qu'il se définit par opposition aux *ámīvā-* ; quand Pūṣan est appelé *ánaṣṭapaśu-*, cela signifie non que ses troupeaux n'ont pas été perdus, mais qu'il fait retrouver le bétail égaré, qu'il se définit comme excluant le *naṣṭám paśúm* (cf. i, 23, 13). Indra *ápaścāddaghvan-* est moins " celui qui ne reste pas en arrière ", que celui qui écarte une crainte, crainte que l'homme exprimerait en ces termes *mā́ paścā́d daghma*, vii, 56, 21, " puissions nous ne point rester en arrière ! " D'où l'importance qu'ont dans ces noms les phénomènes de contre-partie (§ 2).

§ 27. D'autres termes sont des applications, concrètes ou abstraites, des épithètes précédemment définies. Le caractère "affirmatif" de la notion n'y est pas moins en évidence. *Ábhaya-*, proprement "qui exclut la crainte ou le danger" donne au neutre "sécurité" : terme puissant, autonome, base multiple de noms propres ou techniques dans la langue ultérieure, et qui doit avoir agi sur le nom d'action *bhayá-* en conférant à ce dernier le genre neutre (*bhaya-* masc., lexx. et Bower Ms.) ; de même sans doute class. *amīva-* doit son transfert au neutre à RV. *anamīvá-* (pour des cas de neutres après *a(n)°*, cf. *avṛkám* RV., *asvapnam* SāmaviBr., *aśatrú* et *anamitrám* AV., *ayakṣmám* VS., *avighnam* cl., etc.).

Même pour des noms à contenu "défavorable", l'*a(n)°* priv. fournit des notions qui au fond sont parfaitement affirmatives : *árāti-* se résout en "hostilité", éventuellement conçue comme agressive (Thieme cité § 22) ; *ámati-* "détresse" (§ 22) n'est pas moins "positif" que les termes voisins *áṃhas- aṃhatí-*, pas moins concret que la *kṣúdh-* "faim" ou la *jásu-* "exhaustion" avec lesquelles *ámati-* alterne en maint passage. *Avadyá-* "opprobre" est senti à tel point comme affirmatif qu'un nouveau préfixe *a(n)°* se forme sur sa base, *anavadyá-*, fait unique dans le RV. : en outre *anamitrá-* AV. VS. (mais *ana°* au sens de *a(n)°* W., p. 80, n'est attesté que dans le barbare Bower Ms. *anatṛṇa-* "sans herbes" ; sur *anopama-* = *anupama-* cité Ṭīkāsarvasva ad AmaraK., iii, 4, 11, cf. p. *anopama-* et Crit. Pāli Dict. s.v.).

§ 28. Il est remarquable que tant de notions concrètes se soient fondées sur des formes à *a(n)°* : ainsi, dès le RV., le nom de nombre *ayúta-* (ton dû à *niyúta-* d'après Johansson Festg. Jacobi, p. 432 ; cf. aussi *akṣita-* PB.). De même *ákūpāra-* "océan" depuis le YV. : cet emploi est pour ainsi dire impliqué déjà dans la formule *ákūpāraḥ salilāḥ* de RV. x, 109, 1, mais il est excessif de poser avec N. d'emblée l'acception d' "océan" ici : le RV. nous présente à l'état d'épithète ou d'image, comme souvent, ce que la littérature ultérieure a fixé en désignation stable.

C'est le mot négatif *acala-* qui désigne la "montagne" à partir du Rām. ; d'où, par imitation, *aga-* (qui signifie aussi "arbre" Śiś. Jānakīh., xiv, 44, comme *agama- anokaha-*, etc.), et analogues, cf. W., p. 37, à quoi joindre lex. *ahārya-* ; des emplois figurés comme les *párvatāso dhruvāsaḥ* du RV. ont pu y donner l'élan. Le féminin du même mot *acala-* désigne encore la "terre" dans les lexiques (attesté VarBS., xxxii, 4, Yaśastil., i, 154, 8 et cf. Mahāyānasūtrāl. trad.

S. Lévi, p. 315) : il est devancé par l'épithète *ácarantī* de RV., i, 185, 2.

§ 29. Les lexiques indigènes connaissent des emplois tels que *aśatru-* " lune " ; *anedhas-* " feu " ou " vent " (Uṇādig. de Hemac. n° 975) ; *avyathiṣa-* et *-ī-*, de sens divers, qui rappelle étrangement l'inf. KapSaṃh. *avyathiṣyai*. *Anṛta-* " agriculture " à quoi Mn., iv, 5, ne donne qu'un point de départ approximatif, cf. BR. et l'expression *satyānṛta-* " commerce ". *Anehas-* " temps ", attesté dans les textes littéraires tardifs, BR. vii et pw., Nachtr. de Schmidt (à quoi ajouter Kavīndravac. éd. Thomas n° 386) résulte peut-être d'un emploi mal entendu du mot en véd., comme RV., x, 63, 10, où il figure à côté de *pṛthivím, dyám, áditim, daívīṃ návam*. *Akṣita-* " eau " dérive d'expressions comme RV. *ákṣitam útsam*. *Ajarya-* " amitié ", attesté en class. littéraire, v. BR. et en outre Jānakīh., xi, 24, Rāvaṇārj., ix, 23, proviendrait-il de ŚB., iii, 4, 2, 4, mal compris ? La formule *hántedaṃ táthā karávāmahai yáthā na idám āpradivám evájaryam ásad íti* " faisons en sorte que cette [alliance ; Eggeling " concord ", Sāy. *aikamatyaṃ karma*] de nous soit impérissable à jamais ! " pouvait à tort susciter un *ájarya-* = " concorde, amitié ". C'est le seul exemple véd. du mot avec MB., ii, 2, 15, textuellement incertain.

§ 30. Nombre des faits rappelés dans cette étude concourent à souligner l'autonomie du mot en *a*(*n*)° : qu'on pense aux cas d'*ánṛta-* § 7, *ámati-* et *árāti-* § 22, *ábhaya-* § 27. Le priv. *avṛká-*, avec sa valeur très générale de " qui protège de l'ennemi " ou " qui ne laisse pas place à une agression " élargit sensiblement l'emploi de *vṛka-*, et le neutre *avṛkám* n'est sans doute pas moins extensif qu'*ábhayam*. L'expression *arakṣásā mánasā*, ii, 10, 5, ne rappelle que de fort loin le *rakṣás-* qui en est la base : c'est bien l' " arglosen Sinnes " de Geldner. *Ánirā-* (*anirá-* adj.) " manque de force " généralise *írā-* ; *ádhenu-*, x, 71, 5, s'emploie figurément de la *māyā́-*, et *ayakṣmá-* " qui écarte ou exclut le mal " déborde les valeurs restreintes du mot *yákṣma-*. De même *anulbaṇá-*. *Mení-* est une action magique conçue comme une arme (Oldenberg, Festschr. Windisch, p. 122), mais *amení-* équivaut pratiquement à " inoffensif ", Geldner, Festgr. Böhtlingk, p. 32. Cf. encore l'acception générale que prennent *ákharva- áchidra-* et surtout class. *akhila-*, soit " intégral, entier " (sens plus précis pour ce dernier en p. !). Pour le mot *ásant-* (avec le doublet à nuance séparée *ā́sant-*, Oldenberg ad iv, 5, 14), M. Oertel a récemment montré quelle était la richesse sémantique du terme dans la langue des Br., New Ind. Ant., i, p. 317. *Ájāmi-* " hétérosexuel, ou : non incestueux " se développe

dans les Br. (Caland ad PB., vii, 2, 5 Oertel Journ. Ved. Stud., i, 2, p. 14) en un sens exactement opposé à RV., x, 10, 9 sqq., " inceste." Enfin il suffira de comparer avec le terme pauvre et monotone *mṛtá-* les acceptions très articulées de véd. *amṛ́ta-*.

§ 31. Cette autonomie des noms en (*an*)° se poursuit à travers tout le cours du sanskrit ; citons seulement, parce que mal connu des dictionnaires, le terme bouddh. *akṣaṇa-* (*akkhaṇa-*) " obstacle, embarras, infortune " (Lalit. in pw., Kalpanāma. éd. Lüders, p. 42, indices de Saddharmapu., Mhvu, AvŚat., Śikṣāsam., Mahāyānasū. trad., etc. ; apparemment aussi chez Kauṭ., cf. J. J. Meyer, p. 285, l. 22 : ce serait l'une des concordances lexicales connues entre ce texte et la terminologie bouddhique). *Adṛṣṭa-* " destinée " apparaît dans la littérature tardive (Pañcat. vulg. v, 30, où le mot semble présenté comme s'il était nouveau) par intrusion de la langue philosophique où il est commun. Ce terme rappelle la longue série des noms philosophiques, efficients et réellement " positifs ", type *advaita- avidyā- avyakta-*, etc. Dans leurs discussions sur le caractère de la négation, les théoriciens de la grammaire comme les logiciens et les ritualistes ont rencontré souvent la question de la co-extension du mot et de son négatif (cf. les *paryudāsa*° et *prasajya-pratiṣedha* des paribhāṣā grammaticales). L'interprétation correcte des prescriptions où figure un terme en *a(n)*° en dépend. Or c'est dans le sens d'un élargissement du concept négatif que s'orientent nettement les définitions. On ne saurait surestimer l'importance qu'ont eue pour le développement de la pensée indienne la masse de mots négatifs qui dès l'origine avaient été versés dans l'usage et qu'accroissaient sans trêve les progrès du style nominal. Où pouvait mieux que dans l'Inde réussir une définition négative du mot comme celle qu'enseigne la théorie de l'apoha, s'accréditer telle injonction religieuse, tel mot d'ordre politique de caractère purement négatif, comme l'*ahiṃsā-* ?

Middle Indian Miscellanies

By L. Alsdorf

I

THE Jain recension of the Siṃhāsanadvātriṃśikā contains two Apabhraṃśa, or as we shall see rather Old Gujarati, stanzas which, as far as I can judge, have not been satisfactorily dealt with by either Weber[1] or Edgerton.[2]

The first of them is comparatively easy. It occurs in the 22nd tale (Weber, p. 394, No. 193; Edgerton, p. 170, No. 3, Variants, p. 321, Transl., p. 186), and should, in my opinion, be read as follows[3]:—

candaü vali vali uggamaï, / dhaṇu phiṭṭō vali hōi—
gayō na jovvaṇu vāhuḍaï, / muō na jīvai kōi!

(*caṇḍaü* W, *caṇḍo* E, *phiṭṭaü* E, *gauṃ* E, *juvvaṇu* E, °*ṇa* W, *bāhuḍaï* WE, *vā*° F! *muyo* W.)

As the MSS. P and F read *candu* and *candro* respectively, the authority of the three MSS. GKO seems hardly sufficient to establish the wholly abnormal form *caṇḍau* with cerebral *ṇḍ*. The spellings *-aü*, *-au*, and *-o* being apparently quite arbitrary, *phiṭṭaü* and *phiṭṭo* are equally possible, but the MSS. evidence seems to be in favour of °*ṭṭo* (O alone reading *piṭaü*). For *gayō* and *vāhuḍaï* see below.

Edgerton's translation, based on that of Weber, is as follows; "The moon rises again and again, and lost riches may return; but youth when it is gone is not given again, and no man once dead comes to life."

This translation will be correct if we replace "is not given again" by "does not come back", cf. Somaprabha's Kumārapālapratibodha, Sthūlabhadrakathā 93 (my edition, p. 111): "*tō vāhuḍiu javēṇa*". "then he returned in haste". The verb *vāhuḍaï* "return" has also been sanskritized: the smaller St. Petersburgh Dictionary records a root *ghuṭ* "with *vyā* (only °*ghuṭya* and °*ghuṭita*) to return". Weber's explanation (*bāhuḍaï* < *pāhuḍaï*, from *pāhuḍa* < *prābhṛta* "present")

[1] *Ueber die Siṁhâsanadvâtriṁçikâ*, Indische Studien, vol. 15.

[2] *Vikrama's Adventures*, Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 26 (Translation) and 27 (Text).

[3] In the variants given, W and E denote the text adopted by Weber and Edgerton respectively.

which Edgerton (p. 321) confesses himself unable to improve upon but against which serious linguistical objections might be raised, may thus be dispensed with.

It is hardly necessary to add that the *-ō* of *phiṭṭō, gayō, muō* is not the old Prakritic *-ō* but the modern Gujarati termination resulting from the contraction of Apabhraṃśa *-aü*. This is underlined, as it were, by the fact that the *-ō* of *gayō* and *muō* appears as the result of a contraction also from a metrical point of view. In both the pādas c and d of our stanza, the first gaṇa has the form ⏑ – ⏑ –. This is irregular but would become regular if the first long syllable were dissolved into two short ones : ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – is a normal form of the first gaṇa of a Dohā-pāda. This means that the introduction of the old, uncontracted forms *gayaü, muyaü* would make the pāda metrically normal. In my *Apabhraṃśa-Studien* (pp. 40 ff.) I have pointed out and discussed a number of exactly analogous cases in the stanzas quoted by Hemacandra in his grammar, the only difference being that there *-aü* is not contracted but the *u* is dropped with compensationary lengthening of the preceding *a*, the result being (Hindi) *-ā* instead of (Gujarati) *-ō* as in our stanza.

The forms in *-ō* thus being clearly Gujarati, I have retained the spelling *gayō* with *y* found in three MSS. One of these (K, which also writes throughout *-ē* instead of *ai* or *-aī* in the 3rd sing.) actually gives the modern Guj. neuter *gayũ*, which in order to suit the metre would at least have to be replaced by the older form *gayũ̃*.[1]

The second stanza (27th tale ; Weber, p. 418, No. 208 ; Edgerton, p. 200, No. 2, Variants, p. 333, Transl., p. 218) is more difficult. Moreover, only one MS. (H) gives it in full, three others contenting themselves with quoting the first pāda as pratīka. Weber's text and translation are as follows :—

nahaghaṭṭhâkara paṃḍurâ sajjaṇadujjaṇahûya / sûṇâdeulaseviye[2] *tujjha pasâyaī jûya //*

" O du Bleicher ! mit von Nägeln zerschundenem Aussehen ! Das guten und schlechten Menschen zugehörige, im Schlachthause wie im Tempel betriebene Spiel, ist es dir günstig ? "

This translation not only makes the contents of the stanza rather

[1] The form *gauṃ* adopted by Edgerton is grammatically impossible and a mere misreading for *gao* (i.e. गउं !).

[2] MS. : *sūnā°°seviyai* (i.e. °ये !).

strange, but it also fits the context very badly or rather not at all.[1] Weber himself adds in a note that he regards it as provisional ("Nothbehelf") and explains "*âkara* = *âkâra* (Hem. 4, 329), *hûya* = *bhûta*, or *hûta*, *seviye* = *sevitam*". We may at once add that a form *seviye* = *sevitam* is quite impossible and that, if I am right in denying the existence of a nom. sing. masc. neutr. in *-a* (cf. my *Apabhraṃśa-Studien*, pp. 5 f.), *hūya* and *jūya* cannot be nom. sing., so that Weber's construction of the stanza must be wrong.

Edgerton has taken over Weber's interpretation practically unaltered, but his text is worse: by changing °*kara paṇḍurā* to °*kāra paṇḍura*, he has made the first pāda metrically wrong, an odd Dohā-pāda of the form ⏑ ⏑ — — / — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ being quite impossible. He adopts Weber's *sūṇā*°°*seviye* for *sūnā*°°*yai* of the MS. and gives the following translation:—

"O pale man with face scratcht by your finger-nails, is the play, characteristic of good and bad men alike, which is practist alike in slaughter-houses and in temples, favorable to you?"

I propose to read and construct the stanza as follows:—

naha ghaṭṭhā, kara paṇḍurā, / sajjaṇa dujjaṇa hūya,
sūnā dēula seviyaĩ— / tujjha pasāyaĩ, jūya!

"The finger-nails are ground [from the raking of the dice!], the hands are grey [from the dust of the floor where the dice are cast and raked]; respectable people have become villains, deserted temples are resorted to—through thy good graces, O game!" P 36,335

pasāyaĩ (probably to be nasalized: *pasāyaĩ̃*) = *prasādena*; the inst. sing. in *-aĩ̃* is not unfrequently met with, e.g. in the works of Kanakāmara and Yogīndu. For *seviyai* of the MS. we should perhaps read *seviyahī*, but the 3rd plur. in *-aĩ̃*—normal in Old Guj.—is in perfect accordance with the linguistic character of both stanzas. That a ruined gambler should seek shelter in deserted temples is just what might be expected. In his Mahāpurāṇa (102, 14), the poet Puṣpadanta, depicting his miserable, wretched life, describes himself as houseless, without wife and child, clothed in old rags and bark, covered with dust, sleeping on the ground with his hands serving as

[1] A man who has visited the king "wearing very handsome garments" returns the next day "with dejected countenance and wearing only a loincloth made of old, tattered rags; and being askt the reason by the king, he said: 'Noble sir, why do you ask? I am a gambler, and in playing to-day I have lost all, and have come hither, fearing the necessity of giving up something else (*kiṃciddeyabhayena*). For: (follows the stanza).'"

blanket, and as "*suṇṇa-bhavaṇa-dēvaüla-ṇivāsa*", "living in deserted houses and temples." Cf. also J. J. Meyer's note, *Hindu Tales*, p. 253, n. 3: "Wayfarers and beggars frequently had to sleep in temples."

The change of *uṇṇ* to *ūn* in *sūnā* shows that we have here to do with a Gujarati form (cf. Guj. *sūnũ*), so that the dental *n* offered by the MS. is quite correct and must not, as Weber and Edgerton have done, be changed to *ṇ*.

It agrees with the late character of the language of this stanza that in the nom. pl. the difference between the neuter and the masc. is obliterated: *naha ghaṭṭhā* and *sūnā dēula*, though neuter, show pure masculine forms.

II

In his short article "Eine indische Speiseregel" (*ZDMG.*, 61, pp. 641–4), Lüders has shown that Skt. *śvāvidh* "porcupine" appears in two different middle Indian forms: Pali *sāmi* is due to the regular dropping of the final *dh* and the well-known middle Indian change of *v* to *m*, while Skt. (i.e. really Prakrit!) *sedhā* (through an intermediate **savidhā*) shows the contraction *avi* > *e* known, e.g. from Pali *thera* < *sthavira* and, instead of the dropping of the final consonant, the equally normal addition of the thematical vowel.

To these forms can be added two more. Deśīnāmamālā, ii, 50, and viii, 15, Hemacandra explains the two deśīs *koṇḍaliyā* and *saralīā* by "*sāviha-jantu*" (Skt.: "*śvāvit-saṃjñaḥ prāṇī*"). After what has been said of *sāmi* and *sedhā*, this form needs hardly any explanation; it might be called the most regular and nearest to Sanskrit of the three.

The intervocalic *v* of *sāvihā* has remained unchanged. It would, however, certainly have been equally possible for it to have been treated as in *sāmi*. This would yield a form *sāmihā*.

In the *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, p. 215 (bottom), a nun reports how another nun told her about a magical herb: "*evaṃ kahintīe diṭṭhaṃ taṃ osahaṃ sālehāvile daṃsiyaṃ ca tīe ajjāe*," "and while that nun was (still) speaking, she beheld that herb *sālehāvile* and showed it (to me)." *sālehāvile*, as far as I can see, does not give any sense. As a matter of fact, it is the reading of only one MS. (Śāṃ°) which the editors have adopted here: the other MSS. read either *sāsovile* or *sāsehāvile*,

which proves beyond doubt that the common archetypus[1] had *sāsehā-vile*. This, of course, is also quite meaningless ; but if we consider that in an older Jaina MS. *sāsehā* must appear as सासहा,[2] it seems more than probable that सासहा is but a slight graphical corruption of सामिहा. The meaning of the passage in question, therefore, is that the nun beheld the herb in the *hole of a porcupine* (*sāmihā-bile*), and we obtain a fourth form for Skt. *śvāvidh* which, with its *m* on the one, its thematical vowel on the other hand, combines the characteristic features of Pali *sāmi* and Pkt. *sāvihā*/Skt. *sedhā*.

III

I take this opportunity to make a correction. In my *Apabhraṃśa-Studien*, pp. 65 ff., I have dealt with a stanza quoted in the Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa, the first line of which is given by Pischel (*Materialen zur Kenntnis des Apabhraṃśa*, No. XVIII) as follows :—

vallahe lahu bolantaī entaī puṇu bahu . . .

I have shown that the locatives *vallahe, võlantaī, entaī* depend on the gen. *rōsahu* occurring in the second line and that we must translate : " . . . of thy [the lotus flower's] anger with thy lover [the sun] who [now in winter] goes away soon but returns late. . . ." Now in *entaī puṇu bahu* the metre is short of one mora, and moreover it is strange that the form *bahu* should, as the context makes perfectly certain and the translation of the commentary : *cireṇa punar āgacchati* —confirms, mean " late, after a long time ". In emending *puṇu vi bahu*, I missed the obvious correction *puṇu cirahu* (= *cirāt !*) which is made certain not only by the *cireṇa* of the commentary but also by the consideration that in Bengali script *va* and *ra*, being distinguished only by a dot, are easily confounded. The line must, therefore, be read :—

vallahĕ lahu võlantaī, entaī puṇu cirahu.

[1] That such an archetypus did exist will be shown in my book on the *Vasudevahiṇḍi*.

[2] By the omission of the ह only (without the ā-mātrā) सासहाविल becomes सासाविल, i.e. *sāsovile*, which explains the reading of one group of MSS.

Some English Loan-words in Gujarati

By Alfred Master

THE following loan-words are taken from two newspapers, the *Kheḍā vartamān* of 5th December, 1928, and the *Gujarat Times* of 1st January, 1929.

The editors are both Hindus and the readers were for the most part Hindu also. The newspapers contain only a few words in English characters, perhaps eight or nine in each number. The proportion of English loan-words to the total may be about 2 per cent, but this is inevitably only a rough estimate.

The words have been transliterated faithfully with two exceptions—

(1) Inherent *a* of final consonants is omitted.

(2) Inherent *a* (not final) is omitted, if not pronounced. In such cases it is indicated by a dot. In Gujarati, however, there are certain consonants which do not alter their form when conjunct, such as "*ka*". For practical purposes, this is of little importance, as conjunct consonants are often not used, when permissible.

In preparing the list some very uncommon words and transitory political expressions like "*Sāyaman gobek*" have been omitted. There are one or two words included, which are not English, e.g. *peseṭā* and *Mādrīd*, which have been included for their interest. *Peseṭā* has probably been taken for the English version of the Spanish word, as the *t* is retroflex. It is not clear, however, why the dental *d* is used for *Mādrīd*.

The articles in which few, if any, loan-words occur, are the political leading articles, a notice of a meeting of Brahmans, and a serial story about old Rajputana. The largest proportion of English words is in the advertisements, which are numerous.

Dr. Grahame Bailey, *BSOS.*, Vol. IV, Pt. IV, p. 782, divides English loan-words into three classes: (1) those known to every villager; (2) those used only by educated Indians and recognized as English; (3) technical terms. These newspaper words, however, fall into another category. The Indian population may be divided into (1) illiterates, (2) literates, (3) English-knowing literates, and the local vernacular newspapers are mainly for the second class. They usually know little or no English. Not that the English-knowing readers do not read the vernacular newspapers, but they prefer the widely circulating Bombay

newspapers. The present list, therefore, contains words which are in general use and, besides, words which will probably come into general use.

There are some words which it seems ridiculous to include, e.g. Kitson light. But this form of lighting is widely used for marriage processions and religious ceremonies and most villagers know the expression. It is interesting to compare these words with Dr. Grahame Bailey's list. There are many which are substantially the same, but there are few which take exactly the same form. Many included in his list are absent from the present list. In Gujarati *ḍigrī* means *thermometer*, not *decree*, which is *hukam·nāmũ*; but *koṭ* (coat), *gālas*, *vās·kuṭ* are also found in Gujarati. It may be observed that *koṭ*, coat, is pronounced [*koṭ*], but *koṭh*, wood-apple, is [*kɔ̃ṭ*]. Initial retroflex letters are hardly distinguishable from dentals, especially before the front vowels; the final retroflex is always distinctly audible.

Returning to the list of words, the dictionary has the more colloquial *pal·ṭan* or *pal·ṭaṇ* in place of *rejīmenṭ*. Here again may be noticed the nasal preceding the retroflex is of the dental not the retroflex class. My own name is always transliterated *mās·ṭar*, but used as a common noun, it has the dental *t*.

There are a number of words such as president, secretary, which have IA. doublets—*pramukh*, *mātrī*, but a detailed analysis of such and other points will be reserved for a future article, if a sequel appears to be desirable.

List of Words

Abbreviations.—adm., administrative; comm., commercial; curr., currency; meas., measure; tit., title or rank.

accountant, *ekāunṭāṭ*
act, acting, *ekṭ*, *ekṭīg*
Aden, *eḍan*
administrative, -or, *eḍ·mīnīsṭretar*, *eḍ·mīnīsṭreṭīv*, *eḍ·mīnīsṭraṭīv*
Africa, *āfrikā*
agent, -s, *ejāṭ*, *ejāṭo*, *ejāṭs*, *ejāṭas*, *ejanṭas*
Allahabad, *alhābād*
and, *enḍ*
Anglo-Indian, *ẽgloĩḍīyan*
appeal (adm.), *apīl* f.
art paper, *ārṭ pepar*
average, *evarej* (*pagār*, average pay)
bank, *bẽk*
banquet, *bekāvīṭ* n.
barrister, *berīsṭar*
black and white, *blek enḍ vāiṭ*
blanket, *blāketṭ*
board (adm.), *borḍ*
bomb, *bõb*

bonus, *bonas* n.
bottle, *bāṭ·lī*
box, *bokṣ*
branch, *brāch*
Brazilian, *brejhīlīyan*
Britain, *briṭan*
British, *briṭīś*
British territory, *briṭīś* n.
budget, *bajeṭ*
butler, *baṭ·lar* [*buṭ·ler*, *buṭ·rel*]
calendar, *kelenḍar*
camp, *kemp*
case, *kes* m.
catalogue, *keṭalog* n.
certificate, *sarṭifikeṭ* n.
chair, chairman (adm.), *cher*, *chermen*
chamber, *chembar*
chapter, *chep·ṭar*
chemist, *kemīsṭ*
chief (tit.), *chīf*
cholera, *kolerā*
cinema, *sīnemā*
circular, *sar·kyular*
city (tit.), *sīṭī*
civil war, *sīvīl vor*
claim, *klem*
class, *kalās*, *klās*
cleaner, *klīnar*
clerk, *klārk*
coating, *koṭĩg*
collector, *kalekṭar*
college, *kolej*
commercial, *komar·sīyal*
commission, -er, *kamiśan*, *kamīśan* (comm. or adm.)
committee, *kamiṭī*, *kamiṭi*
company, *kāpanī*
compositor, *kampojhiṭar*
congress, *kon·gres*, *kongres*
constable, *konsṭebal*
contract, -or, *kāṭrākṭ*, *konṭrākṭar*, *konṭrākṭ*
council, *kāunśīl*
court (adm.), *koraṭ* f., *korṭ*
currency, *karāsī*
cycle (vehicle), *sāy·kal*
day, *ḍe* (Lālājī day)
December, *ḍīsembar*
declaration, *ḍeklereśan*
declare, *ḍīkler* (*ḍikler karyũ*, declared)
deposit, *dīpojhīṭ*, *dīpozīṭ*
depôt, *ḍepo*
deputation, *ḍepyuṭeśan* n.
design (pattern), *dijhāin*
detective, *ḍīṭekṭīv*
district (tit.), *ḍīstrīkṭ*
division (adm.), *ḍīvījhan*
doctor, *ḍākṭar*, *ḍokṭar*
double, *ḍabal*
dozen, *ḍajhan*, *ḍajan*
dress, *ḍareś* f.
duty (adm.), *ḍyuṭī*
earnest money, *arneṣṭ manī*
Edinboro, *eḍīn·baro*
editor, *eḍiṭar*
education, *ejukeśan*
electricity, *ilektrīksīṭī*
engineer, *enjīnīyar*
England, *ĩglāḍ*, *ĩglāḍ*
envelope, *pākīṭ*
estimate, *esṭimeṭ*
European, *yuropīyan*
excise (tit.), *eksāijh*
express train, *fāsṭ*
extension (of service), *ekṣṭen·san* n.
factory, *fekṭarī*
family, *femīlī*
fee, *fī*

film, *fīlm*
finish, *fīniś*
fire, *fāyar* (*brigeḍ*, *enjīn*)
first (tit.), *farsṭ* (*talāṭī* or village accountant)
flannel, *flālīn*
foot (meas.), *ghan·fuṭ*, cubic foot
foreman, *fārman*
fund, *fāḍ* n.
furlong, *farlāng*
general, *janaral* (*borḍ*)
George, *jārj*
German, *jar·man*
governor, *gavar·nar*
graduate, *grejyueṭ*
grant, *grāṭ*
guarantee, *gerātī*, *geranṭī*
hall, *hol*
hat, *heṭ*
head, *heḍ*
high, *hāi* (*skul*), *hāi* (*korṭ*)
hospital, *hospīṭal*, *hospīṭāl*, *ispitāl*
hostel, *hosṭel*
hysteria, *hīsṭrīyā*
increment, *inkrīmenṭ* n.
inspector, *inspekṭar*
January, *jānevārī*
jersey (garment), *gājī farāk* (guernsey frock)
judge (tit.), *jaḍaj*, *jas·ṭīs*, *jasṭīs*
Kitson light, *Kiṭsan lāiṭ*
lady (European), *maḍam sāheb*
lady doctor, *leḍī ḍākṭar*
Lahore, *lāhor*
league, *līg* (Muslīm league), *līg* (ditto)
Liberal (pol.), *līberal*
library, *lāy·brerī*, *lāyaberi*
lieutenant, *lījā lef·ṭenanṭ* (2nd lieut.)
limited (comm.), *līmīṭeḍ*
line (comm.), *lāin* f.
loaf, *ḍabal roṭi*
loan, *lon* f.
local (tit.), *lokal* (*borḍ*)
logs, *logs*
lottery, *loṭari*
machinery, *maśinarī*
Madagascar, *māḍāgāskar*
Madrid, *mādrīd*
magistrate, *mejīstreṭ*, *mājīsṭreṭ*
mail, *mel* f.
malaria, *melerīa*
manager, *menejar*
managing, *menejīg*
master, *māstar* (*posṭ mā.*) *māśtar* (diary, school)
meeting, *mīṭīg* f., *mīṭīg* f.
member, *membar*, *mēbar*
Messrs., Mr., Mrs., *mesars*, *mī*, *mīsīs*
midwife, *mīḍ·vāif*
mile, *māil*
mill, *mīl*.
minister, *minīsṭar*
minute, *mīnīṭ*
miss, *mīs*
mixture, *mikśchar* or *mik·schar* n.
motor-car, *moṭar* f.
mount (photo), *māunṭ*
municipal, *myunīsīpal*
nationalist, *neśanalīsṭ*
newspaper, *nyus* n., *pepar* n.
nominated, *nomineṭeḍ*
note (curr.), *noṭ* f.
notice, *noṭīs* f.
November, *novem·bar*, *navembar*
number, *nābar*
October, *akṭombar*
office, -r, *ofīs* f., *ofīsar*

operation (surg.), *opereśan* n.
order, *orḍar* n. (postal, point of, for goods)
overseer, *ovar·sīyar*
packet, *pākīṭ*
paper, *pepar* (newspaper, etc.)
paraffin oil, *ghās·tel* [*ghās·leṭ*]
parliament, *pārlāmēṭ*
pebble, *pebal* (glass for spectacles)
pension, *pen·śan* n.
peseta, *peseṭā*
pharmacy, *fārmāsī*, *fārmasī*, *formasī*
photo, *foṭo*
physician, *fījhīśīyan*
point of order, *poinṭ of orḍar*
police, *polīs*
policy, *polīsī*
post, postage, *posṭ*, *posṭej*, *posṭal*, *poṣṭej*
postage stamp, *ṭikīṭ* f., *poṣṭ ṭīkīṭ*
poster, *posṭar* n., *plekārḍ* n.
president, *presīḍanṭ*, *presīḍenṭ*
press, *pres*
price list, *prāīs·līsṭ* n., *prāis·līsṭ*
principal, *prĩnsīpāl*, *prinsīpāl*
proceedings, *prosīḍīg*
prospectus, *pros·pekṭas* n.
provincial, *provinśiyal*
public (noun), *pablīk*
quorum, *koram*
railway, *relve*
Rawalpindi, *rāvaḷ·pĩḍĩ*
regiment, *rejīmenṭ* [*palṭan*]
register, -ed, *rajīsṭar*, *rajīṣṭarḍ*, *rajīsṭarḍ*
report, *rīporṭ*
reserve, -ed, *rīzarv*, *rījhavarḍ*
restaurant, *hoṭal*, *hoṭel*
retire, *rīṭāyar*
rifle, *rāyfal*
road, *roḍ*
rug, *rag*
sale, *sel*
sanitary, *senīṭarī*
scheme, *skīm* f.
scholarship, *skolar·śīp*
school, -s, *skul*, *skuls*
scientific, *sāyanṭīfīk*
seal, -ing, -ed, *sīl*, *sīlĩg*, *sīlbādh*
second, *sekanḍ* (*henḍ*), *sekanḍ* (*talāṭī*)
secretary, *sekareṭarī*
section (of act), *kalam* (column)
security, *sīkyirīṭī*, *sīkyorīṭī*
serge, *sarj*
sergeant, *sārjāṭ*
session, -s, *seśan·korṭ*, *seśans jaḍaj*
size, *sāijh* f.
solicitor, *solīsīṭar*
special, specification, *speśīyal*, *speśīfīkeśan*
stall, *sṭol* (a stall for selling *khādi*)
standing, *sṭenḍĩg*
state, *sṭeṭ*
statement, *sṭeṭ·menṭ*
station, -ery, *sṭeśan*, *sṭeśanarī*
stores (shop), *sṭors* m.
stove, *sṭav*
supervisor, *supar·vāijhar*
superintendent, *suprī*.
surgeon, *sar·jan*
suspend, *sas·pēḍ*, *sāspeḍ* [also *sas·pen*, *sīsāpen*, which really means pencil]
Switzerland, *svīṭ·jhar·lēḍ*
table (adm.), *ṭebal*
tank, *ṭāḳī*
telephone, *ṭelīfon* n.
tender, *ṭenḍar* n.

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ticket (entry), *ṭikīṭ* f. (lottery)
tie-clip, *ṭāipīs*
time (leisure), *ṭāim* m.
timepiece, *ṭāim·pīs*
town, *ṭāun*
trained, *trenḍ*
transfer, *trāns·far*
treatment, *ṭrīṭ·menṭ*
trustee, *ṭrūsṭī*, pl. *ṭrūsṭīyo*
tube, *ṭyūb*
tweed, *ṭavīḍ*
typewriter, *ṭāip rāiṭar*
United Provinces, *yunāiṭeḍ provīnsīyal*
university, *yunīvarsiṭī*
up-to-date, *ap·ṭuḍeiṭ*
V.P., *vīpī*
vice-chancellor, *vāis·chānselar*
viceroy, *vāis·roy*
visitors' book, *vījhīṭ buk*
walk out, *vokāuṭ*
waterworks, *voṭar·varks*
works, *varkas*
wrist-watch, *rīsṭ·voch*, *rīsṭ·vāch*
writing, *rāiṭĩg*
year (tit.), *iyar* (second year teacher)
Zanzibar, *jāgabār*

Burmese Proverbs: A Supplement to Existing Collections

By Kin Maung Lat

IN the course of his work on the new Burmese-English Dictionary the writer of this article had access to certain manuscripts compiled by various members of the Northern Burma Mission who were stationed at Ava and other places in Upper Burma during the early nineteenth century. The manuscripts contain a collection of Burmese proverbs, which were rendered into French by an unknown missionary. The writer sought the assistance of Mrs. A. M. Blandford, 37 Havers Lane, Bishop's Stortford, in deciphering and translating the French equivalents or translations into English; and reference has been made to these in preparing the translation—which is as literal as possible—and the notes as to application, etc., here given. Many of the proverbs are unfamiliar in modern times, and the writer's views as to their application are put forward as suggestions only. No attempt has been made to reproduce in the translations the rhymes of the Burmese. The proverbs were compared with (1) those given in *Sagabon Hnittaung*, which was compiled by U Taing of the Hanthawaddy Press, Rangoon (3rd impression, 1911), and (2) those given at the end of Stevenson's edition of Judson's *Burmese-English Dictionary*. The following proverbs (which are arranged in alphabetical order) do not appear in either of these collections and seem not to have been published before.

The proverbs now published do not exhaust those contained in the missionary's MS. A considerable number, for which no French translations were given, still remains, and it is hoped to publish them at some future time.

Grateful acknowledgments are due to Mrs. A. M. Blandford for the kind assistance she has so willingly given and also to Dr. J. A. Stewart, Reader in Burmese, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, for criticisms and suggestions.

The phonetic script used is that devised for Burmese by Mr. J. R. Firth, of the School of Oriental and African Studies.

1. əcɛ əcɛ mə'nyeiŋ bwɛ.	Wider and wider it will never end.—"Least said, soonest mended."
2. əkhɔ θa'lwɛ, thə mə'nɛ hniŋ' ya gu'.	*Htamanè* and *Yāgu*—rice gruel—are exactly the same; the difference is only in name. "What's in a name? That which we call a rose By any other name would smell as sweet." *Shakespeare.*
3. əsa' kouŋ hmɑ cauʔ yiŋ,' əkhwɛʔ kouŋ dɛ.	He who hesitates to expend a grain, expends a potful.—"Penny wise, pound foolish."
4. ətiŋ' 'yɛ yiŋ ŋə'mwɛ pya phyiʔ tɛ.	Foolhardiness makes poor men beggars.—"Look before you leap."
5. ə'tha taʔ hma'ə'ci myauʔ tɛ; ə'θwa taʔ hma' khə'yi yauʔ tɛ.	Only if you know how to put in position is greatness attained (prob. = only if you know how to keep people in proper position do you attain greatness); only if you know how to go do you get far on your journey.
6. ə'na ci ywə', əlɛ nauʔ tɛ.	The water is clear at the edge but is muddy in the middle.—The country in general is quiet but the capital is in a state of disturbance.
7. ə'pa 'ni ðɔ, 'myi 'du məkhaŋ naiŋ.	When too near (the goad) the rump suffers.—"The fire which lights us at a distance will burn us when near."
8. əpɔ 'pya yi 'chwɛ, ə'thɛ θaŋ gauʔ 'swɛ.	Outwardly sweet as honey, inwardly fixed by an iron clamp.—"A honey tongue, a heart of gall."
9. ə'bo məθe, 'myi θe dɛ.	It is not the grandfather but it is the grandson who has died first.—Very often things occur contrary to expectations.

10. əmu ˋkauŋ yiŋ, ˋthi hniŋˈ si; myi məθiŋˈ ˋnya, li hniŋˈ ˋda.	If his actions are good, he may get an (official) umbrella and drum; if he makes a slip with his tongue, he may have the axe at his neck.
11. əˋmo biŋ ʃiˈ θɔ ˋli, əka məʃiˈ gaˈ lu məkho ne; ə ˋyo biŋ ʃiˈ θɔ ˋli, əya məʃiˈ gaˈ lu məyo ðe.	Though there be a roof, if there are no walls, people will not take shelter; though there may be lineage, if there is no office, people will not respect.
12. əhmɛˈ cwe cwe dɛ.	Drops like a fully ripe fruit.—Said often with reference to old people who die at a ripe old age.
13. əyiŋ ˋou ðo, əˋyu hniŋˈ tu dɛ.	He who is excessively refined, resembles a mad man.
14. əˋyiŋ ˋlɛ yiŋ əˋphya ˋthiŋ phyiʔ tɛ.	If the stem of a tree falls, the branches become firewood.
15. əˋyu yɛ ˋmo, shɛ ˋguŋ ˋpyɔ; hmaʔ ˋθa ʒəya tə ˋkhuŋ pa.	A fool may sometimes speak to the purpose.
16. əlo laiʔ, əmaiʔ so ˋgaˋdɛ.	Giving way to them makes bad men insolent.
17. əwuʔ məʃiˈ, ˋpo; əˋsa məʃiˈ, ˋmyo.	When he has no more clothes, he wears silks; when he has no more food, he eats his seed-grain.—A man in desperate circumstances may be driven to use his last reserves.
18. ouŋ ˋbouŋ pyɛʔ, chiʔ yɛʔ mə ˋsaŋ ða.	Though you may love a sly rogue, don't test his sincerity.
19. aʔ təya əchɛʔ ko, shauʔ təchɛʔ laiʔ hnaiŋ dɛ.	One cut with a chisel is worth a hundred pin-pricks.
20. eiŋ ˋni ˋjiŋ shwe ˋyiŋ mətaŋ, ˋhiŋ gwɛʔ shaŋ.	Though your neighbours may not be as intimate as relations, share your curry with them.
21. aiŋ mɛ ga ca mə pauʔ, eiŋ mɛ ga ɛˈ mə yauʔ.	No lilies will grow in a pool hardly worthy of the name nor will a house hardly worthy of the name attract visitors.
22. ˋa go lo ðo, əcho thə ˋmiŋ nauʔ.	The taking of sweets after meals is strength-giving.

23. ˋo ywɛˈ sə ˋlauŋ ywɛˈ hniŋˈ peiʔ.	Cover the mouth of a pot which is crooked with a lid which is also crooked.—We should meet cunning by cunning. "Put an old cat to an old rat."
24. ouʔ sa go lo ðɔ, pyiŋnya go ʃeˈ, ouʔ sa go nauʔ.	If you want to be wealthy, seek knowledge first and wealth afterwards.
25. ouʔ sa luŋ ðɔ, ma naˈ.	Pride is often a product of excessive wealth.
26. ˋɔʒa ˋlɛ ˋtouŋ ˋyo, auŋ jo ˋlɛ ˋmouŋ ˋyɔ.	Aung Gyaw (name of person) does not care for me because the season for custard apples is over.—Cupboard love.
27. kaʔ mɛˈ kaʔ, aʔ ko ˋu peˈ ˋthaŋ sho ðəlo.	Like two men making heavy weather of their task and carrying a needle on their shoulders.
28. kə leiŋ ʒiˈ sɛʔ shiŋ dɛ.	Make a wheel of a thorn seed.—"Make mountains out of molehills."
29. kəba ce ðɔ ˋlɛ, uˈ daŋ mə ce.	The world may be destroyed but this word will survive.—"The evil that men do lives after them."
30. kaŋ go youŋ loˈ, ˋshu bouŋ go məˋniŋ nɛˈ.	Don't tread upon a heap of thorns trusting your luck.—"Put your finger in the fire and say it was your fortune."
31. kaŋ ˋkauŋ hmaˈ, phə ˋlauŋ ˋpha phyiʔ tɛ.	Only with luck can a tadpole become a frog.
32. keiʔ saˈ laʔ laʔ ˋpyi ʒe daʔ; ˋa laʔ hmaˈ ða mə hu ya.	Don't put off your work till you have leisure; do it as soon as possible.—"Procrastination is the thief of time."
33. ku byɛʔ ko ˋlɛ mə ˋauŋ hniŋˈ; lu byɛʔ ko ˋlɛ mə ˋpauŋ hniŋˈ.	Don't take up your abode in a ruined cave; don't associate with a wicked man.
34. kɛˈ yɛˈ ðo khuŋ hnəyɛʔ; ˋchi ˋmuŋ ðɔ khuŋ hnə yɛʔ.	Praise or blame lasts only for seven days.—"Memory is short."

35. ko' ko ko thiŋ, kədiŋ ʃwe 'naŋ, thaiŋ me' 'saŋ, 'caŋ ga' mə ʃi'.	He thinks so highly of himself that a pallet-bed becomes a golden throne; when he tries to sit, there is no floor to it.
36. ko yeiʔ mə kwa, thɛʔ chaʔ pa. (ko hniŋ' mə kwa, ə yeiʔ pa.)	Just like the shadow following a person.
37. 'ca hniŋ' shiŋ əyiŋ twe' go cauʔ tɛ.	One is most afraid of the animal that one comes across first, whether it be a tiger or an elephant.—One is more concerned with immediate danger than danger which is not in sight.
38. ci do shaŋ 'sa ywe', byaʔ sə'ga 'pyɔ dɛ.	He eats rice obtained from the royal granary (i.e. inferior rice) but talks like one who eats *byat* rice.—This is said of one who speaks or behaves in a manner above his station in life.
39. 'owe ðu 'ga, 'sha hniŋ'; 'sa mɛ' ðu 'ga, 'ŋa hniŋ'.	The person who proposes to give a meal intends supplying salt as relish, while the person who will take the meal expects nothing less than fish curry.—Said of a greedy person who expects more than what the giver has in mind.
40. cɛʔ hniʔ kauŋ mi 'ðwe θouʔ ywe' taiʔ tɛ.	Setting two cocks to fight after smearing them with charcoal powder.—The implication is making two friends fight, having persuaded each that the other is his enemy.
41. caŋ θa əsiŋ cho dɛ; lu əsiŋ mə cho.	Only sugarcane is always sweet; man is not always so.—Shows the changability of temper in human beings.
42. ca ca ne ðɔ, əkhwe paʔ mi dɛ.	If it is long in one position, the coils (? as of a creeper) envelop, i.e. the longer the delay the more involved does the matter become.

43. cɔ' 'caŋ yiŋ, 'mouŋ daʔ tɛ; hɔ' 'yaŋ yiŋ'ʃouŋ daʔ tɛ.	Those who are impolite run the risk of being detested; those who are insolent run the risk of being defeated.
44. khəyu' tauŋ thiŋ, θəmiŋ jo 'ko dɛ.	The snail thinks itself as big as a mountain; the deer relies on his horns, i.e. each has too great self-confidence.
45. khəyu' bɛ səyo ga' 'chi yo leiŋ' me.	By what anus will the snail expel its excreta? — Apparently alludes to a person displaying excessive curiosity.
46. khaŋ 'o 'taŋ 'laŋ hniŋ', tɛʔ 'thaŋ 'la lo' 'me.	The pot for collecting the juice (of a toddy palm tree) is hung up on the tree, yet he inquires whether the tree is a tappable one.—Said of a person who asks foolish questions.
47. chiʔ 'θo θu go ouʔ sa mə shaŋ ya.	Don't have money transactions with the one you love.— "Neither a borrower, nor a lender be; For loan oft loses both itself and friend."—*Shakespeare.*
48. che 'le 'jauŋ θə 'na ðo, che hniʔ 'chauŋ piŋ 'baŋ dɛ.	He who spares four legs fatigues two legs, i.e. don't hesitate to use a beast of burden as such.
49. che ðɔ youʔ tɛ; 'hŋa ðo souʔ tɛ.	If you borrow (silver) the weight is short; if you borrow an article it is torn.—Avoid borrowing.
50. ŋə phɛ naŋ hniŋ' 'byauŋ byaŋ yaiʔ tɛ.	He beats paradoxically with the ribs of a freshwater herring.—(This fish is pounded before being cooked.) "It was for me, not you, to say that."
51. sə 'ga mo' sho dɛ 'pya mo' cho dɛ.	As words, one spoke them; being honey, it is sweet, i.e. I passed the thing off with a few pleasant remarks but I don't want them to be taken too literally.

52. sə 'ba bouŋ shaŋ bouŋ go ci' yiŋ, ŋwe bouŋ go myiŋ hnaiŋ i'; ŋwe bouŋ ga' ci' yiŋ, sə 'ba bouŋ shaŋ bouŋ go mə myiŋ hnaiŋ.	If you look at a heap of paddy or rice, you can see the heap of silver; if you look at a heap of silver you cannot see the heap of paddy or rice.—It is easy to convert produce to cash, but it needs skill, labour in cultivation, etc., to convert cash into produce.
53. 'sa ðɔ ətaŋ, 'pe ðɔ əluŋ.	When you eat, let it be in moderation; when you give, let it be in abundance.
54. seiʔ nyeiŋ hma' ko 'chaŋ θa dɛ.	When you have peace of mind, you have peace of body.
55. shəya go naiŋ lo yiŋ, wuʔ kaʔ.	If you want to win the affection of your teacher, serve him.
56. shiŋ che ya go thauʔ yiŋ, shiŋ bɛ lauʔ θi' ya' dɛ.	The size of an elephant could be made out by seeing the marks of its hoofs.
57. shiŋ 'deiŋ 'myiŋ 'deiŋ kə 'leiŋ kə lɛʔ; 'myiŋ 'gaŋ tə ywa, shiŋ 'gaŋ tə myo'.	Elephant-keepers and housekeepers are toughs; a blind horse can destroy a village, a blind elephant a town.—They are all the sort of creatures better left alone.
58. sheiʔ phaŋ 'mya yiŋ, ənа phyiʔ tɛ.	Frequent pinching causes a sore.
59. 'ʒi ʒi' go myo, səyo əyi' ʃa dɛ.	He puts his anus in danger of rupture by swallowing a plum-seed.
60. 'ʒi byu əlo go thauʔ yiŋ, 'ce ənauʔ θo' pyaŋ ya dɛ.	Judging by traces of gooseberries it can be surmised that the parrot has flown west.
61. sho 'gɛ ʒe, 'myɛ ʒe; sho lwɛ ðo (? ʒe), ti ʒe.	Be restrained in speech but let your words bind you; if you make a rash promise, fulfil it.
62. 'she ðə 'ma 'lɛ 'θa θe, be diŋ ðə 'ma 'lɛ 'nwa pyauʔ, shauʔ ðə 'ma 'lɛ ə 'thwiŋ mə 'kauŋ, 'sauŋ ðə 'ma 'lɛ	A doctor cannot sometimes save even his own son from death, so also a fortune teller's oxen are liable to be lost, a sculptor is

'tə məpyi, bəji ðə 'ma 'lɛ haŋ məya'.	liable to make false cuts with his chisel, a harp-player is liable to play badly, and a painter is liable to make wrong strokes with his brush.—"To err is human."
63. shwe θiʔ mə 'pauŋ giŋ shwe 'hauŋ go pyiʔ yiŋ 'hma daʔ tɛ.	One who abandons an old friend before getting a new one is liable to make a mistake.—"It is best to be off with the old love before you are on with the new." But the Burmese means that you may fall between two stools.
64. tə 'gaiŋ 'dɛ tɛʔ ywe', tə khɛʔ 'thɛ mə 'na bə ya' ʒe hniŋ'.	If we mount the same branch, may we not have to perch on the same twig.—If we are born together in the next existence, may we have nothing to do with each other.
65. tə kha kha byəma myɛʔ si' 'kaŋ leiŋ' mɛ.	Sometimes even a Brāhmā will go blind.—"Quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus."
66. tə kha 'kho tə kha mi' dɛ.	It is a case of a thief being caught at the first attempt.
67. tə ʒa' mə 'kauŋ yiŋ shɛ ʒa'.	If one piece is bad, ten others will be bad.—"One bad apple infects the rest." "Principiis obsta."
68. təshe lu 'pu 'khwe 'yu douʔ shauŋ.	A man possesses a ghost; a mad dog goes armed with a stick.—Absurdities.
69. tə nə' tə hmyiŋ, tə la' tə wiŋ, tə hniʔ tə khiŋ.	One thread a day, one spindleful a month, one skein a year.—"Many a little makes a mickle."
70. tə yauʔ 'çhaŋ ða ko bo' ʃa, θə dəwa ə 'pauŋ 'shiŋ 'yɛ 'jauŋ.	To make a single individual happy, all others have to suffer.
71. tə 'yauŋ ma' daŋ jauŋ', tə 'o daŋ laʔ tɛ.	On account of the ladle's fault, the potful was of no use.
72. tə 'ya pye hma' siʔ pye dɛ, sə 'ga ce hma' chiʔ che dɛ.	Wars end only when disputes end; one is loved only when quarrels stop.

73. tə 'ya lo ðɔ 'yɛ hla' ʒe, sə 'ga sho ðɔ 'myɛ hla' ʒe.	Have courage in contesting a case; be firm when you speak.
74. taʔ piŋ taʔ ðɔ 'lɛ, ə yaʔ hma mə ne yiŋ le daʔ tɛ.	He may be a clever man but if he does not settle down in a place he is liable to be of no account.
75. taʔ θi' pyiŋnya məne ða.	Show your skill when occasion demands.
76. taŋ yiŋ 'she, luŋ yiŋ 'be.	Enough is a medicine, too much is harmful.—"Enough is as good as a feast."
77. tha' 'θwa pyaŋ ci'.	On getting up from your seat, always look round before going away (to see that you don't leave anything behind).
78. 'thiŋ məʃi' yiŋ eiŋ go phyɛʔ, shaŋ məʃi' yiŋ 'θouŋ gwɛʔ chɛʔ.	If you have no firewood, dismantle the house; if you have no rice, cook three-quarters of a *pyi* (about a quart). ? δειλὴ δ' ἐνὶ πυθμένι φειδώ.
79. 'thouŋ ʃi' hma' hmaŋ dɛ, saŋ ʃi' hma' hmaʔ tɛ, ca myiŋ' hma' taʔ tɛ.	A ruling or precedent leads one to a right decision; a touchstone is necessary to test (the purity of) gold; long study is necessary to make one proficient.
80. 'du lauʔ tiŋ hma' yiŋ lauʔ ca' dɛ.	If you aim at *du* you will hit *yin* (taking '*du* as a corruption of *du*' in *du' yin*, a minaret).
81. 'dɔ ða' 'nyeiŋ ðɔ khaʔ 'θeiŋ naiŋ i'.	Absence of anger conquers everything.
82. nɛʔ yauŋ hniŋ' teiŋ dɛ, teiŋ yauŋ hniŋ' nɛʔ tɛ.	What seems deep is often shallow and what seems shallow is often deep.—Appearances are often deceptive.
83. naŋ nɛʔ 'mo ouŋ' ðɔ, ne' go ye 'bu 'ci 'ci shauŋ.	If it is cloudy in the morning, you'd better carry a big water-bottle during the day.
84. na baŋ 'mya ðɔ θe daʔ tɛ, ʃo baŋ 'mya ðɔ ce daʔ tɛ.	Frequent illness often leads to death just as frequent washing makes (a piece of cloth) get crumpled.

85. ne wiŋ hma' 'myiŋ 'thauʔ lo' yauʔ naiŋ ba' mə 'la. — How could one get to the destination if a pony is supplied only after sunset.—Refers to assistance which does not come in time.

86. nauʔ ca' yiŋ nauʔ 'chi hniŋ' θə 'lɛ. — Latecomers will get only cowdung and sand.—It is meant to encourage punctuality.

87. nə́ o myɛʔ nu' caiʔ tɛ. — Old oxen like tender grass.—It is often jocularly used in respect of old men marrying young wives.

88. 'nwa go chiʔ yiŋ məkwa 'cauŋ chaŋ 'θwiŋ, 'θa go chiʔ yiŋ shəya 'gauŋ thaŋ 'hniŋ. — If you love your cattle, graze them regularly and keep them in the cattle-pen; if you love your son, keep him under a good teacher.

89. 'nwa go naiŋ lo yiŋ nə 'pha 'gwiŋ. — If you want to have proper control over an ox, catch hold of its nose string.

90. 'nwa no' 'o ca' 'kwɛ 'hmaŋ θi' yiŋ, ʃwe dəgouŋ go yi 'ʒu ya' le yɛ'. — Had I known that the pot of milk would be broken I would have devoted it beforehand to the Shwedagon Pagoda.

91. 'nwa dəgauŋ ʃiŋ əpu wiŋ sho ðəlo. — It is just like a man owning only a single ox and having that ox afflicted with mulligrubs.

92. 'nwa tə phɛʔ 'kauŋ ðɔ 'lɛ, 'chauŋ go mə tɛʔ naiŋ. — A single ox, however good, will not do to bring (the cart) up the (steep) bank of the stream.

93. nə 'yu 'su 'do 'pyo dɛ. — He speaks like a mad ox pricked with a nail-tipped goad.—Speaks without thinking.

94. hnouʔ təya sa tə 'louŋ — One written word is as good as a hundred spoken words.

95. pyiŋnya 'ko 'ba go laiʔ 'sa ðo, shɛ 'ba douʔ kha' twe' lə ʨaŋ'. — If you practise in nine arts, you will undergo ten kinds of miseries.

96. pyiŋnya ʃi' go naiŋ lo ðo hneiŋ' cha', 'myiŋ go naiŋ lo ðo ʒɛʔ ko 'shwɛ, 'pwɛ go naiŋ lo ðo 'θaiŋ yaiʔ. — If you want to win over a learned man, humble yourself; if you want to be able to control a horse, tighten the rein; if you want to be able to control a *pwè*

(i.e. dramatic performance) display your proficiency at singlestick.

97. pyiʔ ˋsi pyiʔ yaŋ tauŋ lo maŋ, əcaŋ məʃɔˊ ˋa məyɔˊ. — Fortune goes on piling up. If one sticks to one's object one's momentum is not reduced.

98. piŋ ˋyiŋ dɛʔ əkhɛʔ əlɛʔ mə ˋɔi naiŋ. — A branch (of a tree) cannot be larger than the stem.—Used as a legal maxim; the interest can never amount to more than the principal.

99. ˋpe yiŋ ˋkauŋ dɛ, ˋtauŋ yiŋ ˋmouŋ dɛ. — He who gives passes for a good fellow; he who asks for a thing is often hated.

100. pyiŋ baŋ ˋmya ðɔ, phə ˋya ʃwe ku myauʔ hniŋˊ tu. — Frequent repairing makes the image of Buddha in the golden grotto resemble a monkey.—Too much of a thing is sometimes not good.

101. phya hmaˊ hlaˊ dɛ mə houʔ pa, ca hmaˊ yaˊ dɛ mə houʔ pa; mə phya ˋbɛ hniŋˊ biŋ hlaˊ badɛ, mə ca ˋbɛ hniŋˊ biŋ yaˊ ba dɛ. — Letting the hair fall in a fringe does not make one pretty, waiting does not always mean getting. There is beauty without fringes and you may get without waiting.

102. bəlaˊ maiʔ θə ˋla, ˋmo maiʔ θə ˋla. — Is it Bala (i.e. name of a person) who is wicked, or is it the rain which is wicked?—Blame the right person.

103. ˋbu ˋkauŋ hmaˊ siŋ khaŋ, liŋ ˋkauŋ hmaˊ saŋ yaˊ dɛ. — If the gourd-vine is good, a frame is put under it; if she gets a good husband, a maid comes by her own.

104. məcaiʔ yiŋ ˋkha, caiʔ hmaˊ biŋ ˋsa. — If you don't like it, it is bitter; if you like it, you eat it.

105. mə ˋkauŋ yiŋ ko gaˊ ˋθwe ðɔ hmaˊ, thouʔ ywe pyiʔ yaˊ je ˋðe dɛ. — Whatever is bad, even if it be one's own blood, will have to be expelled.

106. mə ˋsa ya ˋyiŋ ə ˋʃiŋ, sa yaˊ yiŋ shi də ˋmiŋ. — *Sīdamin* (i.e. cooked starch rice) or nothing at all.—The best or nothing.

107. mə ˋsa lo səyo, ˋsa lo yiŋ bəˋdouŋ beiʔ	If one does not want to eat one calls it the lowest part of an animal, but if one wants to eat, one says it is the best (lit. coping).
108. mə paiŋ ˋbɛ mə ˋyauŋ hniŋˈ, mə naiŋ ˋbɛ mə ˋmauŋ hniŋˈ.	Don't sell anything which is not your own; don't drive anything over which you have no control.
109. mə ˋya yaˈ (ʔ ne) ʒaˈ cauŋ θe hmaˈ.	In the early days of marriage, you should kill the cat.—Advises young husbands to display some violence in order to cow their wives.
110. məyaˈ ðɔ mə hlaˈ ˋbu sho dɛ.	If one does not win the affections of a lady one says she is ugly.—"Grapes are sour."
111. ˋmiŋ khaˈ ˋʒa yauʔ ˋca ˋkaŋ ˋna θiʔ piŋ.	A courtier is like a tree on the bank of a river.
112. ˋmiŋ ˋba ne ʒauʔ iˈ, thə ˋmiŋ ˋba mənə ʒauʔ.	One may wait upon a prince but one can't wait by a dish of rice.
113. ˋmiŋ ˋðouŋ ˋmiŋ ʒauŋ moˈ ða ˋsa yaˈ dɛ, ˋsi kaʔ kaʔ ˋpɛ.	One eats because the food is said to be a dish for royalty but the fact remains that it is sticky and unpalatable.
114. mə ˋji kouʔ ko ˋpyɔ, tauŋ ˋtɔ ˋna lɛ ba yɛˈ.	If you talk of tamarind and *kokko* (a kind of acacia) I am clever enough to understand that you mean the south jungle.
115. mə ˋji təhlɛˈ, ˋʒi təhlɛˈ.	Sometimes it is the tamarind's turn (to blossom and bear fruit) and sometimes it is the wild plum's turn.—"Turn about is fair play."
116. miˈ baˈ go naiŋ lo yiŋ, ciŋ na.	If you want to have influence over your parents, be kind to them.
117. ˋmi mə thɛˈ ˋbɛ caìʔ caiʔ shu, maˈ nɔ we ðu chɛʔ tɛˈ ˋhiŋ ˋo.	Boiling hard without any fuel, like Manaw Wethu's (prob. name of person) curry-pot. (Probably said of a man who is excited about nothing.)
118. ˋmi ˋmiŋ ye go əchiʔ mə ˋsaŋ ya.	Don't try and test what affection fire or an official or water has for you.

119. `mi mə lauŋ yiŋ, eiŋ `mo gauŋ hma thə `miŋ chɛʔ.	You can cook on the roof of the house provided you do not set the house on fire.—Do as you like provided you act sensibly.
120. mouŋ' `pe dɛ' `phouŋ `ji `caŋ taʔ tɛ.	The monk who gives eatables to one is often mentioned as a learned monk.
121. myiʔ mə myiŋ `bu, `mu go myiʔ thiŋ sho ðə lo·	It is a case of a person calling the Mu a river because he has never seen the river (i.e. the Irrawaddy).
122. `mo chouʔ yiŋ məeiʔ lwɛ hniŋ', ne kɛ auŋ me eiʔ taʔ hniŋ'.	Don't sleep as soon as night falls; don't sleep till the sun is high up in the heavens.
123. yauʔ `ca təguŋ lu yi chuŋ, `kauŋ giŋ əthuʔ cɛ go shuʔ, mə luʔ sə `daŋ ya' `myɛ `laŋ.	A man's glory is his genius; he can pluck a star from the zenith and never fail.
124. yauʔ `ca do' `phouŋ nya lɛʔ `you̯ŋ, `meiŋ ma' do' `phouŋ shə`douŋ.	Man's strength lies in his right arm while a woman's lies in her coil of hair.
125. yauŋ nauʔ shə`douŋ pa `myɛ `thouŋ.	The hair-coil is by custom behind the hair-knot.—The wife takes second place to husband.
126. `yu dɛ' lu `she ʃi' i', maiʔ tɛ' lu `she məʃi'.	A lunatic can be cured but a wicked man cannot.
127. ye `e `e θauʔ chiŋ yiŋ, `shauŋ kha go la gɛ'.	If you want to drink cold water, come during winter.—A hint that things must be asked for during the proper season.
128. ye `gu nya tiŋ.	Swim across a river by starting at a point higher up (so as to make allowance for the current).
129. ye bauʔ ca laʔ, `ciŋ phyiʔ taʔ i'	Continued dropping of water makes a hole in the ground.
130. ye məpyi' `ðɔ `o, bauŋ biŋ khaʔ tɛ.	Empty vessels make the greatest sound.
131. ye hma ə`shouŋ, `kouŋ hma tə wɛʔ.	The original owner of a thing cannot claim any share of it if it was lost in the water (i.e. sea, river, or lake), and was subsequently recovered; if, however, it was

lost on land and was subsequently recovered, he can claim a half share from the finder.—Burmese customary law.

132. ye luŋ hma', shɛ cha' dɛ. It is a case of a fisherman setting a screen (to catch fish) after the waters have receded.—"Take Time by the forelock."

133. ye ðiʔ mə 'lauŋ giŋ, ye 'hauŋ go θuŋ yiŋ ŋaʔ taʔ tɛ. He who throws away old water before getting new (i.e. fresh water) is liable to suffer from thirst.

134. ʃe' dwiŋ tə θwɛ, kwɛ ya tə 'cha. He does one thing in one's presence and another thing behind one's back.

135. 'ʃe kala' wi'bɛʔ, nɛʔ phyaŋ θəbɛʔ; gu' kala' wi'bɛʔ nya' naŋ nɛʔ. For past deeds retribution may come to-morrow or the day after, but for present deeds it may come to-night or to-morrow morning.

136. ʃwe baŋ sə 'ye ʃe' ne 'kauŋ dɛ sho, ŋa' 'kywɛ go 'kho 'ʒaŋ ba ʒe. You say that the clerk Shwe Pan is a good lawyer. Well, let him steal my buffalo (and then defend himself).

137. ʃwe liŋ 'baŋ 'kho ðo, pə 'sho chuʔ ya' myi 'lo. Must my *pasoe* (i.e. loincloth) be removed because I stole the gold tray.—The idea is that appropriate punishment should be awarded for a specific offence.

138. lə 'maiŋ 'mya ʒe, ci 'tha ʒe. Let there be many labourers, and keep many granaries.

139. la' yauŋ hniŋ' mye 'ʒoŋ. It is will-o'-the-wisp compared with moonlight.

140. lɛʔ khouʔ 'twiŋ ga' ye, θuŋ lo θuŋ, hmauʔ lo hmauʔ. I am just like water held in the palm of your hand, you can either pour it out gently or spill it outright by up-turning your hand.

141. liŋ θe ba bi sho, epyo 'la lo' 'me. It is like asking a woman whether she is a spinster when she has already said that her husband is dead.

142. 'loŋ la' go əpiŋ, shiŋ jiŋ θədi' lo hla' bi'.	Diligence is the stem but you still want prudence and heedfulness.
143. lu' sei? hniŋ' myau? sei? ətu du 'bɛ.	Man's mind is as changeable as a monkey's.
144. lu tə 'bɛ daŋ hniŋ', wɛ? 'θa 'ŋa 'mu 'bo wɛ 'sa dɛ.	A man who is worth an anna buys and eats eight annas' worth of pork.—"Cut your coat according to your cloth."
145. la yiŋ tauŋ 'louŋ, shou? yiŋ mouŋ 'nyiŋ.	When advancing, an enemy is like a mountain; when retreating, like a mustard seed.
146. hla' ʒe jiŋ lo', mɛ muŋ ou? hniŋ' pu? əthu? thu?.	To make herself beautiful Me Mun (name of person) rubs her face with a brick which puffs up the face.
147. hle ə'shiŋ, 'myiŋ ətɛ?.	One must be careful in getting down from a boat, so also in getting on to a horse's back.
148. hle gwɛ? ci' shaŋ yiŋ shaŋ myi ða, əlaŋ go mə 'hle 'bu.	Would rather take the boat upstream in an empty state than pull down the flag.—Pride of a formerly rich man.
149. wɛ? lo sə'jiŋ hlaŋ dɛ.	Like a pig upsetting the trough (after eating the contents).
150. 'wuŋ ga' məlwɛ, 'θa məmɛ.	He who is not born of one is not looked upon as a son.
151. 'wuŋ tə 'louŋ 'kauŋ, 'gauŋ təchɛ? mə 'khɛ 'bu.	When the digestive organs function well, one does not suffer from headache.
152. wɛ ʒaŋ tə ʒei?, yei? kha tə 'khwɛ.	When one has to buy rice one buys only ¼ bushel, but when one is entitled to rations one's requirements amount to ½ bushel.
153. 'wa ə 'si pyi ði' hnɛ.	It is like a sheaf of bamboos getting untied.
154. 'wa nə 'biŋ go ye 'θwiŋ θi' hnɛ.	Just like putting water into an unholed bamboo.—A futile effort.

155. we bu tauŋ yauʔ hma' phyiŋ', cauʔ 'mi 'ðwe mə kauʔ pa 'bu.	When one goes to Webu mountain (i.e. Mount Vepulla believed to abound in precious stones) it is not for one to collect coal.
156. khwe' daʔ tɛ' 'nwa go ʃauŋ, kaŋ daʔ tɛ' 'nwa hniŋ' 'nya.	In avoiding an ox which has the habit of goring people, one comes against another which kicks.—"Out of the frying-pan into the fire."
157. θədi' go lɛʔ ya, pyiŋnya go lɛʔ 'wɛ.	Heedfulness is (like) the right arm, while knowledge is (like) the left arm.
158. θəmiŋ o ko daiŋ mə tha', 'wuŋ məwa'.	An old stag will have to go hungry if he does not get up and find food for himself.—"The sleeping fox catches no poultry."
159. θɛʔ dana' go, 'miŋ ḥma' ðo ða 'pe naiŋ ya i'.	Only a king can remit a death sentence.—A legal maxim.
160. θiŋ 'byu hma θeiʔ, 'su hma eiʔ.	Though given a smooth mat to sleep on, he sleeps on a bed of thorns.
161. θiʔ ko ə 'phya, 'wa go ə 'yiŋ.	Start from the top when felling a tree, but begin at the bottom when cutting down bamboos.
162. θiʔ ko naiŋ lo yiŋ, nə 'pha.	If you want to have control over a log, have a drag-hole.
163. θiʔ kauʔ 'wa gauʔ ko myiŋ naiŋ i', lu gauʔ ko mə myiŋ naiŋ.	You can see a crooked post or bamboo but you can't see a crooked mind.
164. θiʔ 'seiŋ 'wa 'ʒeiŋ go eiŋ 'dwiŋ ðo' 'θwiŋ ya i', lu 'ʒeiŋ go eiŋ 'dwiŋ ðo' mə 'θwiŋ ya.	There is no objection to bringing green wood and bamboos into the house, but there is such objection to bringing "green" individuals, i.e. strangers.
165. θiʔ məthu, hŋɛʔ mə 'na.	Birds do not perch on a tree which has no thick branches.—A poor man cannot have many adherents.
166. θiʔ sa pyɛʔ ka', əθɛʔ hma' ða mə ʃe ya.	Those who break their word are generally short-lived.

167. ˋθɛ ˋnyi khaŋ, θaŋwe ya'.	He who bears patiently makes the other man repent eventually.
168. ðəda lo' ˋpe, θe ˋʒe ðo hma' a ʒauʔ cha'.	Should anything be given with willingness, swallow it, even though it may be poison.—"Never refuse a good offer."
169. θu ˋgaŋ che ˋθaŋ na.	It is a case of a blind man having his little toes sore.
170. θə ˋkho ˋkho ðɔ nauŋ ˋjwe ya' i', ˋmi lauŋ ðɔ nauŋ ˋjwe məya'.	We can hope for the punishment of a thief in the next existence but we cannot do the same in respect of fire.
171. θudə tə ˋya go ˋna lɛ i', tiji auŋ məciŋ'.	He knows what good conduct is but he does not act up to it.
172. θu' myo' ne, θu' ˋtaiŋ che.	If you live in a country, pay the dues of that country.—"When in Rome, do as Romans do."
173. θu' go yiŋ phyɛʔ, ŋa yiŋ pyɛʔ.	In trying to ruin others, one often ruins oneself first.
174. θi da myiʔ ˋci tauŋ thi' ˋshi ˋli, khə ˋyi siŋ ˋshaiʔ, liŋ' nauʔ laiʔ i'.	Neither rivers nor mountains can stop a woman from going after the man she loves.
175. θe ya ˋga shiŋ, yo̤ ya ˋga piŋ.	It was an elephant that died but he paid compensation as if it had been dirt (*Piŋ* taken as first syllable of Pāli *paŋsu* = dirt, dust).
176. θe ða θe dɛ, ŋa' dɛʔ mə ˋθɛ ˋbu.	It is true that he died but he was not more ill than I am. (? A refusal to admit superiority.)
177. θaiʔ sa phaʔ ya ˋna thauŋ ba, ouʔ sa ya' ˋno ˋno; ˋbeiŋ ˋdɔ phaʔ ya ˋna thauŋ ba, θu na pyauʔ ˋno ˋno.	It does not necessarily follow that because one listens to a *thaiksa* (i.e. mystical writing) being read, one will find hidden treasure, nor does it follow that because one listens to a medical treatise being read, one will be able to cure a patient.

178. 'hiŋ 'kauŋ yiŋ sə 'lauŋ hniŋ' biŋ thɛ' thɛ'. — If the curry be good it does not matter even if it be served in the lid of the cooking pot.

179. haŋ ko bo', maŋ θu' bo'. — Assume a dignified appearance and leave the display of pride to others.

180. 'hauŋ 'ðo 'o ga', 'hiŋ 'gauŋ thwɛʔ tɛ. — An old cooking pot can produce good curry.

1. အကျယ်အကျယ်မငြိမ်းဘွယ်။ 2. အခေါ်သာလွဲ။ထမ (မင်း) နဲ့နှင့်ယာဂု။ 3. အစကုန်မှာကြောက်လျှင်။အခွက်ကုန်သည်။ 4. အတင့်ရဲလျှင်။ငွေပြောဖြစ်သည်။ 5. အထားတတ်မှအကြီးမြောက်သည်။အသွားတတ်မှခရီးရောက်သည်။ 6. အနားကြည်၍အလယ်နောက်သည်။ 7. အပါးနီးသော်။မြီးထူးမခံနိုင်။ 8. အပေါ်ပျားရည်ခွဲ။အထဲသံကောက်စွဲ။ 9. အဘိုးမသေ။မြေးသေသည်။ 10. အမှုကောင်းလျှင်၊ထီးနှင့်စည်။မည် (မြည်) မသင့်ငြား၊လည်နှင့်ထား။ 11. အမိုးပင်ရှိသော်လည်း၊အကာမရှိကလူမခိုနေ။ အရိုးပင်ရှိသော်လည်း၊ အရာမရှိကလူမရိုသေ။ 12. အမှည့်ကြွေကြွေသည်။ 13. အယည်ကြူးသော်၊အရူးနှင့်တူသည်။ 14. အရင်းလဲလျှင်၊အဖျားထင်းဖြစ်သည်။ 15. အရူးရယ်မော၊ဆယ်ခွန်းပြော၊မှတ်သားစရာ၊တခွန်းပါသည်။ 16. အလိုလိုက်၊အမိုက်စေ်ကားသည်။ 17. အဝတ်မရှိပိုး။အစားမရှိမျိုး။ 18. အုံ့မှုန်း (အုံ့ပုံ့) ပျက်၊ချစ်လျှက်မစမ်းသာ။ 19. အပ်တရာအချက်ကို။ဆောက်တချက်လိုက်နှိုင်သည်။ 20. အိမ်နီးခြင်း၊ဆွေရင်းမတ်၊ဟင်းခွက်ဆံ။ 21. အိုင်မယ်ခါကြာမပေါက်။အိမ်မယ်ခါ‌ဧည့်မရောက်။ 22. အားကိုလိုသော်၊ အချိုထမင်းနောက်။ 23. အိုးခွဲ့ကို၊စလောင်းခွဲ့နှင့်ပိတ်ရသည်။ 24. ဥစ္စာကိုလိုသော်၊ပညာကိုရှေ့၊ဥစ္စာကိုနောက်။ 25. ဥစ္စာလွန်သော်၊မာန။ 26. သြဇာလည်းတုံးရော၊အောင်ကျော်လည်းမုန်းရော ။ 27. ကပ်မယ်ကပ် ၊ အပ်ကိုဦးပဲ့ထမ်းဆိုသလို ။ 28. ကလိန်စွေစက်ဆင်သည်။ 29. ကမ္ဘာကျေသော်လည်း။ ဥဒါန်းမကျေ။ 30. ကံကိုယုံလို့၊ဆူးပုံကိုမနင်းနှင့်။ 31. ကံကောင်းမှ၊ဖ (ဘါး) လောင်းဖါး (ဘါး) ဖြစ်သည်။ 32. ကိစ္စလတ်လတ်ပြီးစေတတ်။အားလပ်မှသာမဟူရာ။ 33. ကူပျက်ကိုလည်းမအော်ငင်နှင့်။လူပျက်ကိုလည်းမပေါင်းနှင့်။ 34. ကွဲ့ရှဲသော်ခုနစ်ရက်။ချီးမွမ်းသော်ခုနစ်ရက်။ 35. ကိုယ့်ကိုယ်ကိုယ်ထင်၊ကုတင်ရှေ့နန်း၊ထိုင်မည်စမ်း၊ကြမ်းကမ္ဘီ။ 36. ကိုယ်ရိပ်မကွာ၊ထက်ချပ်ပါ (ကိုယ်နှင့်မကွာ၊အရိပ်ပါ။) 37. ကျားနှင့်ဆင်၊အရင်ဘွေ့ကိုကြောက်သည်။ 38. ကျီတော်ဆန်စားခ်ိ်ုး၊ဗျတ်စကားပြောသည်။ 39. ကျွေးသူကားဆားနှင့်။စားမည့်သူကားငါးနှင့်။ 40. ကြက်နှစ်ကောင်မီးသွေးသုတ်ခ်ိ်ုတိုက်

သည်။ 41. ကြံ်သာ့အစဉ်ချိ$^{\text{ု}}$သည်။လူအစဉ်မချို$^{\text{ု}}$။ 42. ကြာကြာနေသော်၊အခွေ
ပတ်မိသည်။ 43. ကြော့ကြမ်းလျှင်မုန်းတတ်သည်။ ဟော့ရမ်းလျှင်ရှုံးတတ်သည်။
44. ခရုတောင်ထင်။ သမင်ချို$^{\text{ု}}$ကိုးသည်။ 45. ခရုဘယ်စယိုက။ ချေးယိုလိမ့်မယ်။
46. ခံအိုးတန်းလန်းနှင့်၊တက်ထန်းလားလို$^{\text{ု}}$မေး။ 47. ချစ်သောသူကို၊ဥစ္စာမဆံရာ။
48. ခြေလေးချောင်းသနားသော်၊ခြေနှစ်ချောင်းပင်ပန်းသည်။ 49. ချေးသော်ယုတ်
သည်။ဌ$^{\text{ု}}$ားသော်စုတ်သည်။ 50. ငါးဖယ်နံ့နှင့်၊ပြောင်းပြန်ရိုက်သည်။ 51. စကား
မို့ဆိုသည်။ဟုားမို့ချို$^{\text{ု}}$သည်။ 52. စပါးပုံ၊ဆန်ပုံကိုကြည့်လျှင်၊ငွေပုံကိုမြင်နှင်ဏ်။ငွေပုံ
ကကြည့်လျှင်၊စပါးပုံ၊ဆန်ပုံကိုမမြင်နှင်။ 53. စားသော်အတန်။ ပေးသော်အလွန်။
54. စိတ်ငြိမ်မှ၊ကိုယ်ချမ်းသာသည်။ 55. ဆရာကိုနိုင်လိုလျှင်၊ဝဋ်ကပ်။ 56. ဆင်
ခြေရာကိုထောက်လျှင်။ ဆင်ဘယ်လောက်သိရသည်။ 57. ဆင်ထိန်းမြင်းထိန်း။
ကလိန်းကလက်။မြင်းကန်းတရွာ။ဆင်ကန်းတမြို$^{\text{ု}}$။ 58. ဆိတ်ဘန်များလျှင်၊အနာဖြစ်
သည်။ 59. ဆီးစေ့ကိုမျို$^{\text{ု}}$။စယိုအရိုရှာသည်။ 60. ဆီးဖြူအလိုကိုထောက်လျှင်။
ကျေးအနောက်သို$^{\text{ု}}$ပို$^{\text{ု}}$ရာသည်။ 61. ဆိုခဲစေ၊မြှိုစေ။ဆိုလွယ်စေ၊တယ် (? တည်) စေ။
62. ဆေးသွားလည်းသားသေ။ ဗေဒင်သွားလည်းနွားပျောက်။ ဆောက်သွားလည်း
အထွင်းမကောင်း။စောင်းသွားလည်းတေးမပြီ။ပန်းချီသွားလည်းဟန်မရ။ 63. ဆွေ
သစ်မပေါင်းခင်။ ဆွေဟောင်းကိုပစ်လျှင်မှားတတ်သည်။ 64. တကိုင်းထဲတက်ရ$^{\text{ု}}$
တခက်ထဲမနားပါရစေနှင့်။ 65. တခါခါ၊ပြဟ္ဓာမျက်စေ့ကန်းလိမ့်မည်။ 66. တခါခိုး
တခါမိသည်။ 67. တစမကောင်းလျှင်၊ဆယ်စ။ 68. တရွှေ့လူပူး။ ခွေးရူးတုတ်
ဆောင်။ 69. တနေ့တမြှင်၊တလတဝင်၊တနှစ်တခင်။ 70. တယောက်ချမ်းသာ
ကိုယ်ဘို$^{\text{ု}}$ရှာ။သတ္တဝါအပေါင်းဆင်းရဲကြောင်း။ 71. တယောက်မဒါ$^{\text{ု}}$ကြောင့်၊တအိုး
တန်လပ်သည်။ 72. တရားပြေမှ၊စစ်ပြေသည်။စကားကျေမှ၊ချစ်ခြေသည်။ 73. တရား
လိုသော်၊ရဲလှစေ။စကားဆိုသော်၊မြိုလှစေ။ 74. တတ်ပင်တတ်သော်လည်း။အရပ်
မှာမနေလျှင်၊လေတတ်သည်။ 75. တတ်သည့်ပညာ၊မနေသာ။ 76. တန်လျှင်
ဆေး၊လွန်လျှင်ဘေး။ 77. ထသွား၊ပြန်ကြည့်။ 78. ထင်းမရှိလျှင်၊အိမ်ကိုဗျက်။
ဆန်မရှိလျှင်၊သုံးခွက်ချက်။ 79. ထုံးရှိ$^{\text{ု}}$မှမှန်သည်။စံရှိ$^{\text{ု}}$မှမှတ်သည်။ကြာမြင့်မှတတ်သည်။
80. ဒူးလောက်တင်မှ၊ရင်လောက်ကျသည်။ 81. ဒေါသငြိမ်းသော်၊ခပ်သိမ်းနိုင်ဏ်။
82. နက်ယောင်နှင့်တိမ်သည်။တိမ်ယောင်နှင့်နက်သည်။ 83. နံနက်မိုးသ$^{\text{ု}}$ားအို$^{\text{ု}}$သော်၊
နေ့ကိုရောဘူးကြီးကြီးဆောင်။ 84. နာဘန်များသော်သေတတ်သည်။လျှော်ဘန်များ
သော်ကြေတတ်သည်။ 85. နေဝင်မှမြင်းထောက်လို$^{\text{ု}}$၊ ရောက်နိုင်ပါ$^{\text{ု}}$မလား။
86. နောက်ကျလျှင်၊နောက်ချေးနှင့်သလဲ။ 87. နွားအို$^{\text{ု}}$၊မျက်နှာကြို$^{\text{ု}}$ကသည်။ 88. နွား
ကိုချစ်လျှင်မကွာကျောင်း၊ခြံသွင်း။သားကိုချစ်လျှင်ဆရာကောင်းထံနှင်း။ 89. နွား
ကိုနိုင်လိုလျှင်၊နဖူးကွင်း။ 90. နွားနို$^{\text{ု}}$အိုးကျကွဲမှန်းသိလျှင်။ရွှေတဂုံကိုရည်စူးရလေ$^{\text{ု}}$။
91. နွားတကောင်ရှင်၊ အပူဝင်ဆိုသလို$^{\text{ု}}$။ 92. နွားတဘက်ကောင်းသော်လည်း၊

ချောင်းကိုမတက်နိုင်။ 93. နွားရှူးစူးထိုးပြောသည်။ 94. နှုတ်တရာ၊စာတလုံး။ 95. ပညာ—ဇ—ပါးကိုလိုက်စားသော်၊ဆယ်ပါးဒုက္ခတွေ့လတ္တံ့။ 96. ပညာရှိကိုနိုင်လိုသော်၊နှမ့်ချ။မြင်းကိုနိုင်လိုသော်၊ဇက်ကိုဆွဲ။ဖွဲ့ကိုနိုင်လိုသော်၊သိုင်းရှိက်။ 97. ဟစ္စည်းပြစ်ရံ၊တောင်လိုမံ၊အကြံမလျှော့၊အားမလျော့။ 98. ပင်ရင်းထက်၊အခက်အလက်မကြီးနိုင်။ 99. ပေးလျှင်ကောင်းသည်။တောင်းလျှင်မုန်းသည်။ 100. ပြင်ဘန်မျှားသော်၊ဘုရားရှေ့ကူမျှောက်နှင့်တူ။ 101. ဗျာမှလှသည်မဟုတ်ပါ။ကြာမှရသည်မဟုတ်ပါ။မဗျာဘဲနှင့်ပင်လှပါသည်။မကြာဘဲနှင့်ပင်ရပါသည်။ 102. ဗလမိုက်သလား။မိုဃ်းမိုက်သလား။ 103. မှားကောင်းမှစင်ခံ၊လင်ကောင်းမှစ်ရသည်။ 104. မကြိုက်လျှင်ခါ။ကြိုက်မှပင်စာ။ 105. မကောင်းလျှင်ကိုယ်ကသွေးသော်မှ၊ထုတ်၍ပစ်ရခြေသေးသည်။ 106. မစားရလျှင်အလျှင်း။စားရလျှင်ဆီထမင်း။ 107. မစားလိုစယို ။ စားလိုလျှင်၊ပိတုန်းပိတ် ။ 108. မပိုင်ဘဲမရောင်းနှင့် ။ မနိုင်ဘဲမမောင်းနှင့် ။ 109. မယားရ(နေ)စ။ကြောင်သေမှ။ 110. မရသော်၊မလှဘူးဆိုသည်။ 111. မင်းခစားယောက်ျား၊ကမ်းနားသစ်ပင်။ 112. မင်းပါးနေစောက်၏။ထမင်းပါးမှာမနေစောက်။ 113. မင်းသုံးမင်းဆောင်မို့သာစားရသည်။စေးကပ်ကပ်ပဲ။ 114. မန်ကျည်းကုက္ကို၊ပြော၊တောင်တောနားလည်ပါ့။ 115. မန်ကျည်းတလှည့်။ဆီးတလှည့်။ 116. မိဘကိုနိုင်လိုလျှင်၊ကျင်နာ။ 117. မီးမထည့်ဘဲကျိုက်ကျိုက်ဆူ။မနော်ဝေသူချက်သည့်ဟင်းအိုး။ 118. မီး၊မင်း၊ရေကိုအချစ်မစမ်းရာ။ 119. မီးမလောင်လျှင်။အိမ်မိုးခေါင်မှာ၊ ထမင်းချက် ။ 120. မုံ့ပေးသည့်ဘုန်းကြီး ။ ကျမ်းတတ်သည် ။ 121. မြစ်မမြင်ဘူး၊မှားကိုမြစ်ထင်ဆိုသလို။ 122. မိုစ်းချုပ်လျှင်မအိပ်လွယ်နှင့်။နေကယ်အောင်မအိပ်တတ်နှင့်။ 123. ယောက်ျားတံခွန်၊ လူရည်ချွန်၊ ကောင်းကင်အထွဋ်၊ကြယ်ကိုဆွတ်၊မလွတ်စတမ်း၊ရမြဲလမ်း။ 124. ယောက်ျားတို့ဘုန်းညာလက်ရုံး။မိမ္ဘတ္ဘုဘုန်းဆံထုံး။ 125. ယောင်နောက်ဆံထုံး၊ပါမြဲထုံး။ 126. ရှူးသည့်လူဆေးရှိ၏။မိုက်သည့်လူဆေးမရှိ။ 127. ရေအေးအေးသောက်ခြင်လျှင်၊ဆောင်းခါကိုလာခဲ့။ 128. ရေကူးညာတင်။ 129. ရေပေါက်ကြာလတ်။ကျင်းဖြစ်တတ်၏။ 130. ရေမပြည့်သောအိုး။ပေါင်ပင် (ဘောင်ပင်) ခတ်သည်။ 131. ရေမှာအဆုံး။ကုန်းမှာတဝက်။ 132. ရေလွန်မှ၊ဆယ်ချသည်။ 133. ရေသစ်မလောင်းခင်၊ရေဟောင်းကိုသွန်လျှင်၊ ငတ်တတ်သည်။ 134. ရွှေတွင်တသွယ်။ ကွယ်ရာတခြား။ 135. ရှေးကာလဝိဘက်နက်ဖြန်သန်ဘက်။ယ္ဘုကာလဝိဘက်၊ညနံနက်။ 136. ရွှေပန်စာရေးရွှေနေကောင်းသည်ဆို။ငါ့ကျွဲကိုခိုးစမ်းပါစေ။ 137. ရွှေလင်ပန်းခိုးသော်၊ပုဆိုးချွတ်ရမည်လော။ 138. လမိုင်းမှားစေ၊ကျီထားစေ။ 139. လရောင်နှင့်မြေစုံ။ 140. လက်ခုပ်တွင်းကရေ၊သွန်လိုသွန်၊မှောက်လိုမှောက်။ 141. လင်သေပါပြီဆို၊ အယ္ယီလားလို့မေး။ 142. လုလ္လကိုအပင်၊ ဆင်ခြင်သတိလိုလှဘိ။ 143. လူ့စိတ်နှင့်မျှောက်စိတ်အတူတူဖြစ်သည်။ 144. လူတပဲတန်နှင့်။ဝက်သားငါး

မူးဘိုးဝယ်စားသည်။ 145. လာလျှင်တောင်လုံး။ဆုပ်လျှင်မုံညင်း။ 146. လှစေ
ခြင်လှိုမယ်မွန်အုတ်နှင့်ပွတ်၊ အထွတ်ထွတ်။ 147. လှေအဆင်း။ မြင်းအတက်။
148. လှေကွက် (ခွက်) ချည်းဆန်လျှင်ဆန်မည်သာ။အလံကိုမလှဲဘူး။ 149. ဝက်
လိုစားကျင်းလှန်သည်။ 150. ဝမ်းကမလွယ်။သားမမည်။ 151. ဝမ်းတလုံးကောင်း၊
ခေါင်းတချက်မခဲဘူး။ 152. ဝယ်ဆန်တစိတ်။ရိက္ခာတခွဲ။ 153. ဝါးအစည်းပြယ်
သည့်နှယ်။ 154. ဝါးနားပင်းကိုရေသွင်းသည့်နှယ်။ 155. ဝေဘူတောင်ရောက်
မှဖြင့်၊ကျောက်မီးသွေးမကောက်ပါဘူး။ 156. ဂွေတတ်သည့်နွားကိုရှောင်။ကန်တတ်
သည့်နွားနှင့်ငြိး။ 157. သတိကိုလက်ျာ၊ပညာကိုလက်ဝဲ။ 158. သမင်အို၊ကိုယ်
တိုင်မထ၊ဝမ်းမဝ။ 159. သက်ဒါနကို၊မင်းမှသော်သာ၊ပေးနှိုင်ရာ၏။ 160. သင်
ဖြူးမှာသိပ်။ဆူးမှာအိပ်။ 161. သစ်ကိုအဖြား။ဝါးကိုအရင်း။ 162. သစ်ကိုနိုင်လို
လျှင်၊နဖား။ 163. သစ်ကောက်၊ဝါးကောက်ကိုမြင်နိုင်၏။လူကောက်ကိုမမြင်နိုင်။
164. သစ်စိမ်းဝါးစိမ်းကိုအိမ်တွင်းသို့သွင်းရာ၏။လူစိမ်းကိုမသွင်းရာ။ 165. သစ်
မထူ။ငှက်မနား။ 166. သစ္စာပျက်က၊အသက်မျှသာ၊မရှည်ရာ။ 167. သည်းညည်း
ခံ၊သံဝေရ။ 168. သဒ္ဓါ၍ပေး၊သေဆေးသော်မှ၊အာစောက်ချ။ 169. သူကန်း၊
ခြေသန်းနာ။ 170. သူခိုးခိုးသော်၊နောင်ကျွေးရ၏။မီးလောင်သော်၊နောင်ကျွေးမရ။
171. သူတော်တရားကိုနားလည်၏။တည်ကြည်အောင်မကျင့်။ 172. သူ့မြို့နေ၊
သူ့တိုင်းခြေ (ချေ)။ 173. သူ့ကိုရင်ဖျက်၊ငါရင်ပျက်။ 174. သီတာမြစ်ကြီး၊
တောင်ထိဆီးလည်း၊ ခရီးစဉ်ဆိုက်။ လင်နောက်လိုက်၏။ 175. သေရာကားဆင်၊
လျော်ရာကားပင်။ 176. သေသာသေသည်၊ငါ့ထက်မသည်းဘူး။ 177. သိုက်စာ
ဘတ်ရာ၊ နားထောင်ပါ၊ ဥစ္စာရနိုးနိုး။ ဗိန္ဓောဘတ်ရာနားထောင်ပါ၊ သူနာပျောက်နိုးနိုး။
178. ဟင်းကောင်းလျှင်၊စလောင်းနှင့်ပင်ထည့်ထည့်။ 179. ဟန်ကိုယ်ဘို့၊မာန်သူ့ဘို့။
180. ဟောင်းသောအိုးက၊ဟင်းကောင်းထွက်သည်။

Note.—In checking on behalf of the author, who is now in Burma, the final proof of his article, it occurred to me that some explanation of the employment of brackets in the Burmese text might be required. Generally speaking, bracketed insertions are intended to assist the reader by giving the full forms of words appearing in contracted form in the original, or by correcting such mis-spellings as might prove puzzling. In two cases—Nos. 36 and 109—brackets enclose a word or words giving a variant of the proverb, known to the author, which he thought preferable, or, at least, worthy of record.

J. A. S.

A Chinese Vocabulary of Cham Words and Phrases

Transcribed, translated, and edited by E. D. EDWARDS and C. O. BLAGDEN

THIS list of words and phrases is part of the same volume which contains the Chinese-Malay vocabulary published in Vol. VI, Part 3, of the *Bulletin*, and is arranged on a similar plan. It has, however, offered greater difficulties than its predecessor owing to the fact that, as compared with Malay, Cham is an unfamiliar language; and though Aymonier and Cabaton's *Dictionnaire Čam-Français* (published at Paris by Ernest Leroux in 1906) is a first-class piece of work, it does not seem to solve all the problems involved in this vocabulary.

The Cham language is spoken by a dwindling population in Southern Annam and a larger group in French Cochin-China, Camboja, and Siam. The latter group is now completely Muslim, the former contains a minority of Muslims and about twice as many adherents of a species of Hinduism. Sanskrit and Arabic loan-words are therefore fairly numerous in the dictionary, though few will be found in this vocabulary. Apart from such obviously foreign elements, the Cham language is a curious blend of Indonesian and Mon-Khmer; and scholars still differ as to which of these two is the fundamental and original factor. The difficulty is increased by the circumstance that the morphology of these two families of speech is very similar, both using prefixes and infixes which in some cases are practically identical. This, however, is not a matter that need be discussed here. So far as the vocabulary of Cham is concerned, it is certainly noticeable that a large number of everyday words, such as the names of the parts of the body and of many common objects, are Indonesian, and the same is true of the numerals (up to and including a thousand). At any rate, the amalgamation of Indonesian and Mon-Khmer elements in the Cham language seems to be of very ancient date and in more recent times further loanwords have evidently been taken over from Khmer in the region where the two languages are in contact.

The Cham alphabet is of Indian origin, with a few additions, and the Cham words are given here in the romanized spelling of the above-mentioned dictionary, in the introduction of which the pronunciation

is explained. (I am informed, however, by M. Cabaton that the *v* is really pronounced like the English *w*.) For the rest it is only necessary to state here that *ḍ* and *ḃ* are unvoiced and *p̣* is merely a variant for *p*; the diphthongs *ai* and *au* in closed syllables are pronounced ɛ and ɔ respectively, and *ō* stands for ø and *o'* for œ in the International Phonetic Alphabet; *i̯* is another way of writing *y* (with the usual English consonantal value) when preceded by another consonant, and *u̯ai* represents *ui* (but as a rule *u̯* is the English *w*).

The Chinese words have been romanized with their Pekinese sounds in the spelling of Giles's dictionary, as was done in the case of the above-mentioned "Chinese Vocabulary of Malacca Malay Words and Phrases".

A few words of Archaic Cham from old inscriptions and word lists in the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient* have been given in the notes, as in some cases the words in the vocabulary approximate more to the older forms than to the modern ones registered in the dictionary.

占城國譯語

CHAM VOCABULARY

Part I

天文門 *Astronomy*

		Meaning.	*Sound Equivalent.*		*Cham.*
1	天	sky, heaven	喇儀	la i	laṅik
2	雲	cloud	夜阿因	yeh ah yin	aiḥ aṅin*
3	雷	thunder	浪	lang	graṃ*
4	雨	rain	胡沾	hu chan	hujan*
5	日	sun	仰胡銳	yang hu jui	yaṅ hurěi*
6	月	moon	仰不藍	yang pu lan	yaṅ bulan*
7	星	star	不度	pu tu	butuk
8	霜	frost	沾	chan	[not recorded]
9	風	wind	阿因	ah yin	aṅin*
10	雪	snow	八胡沾	pa hu chan	— hujan*
11	露	dew	者藍	chê lan	jalladhar*
12	電	lightning	者革喇	chê ko la	čakalā
13	煙	mist, vapour	賒喇	shê la	—
14	氷	ice	八牙	pa ya	— jā*
15	雹	hail	卜	pu	[not recorded]*

		Meaning.	*Sound Equivalent.*		*Cham.*
16	天陰	the day is dull	喇儀的儀	la i ti i	laṅik lir*
17	天晴	the day is fine	空	k'ung	khauṅ*
18	逆天	disobey Heaven, in defiance of Nature	茶喇儀	ch'a la i	jha laṅik*
19	天理	moral principles, divine justice	喇儀線	la i hsien	laṅik siyo'ṅ*
20	天晚	the day grows late	喇儀答來	la i ta lai	laṅik —*
21	青天	blue sky	衣陳喇儀	i ch'ên la i	laṅik hijau*
22	黃天	yellowish sky (dust haze)	姑尼喇儀	ku ni la i	laṅik kuñik*
23	青雲	dark clouds, overcast	衣陳夜阿因	i ch'ên yeh ah yin	aiḥ aṅin hijau*
24	白雲	white clouds	不的夜阿因	pu ti yeh ah yin	aiḥ aṅin putiḥ*
25	黃雲	yellowish clouds	姑尼夜阿因	ku ni yeh ah yin	aiḥ aṅin kuñik*
26	紅雲	reddish clouds	線夜阿因	hsien yeh ah yin	aiḥ aṅin —*
27	黑雲	black clouds	黑夜阿因	hei yeh ah yin	aiḥ aṅin —*
28	雲綵	clouds	夜阿因	yeh ah yin	aiḥ aṅin*
29	雲間	among the clouds	夜阿因鬧	yeh ah yin nao	aiḥ aṅin nau*
30	雲遮	cloud canopy	夜阿因者	yeh ah yin chê	aiḥ aṅin čaṅ*
31	日出	the sun comes out	仰胡銳鬧	yang hu jui nao	yaṅ hurěi nau*
32	日落	sunset	仰胡銳答來	yang hu jui ta lai	yaṅ hurěi —*
33	日長	the days are long	仰胡銳襖	yang hu jui ao	yaṅ hurěi —*
34	日短	the days are short	仰胡銳乜	yang hu jui nieh	yaṅ hurěi nak*
35	日中	midday, noon	仰胡銳五	yang hu jui wu	viḥ hurěi*
36	日煖	the sun (day) is warm	仰胡銳八答	yang hu jui pa ta	yaṅ hurěi padjak*
37	日影	shadows thrown by the sun	仰胡銳八	yang hu jui pa	—*
38	日冷	the days are cold	仰胡銳勒恩	yang hu jui lô ên	yaṅ hurěi laan*
39	月出	moon rises	仰不藍鬧	yang pu lan nao	yaṅ bulan nau*
40	月落	the moon sets	仰不藍答來	yang pu lan ta lai	yaṅ bulan —*
41	月明	moonlight	仰不藍	yang pu lan	yaṅ bulan
42	月黑	moon dark, i.e. moonless	仰不藍黑	yang pu lan hei	yaṅ bulan —*
43	星出	the stars come out	不度鬧	pu tu nao	butuk nau*
44	星落	stars fall (or set)	不度答來	pu tu ta lai	butuk —*
45	星多	stars are plentiful	不度羅	pu tu lo	butuk lō*
46	星少	stars are few	不度的吉	pu tu ti chi	butuk dikik*

		Meaning.	*Sound Equivalent.*		*Cham.*
47	風大	the wind is strong	阿因弄	ah yin nung (lung)	aṅin —*
48	風小	the wind is light	阿因乃	ah yin nai	aṅin naiḥ*
49	風吹	the wind blows	阿因瓢	ah yin p'iao	aṅin bauḥ*
50	風來	the wind is rising	阿因馬來	ah yin ma lai	aṅin mo'rai*
51	涼風	a cool wind	勒恩阿因	lê ên ah yin	aṅin laan*
52	風好	the breeze is pleasant	阿因線	ah yin hsien	aṅin sjo'ṇi*
53	大雨	the great rains	弄胡沾	nung (lung) hu chan	hujan —*
54	小雨	little rains	乃胡沾	nai hu chan	hujan naiḥ*
55	下雨	to rain	胡沾	hu chan	hujan
56	雨住	the rain stops	胡沾定	hu chan ting	hujan —
57	有雨	it is raining	馬答胡沾	ma ta hu chan	mo'dā hujan*
58	無雨	it is not raining	哈波胡沾	ha po hu chan	pak hujan*
59	下雪	to snow	胡沾賒喇	hu chan shê la	hujan —*
60	煙多	the mist is much	賒喇羅	shê la lo	— lō*
61	煙少	the mist is little	賒喇的吉	shê la ti chi	— dikik*

2. Literally, "fæces (or secretion) of the wind." See also n. 9.

3. Identification doubtful.

4. Cf. 10, 53–9.

5. *yaṅ* = "deity", cf. 6, 31–42. It should not be added when the meaning is "day" but only when it is "sun". For a better Chinese transcription of the word *hurĕi* for "day", see 139. An epigraphic form is *huriy*.

6. Cf. 5, 122–5, 142, 143.

9. The Chinese 目 has been corrected into 因, which rightly appears in 23–5, 27, 29, 30, 47–52, 352.

10. Cf. 4, 14 (and note).

11. Identification doubtful. It may represent *salim*, which also means "dew".

14. = 100. Cf. 64 (and note): *ya* stands for *i̯ā*, "water," but the syllable *pa* in 10 and 14 has not been identified. As snow and ice cannot have been familiar to the Chams, one may suppose that some kind of paraphrase was coined for the occasion.

15. This may be meant for *rabuk*, "tempest."

16. The identification of the second word is doubtful but seems probable. Cf. 126.

17. = "drought", which implies fine weather. Cf. 127.

18. Identification doubtful. The first words means "bad", cf. 340, 577; and the supposed sense is "bad (towards) heaven". Cf. 1.

19. The Cham equivalent given would mean a "clear sky". A possible alternative for *siyo'ṅ* is *sịaṃ* or *sịo'ṃ*, which can mean "beautiful" but also "good, auspicious, lucky", etc. Cf. 52, 339, 576.

20. Cf. 32, 40, 44, 98, 133 (and note), 502.

21, 23. *hijau* should mean "green". Cf. 232, 541 (and note). The Chinese character stands for green, blue, black, "the colour of nature," a drab, neutral tint.

21–7. The Chinese transcription inverts the normal Cham order.

22. Cf. 1, 505, 539.

23. Cf. 2.

24. Cf. 2 (and note), 543.

25. Cf. 505, 539.

26. Cf. 2 (and note), 542, 552–4.

27. Cf. 544 (and note).

28. Cf. 2 (and note).

29, 31. Cf. 372. The word *nau* means "to go", "to walk". Cf. 99, 106, 112, 113, 118.

30. Identification doubtful as regards the last word. If the order of the original is correct, the meaning is "the clouds hide" (something or other, presumably the sun).

32. Cf. 20, 40, 44, 98, 133.

33. Cf. 155, 399. There should be no *yaṅ* here. Cf. 5 (and note).

34. Cf. 156, 400. There should be no *yaṅ* here. Cf. 5 (and note).

35. = "midday, noon", if *yaṅ* is omitted and the order is inverted. Otherwise, the words mean "the sun (is in ?) the middle". Cf. 5 (and note), 88, 104, 501.

36. Literally, "the sun is warm"; without *yaṅ* the meaning would be "day" (or "days"). Cf. 5, 123, 135, 503.

37. The syllable *pa* has not been identified. The Cham word for "shadow" is *baṅuk*, with a variant form *baṅo'k*.

38. The *yaṅ* is superfluous. Cf. 5, 51, 125, 134.

39. Cf. 6, 29, 31 (and note), 372.

40. Cf. 20, 32, 44, 98, 133 (and note), 502.

42. Cf. 544 (and note), 20, 235.

43. Cf. 29, 31 (and note), 372.

44. Cf. 7, 20, 32, 40, 98, 133 (and note), 502.

45. Cf. 60, 409.

46. Cf. 410.

47. Cf. 9, 53, 105, 107, 352, 453. The doubtful word in 47, 53, 105, 107, and 453 may be *prauṅ*, "big."

48. *naiḥ* = "small". Cf. 54, 108, 116, 252, 268, 452, 454.

49. The identification of the second word is doubtful. It means "to air by shaking", e.g. a garment.

50. Literally, "the wind comes," cf. 373.

51. Order inverted. Cf. 9, 125, 134.

52. Literally, "the wind is good." Cf. 19.

53. Cf. 47 (and note), 4, 10, 54–9.

54. The order is inverted. Cf. 48 (and note).

54–9. Cf. 4 (and note).

57. Literally, "there is rain." Cf. 402 (and note).

58. Cf. 403 (and note).

59. Cf. 4, 13.

60. Cf. 13, 45, 409.

61. Cf. 13, 46, 410, 590.

Part II

地理門 *Geography*

		Meaning.	*Sound Equivalent.*		*Cham.*
62	江	large river	定	ting	—*
63	石	stone	不豆	pu tou	batău*
64	水	water	牙	ya	jā*
65	路	road	者藍	chê lan	jalan*
66	井	well	莫	mo	—
67	墻	wall	古丙	ku ping	—*
68	城	city, city wall	班	pan	—*
69	河	river	龍	lung	krauṅ*
70	海	sea	細	hsi	tasik
71	溝	ditch, watercourse, moat	墩	tun	—
72	岸	bank, shore	泥	ni	—
73	地	ground, earth, world	打納	ta na	tano'ḥ*
74	土	earth, soil	打納	ta na	tano'ḥ*
75	街	street	者藍	chê lan	jalan*
76	園	garden	方	fang	bo'n*
77	林	forest	格又	ko yu	kayău*
78	村	village	敖方	ao fang	— —*
79	田	field	敖不喇	ao pu la	apuḥ, apoḥ*
80	泉	spring	牙	ya	jā*
81	石橋	stone bridge	不豆邦	pu tou pang	rabaṅ batău*
82	池	pond	敖石	ao shih	— —

		Meaning.	*Sound Equivalent.*		*Cham.*
83	浪	waves	敖浪	ao lang	— —
84	山高	the hill is high	即亮	chi liang	čo'k riyā*
85	山底	the hill is low	即別兒	chi pieh êrh	čo'k bjo'r*
86	山上	on the hill	即干刀	chi kan tao	— čo'k*
87	山下	below the hill	即干你	chi kan ni	— čo'k*
88	山中	among the hills	即五	chi wu	viḥ čo'k*
89	山前	on this side of the hills (i.e. South)	即阿藍桑	chi ah lan sang	— — čo'k*
90	山後	over the hills (i.e. North)	即里故桑	chi li ku sang	likuk — čo'k*
91	山邊	beside the hill	即盡	chi chin	— čo'k*
92	青山	green hills	衣陳即	i ch'ên chi	čo'k hijau*
93	水深	the water is deep	牙墩	ya tun	ją̄ —*
94	水淺	the water is shallow	牙卜	ya pu	ją̄ —*
95	水清	the water is clear	牙陳衣	ya ch'êni	ją̄ jaṅaiḥ
96	水渾	the water is muddy	牙混	ya hun	ją̄ —
97	水流	the water flows	牙長	ya ch'ang (chang)	ją̄ —*
98	水落	the water falls	牙答來	ya ta lai	ją̄ —*
99	水出	the water springs (out)	牙鬧	ya nao	ją̄ nau*
100	氷水	ice water, frozen waters	八牙	pa ya	— —*
101	江邊	river-edge	定盡	ting chin	— —*
102	江心	the middle of the river	定昭	ting chao	— —*
103	河淺	the river is shallow	龍卜	lung pu	krauṅ —*
104	河中	in the river	龍五	lung wu	viḥ krauṅ*
105	河寬	the river is wide	龍弄	lung nung (lung)	krauṅ —*
106	過河	to cross the river	鬧龍	nao lung	nau krauṅ*
107	大河	a great river	弄龍	nung (lung) lung	krauṅ —*
108	小河	a small river	乃龍	nai lung	krauṅ naiḥ*
109	板橋	plank bridge	格又邦	ko yu pang	rabaṅ kayău*
110	新橋	new bridge	年邦	nien pang	rabaṅ —*
111	舊橋	old bridge	後邦	hou pang	rabaṅ —*
112	過橋	to cross a bridge	鬧邦	nao pang	nau raban*
113	旱路	dry road	鬧者藍	nao chê lan	jalan nau*
114	水路	water-way	牙者藍	ya chê lan	jalan ją̄*
115	大路	main road	者藍弄	chê lan nung (lung)	jalan prauṅ*
116	小路	small road	者藍乃	chê lan nai	jalan naiḥ*

		Meaning.	*Sound Equivalent.*		*Cham.*
117	入城	enter the city	答麻魯麻	ta ma lu ma	tamō' rumo'h*
118	出城	leave the city	閙班	nao pan	nau —*
119	城裏	inside the city (or city-wall)	班弄	pan nung (lung)	— —
120	城外	outside the city	班乃	pan nai	—
121	城方	the city is square	把納八	pa na pa	— — —*

62. Cf. 101, 102.

63. Cf. 81.

64. Cf. 14, 80, 93–100, 114, 481, 487.

65. Cf. 75, 113–16, 375, 376.

67. Cf. Khmer *kòmpêñ*, " enceinte, mur," i.e. " wall ".

68. Cf. 118–121.

69. Identification doubtful.

73, 74. Epigraphic *tana*. Cf. 576–9.

75. Cf. 65 (and note).

76. = Annamese *vu'o'n*.

77. = " tree ", " wood " (the substance), not " forest ". Cf. 157, 161, 175, 178, 185, 186, 264, 265, 295, 345. Another form is *kuyău*.

78. Cf. 76.

79. Identification doubtful, but the Cham word means " field, garden, plantation ".

80. = " water ". Cf. 64, 93–100.

81. Order inverted. Cf. 63.

84. The identification of the second word is doubtful.

85. Cf. 348, 414.

86, 87. Order inverted.

88. Order inverted. Cf. 35, 104.

89–91. Order inverted and words unidentified.

92. Order inverted. Cf. 541, 21, 23 (and note).

93–100. Cf. 64.

93. Cf. 407.

94. Cf. 103, 408.

97. The second word may perhaps be *jaun*, " torrent."

98. Cf. 20, 32, 40, 44, 133. But the meaning is not quite the same throughout.

99. Cf. 64, 29, 31, 106, 112, 113, 118, 372.

100. Cf. 14 (and note).

101, 102. Order inverted. Cf. 62.

103. Cf. 69, 94, 408.

104. Cf. 35, 88, 501.

105. Cf. 47 (and note).

106. Cf. 29, 31, 112, 113, 118, 372. A more precise equivalent for "to cross" is *tapā*.

107. Cf. 47 (and note).

108. Cf. 48 (and note), 54, 116.

109. Cf. 81, 77 (and note).

110. Cf. 150.

111. Cf. 138, 149.

112. Cf. the references under 106 (note).

113. The order appears to be inverted. What is meant is "a road on which one can walk" = 262. Cf the references under 106 (note).

114. Cf. 65, 64.

115. Cf. 47 (and note), 65, 226, 267.

116. Cf. 48 (and note).

117. Literally, "enter a house." An epigraphic form of *tamō'* is *tamā*. Cf. 363.

118–121. Cf. 68, 373.

121. The last syllable may represent *pak*, "four."

Part III

時令門 *Time*

		Meaning.	*Sound Equivalent.*		*Cham.*
122	春	spring	不藍不陋	pu lan pu lou	bulan —*
123	夏	summer	不藍不缺	pu lan pu ch'üeh	bulan padjak*
124	秋	autumn	不藍不勒	pu lan pu lo	bulan —*
125	冬	winter	不藍勒恩	pu lan lo ên	bulan laan*
126	陰	dull, cloudy	的儀	ti i	lir*
127	晴	clear, blue sky	空	k'ung	khauṅ*
128	年	year	吞	t'un	thun*
129	時	time, season	革	ko	kal*
130	晝	daytime, daylight, day	甲	chia	—*
131	夜	night	乙	i	—
132	早	early, morning	馬來	ma lai	—*
133	晚	late, evening	答來	ta lai	—*
134	冷	cold	勒恩	lo ên	laan*

		Meaning.	*Sound Equivalent.*		*Cham.*
135	熱	hot	八答	pa ta	paḍiak*
136	今	present, now	來	lai	—
137	午	noon	中	chung	—
138	古	ancient, old	胡	hu·	—*
139	今日	to-day	胡來泥	hu lai ni	hurĕi nī*
140	明日	to-morrow	不格	pu ko	paguḥ
141	前日	day before yesterday	阿鬧桑仰胡銳	ah nao sang yang hu jui	— — — (yaṅ) hurĕi*
142	今月	this month	胡不藍	hu pu lan	bulan —*
143	前月	month, (month before last)	阿鬧桑仰不藍	ah nao sang yang pu lan	— — — (yaṅ) bulan*
144	今年	this year	呑泥	t'un ni	thun nī*
145	明年	next year	呑阿鬧	t'un ah nao	thun anap*
146	後年	year after next	呑里故	t'un li ku	thun likuk*
147	去年	last year	鬧呑	nao t'un	thun amnauḥ*
148	前年	year before last	呑三	t'un san	thun —
149	舊年	old year	後呑	hou t'un	thun —*
150	新年	new year	年呑	nien t'un	thun —*
151	百年	100 years	撒喇多呑	sa la to t'un	sa ratuḥ thun*
152	千年	1,000 years	撒喇瓢呑	sa la p'iao t'un	sa ribău thun*
153	萬年	10,000 years	撒多慢呑	sa to man t'un	sa tumo'n thun*
154	一年	one year	撒呑	sa t'un	sā thun*
155	夜長	the nights are long	乙襖	i ao	— —*
156	夜短	the nights are short	乙乜	i nieh	— nak*

122–5. Cf. 6 (and note).

123. Literally, "hot months." Cf. 135.

125. Literally, "cold months." Cf. 51, 134.

126. Identification doubtful. Cf. 16.

127. Literally, "drought." Cf. 17.

128. Cf. 144–154.

129. From the Sanskrit *kāla*.

130. Possibly *jala*, "morning, noon," or *julā*, "day, morning, noon."

132. ? Cf. *mo'rai*, "to come," 373. Cf. 500.

133. ? Cf. *talaiḥ*, "to undo, to cease." Cf. 20, 32, 40, 44, 98, 502.

134. Cf. 51, 125.

135. Cf. 36, 123, 503.

138. Cf. 111, 149.

139. Literally, "this day." Cf. 5, 31, 32, 34, 36–42, 141, 144, 593 (and note).

141. Cf. 5 (and note); *yang* is superfluous here and *sang* is unidentified; the rest appears to be *aṃnauḥ*, "after" (or *aṃnauḥ nau*, "past"). The order seems to be wrong.

142. Cf. 6 (and note).

143. Cf. 141, 147.

144–154. Cf. 128.

144. Cf. 139, 593 (and note).

145. The second word is doubtfully identified.

146. Cf. 90.

147. Probably there should be *nau* after *aṃnauḥ*. Cf. 141.

148. *san* is unexplained.

149. Cf. 111, 138.

150. Cf. 110.

151–3. Cf. 568–570.

154. Cf. 558.

155. Cf. 33, 399.

156. Cf. 34, 400.

Part IV

花 木 門 *Flowers and Trees*

		Meaning.	*Sound Equivalent.*		*Cham.*
157	花梨木	Chinese rosewood	格又梨邦	ko yu li pang	kayău —*
158	花	flower	阿	ah	—*
159	果	fruit	蒲	po	bauḥ
160	竹	bamboo	格又	ko yu	kayău*
161	木	wood, tree	格又	ko yu	kayău
162	姜	ginger	累牙	lei ya	liyā
163	蒜	garlic	阿喇遜卜	ah la hsūn pu	lasun ḅuṅ (= ḅauṅ)*
164	韭	leeks	阿喇瓢	ah la p'iao	—*
165	葱	onions	阿喇遜	ah la hsūn	lasun
166	茄	brinjal, egg-plant	的弄	ti nung (lung)	trauṅ
167	豆	beans, peas	不的	pu ti	—*
168	米	rice	不喇	pu la	braḥ*
169	香水	perfume, scent	牙革陋	ya ko lou	ḭā gahlău*
170	麥	wheat	崩	pêng	[not recorded]

		Meaning.	Sound Equivalent.		Cham.
171	香	fragrance	革陋	ko lou	gahlău*
172	草	grass	勒	lo	ro'k
173	芭蕉	banana	盆不的	p'ên pu ti	phun putĕi*
174	柑子	mandarin orange (*Citrus nobilis*)	古恠	ku kuai	kruaiĕ*
175	波羅密樹	jackfruit tree (*Artocarpus integrifolia*)	把納格又	pa na ko yu	kayău panat*
176	椰子	coconut	古弄	ku nung (lung)	— —*
177	根	root	埋	mai	—
178	樹	tree	格又	ko yu	kayău*
179	茄南香	— perfume	陋	lou	—*
180	猛火油	lit. fierce fire oil	米牙	mi ya	mo'ño'k*
181	吉具	Indian name for cotton or some of its tissues	者納	chê na	— —
182	末身香	— perfume	幸郎革陋	hsing lang ko lou	— —*
183	花椒	red pepper	波來米勞	po lai mi lao	— —*
184	胡椒	pepper	阿乜	ah nieh	amraik*
185	蘇木	sapan (sappan) wood	格又蘇邦	ko yu su pang	kayău —*
186	烏木	ebony	格又哈當	ko yu ha tang	kayău hatam*
187	紅藤	red creepers (?)	線者納	hsien chê na	— —*
188	豆蔻	cardamom, nutmegs	白喇甲	po (pai) la chia	—*
189	藤棍	rattan, canes	者納	chê na	—*
190	薔薇露	rose-water	卜律	pu lü	—
191	白菜	cabbage	淡撒不的	tan sa pu ti	— —*
192	芥菜	mustard-plant	衣陳不的	i ch'ên pu ti	— —*
193	蘿蔔	turnips and similar roots	麻風放	ma fêng fang	— —
194	茴香	fennel, aniseed	革陋	ko lou	—*

157. Cf. 161. The specific name has not been identified.

158. The word for "flower" should be *buñō'* (which has many variant forms), corresponding to the Malay *bunga*. Cf. 468, 469, 548.

160. = "wood" (the substance), "tree" (not bamboo). Cf. 77, 161, 175, 178, 185, 186, 295, 300.

163. Literally, "white onion." Cf. 165 (*lasun*, from the Sanskrit *laśuṇa*).

164. This transcription perhaps represents an old form of the modern *rabău*, a species of pumpkin, *Cucurbita melopepo* Linn. (Cucurbitaceæ). Cf. Malay *labu*, Sanskrit *alabu*.

167. Cf. Malay *pĕtai*, a tree with fruit like bean pods.

168. = " rice with the husk off but uncooked ", cf. 491, 509, and 261. For " boiled rice ", see 489.

169. Cf. 64 and 171, 179, 182, 194. *Gahlău* is an " eaglewood " obtained from several species of *Aquilaria*, especially *secundaria*, D.C., and *malaccensis*, D.C.

171. Cf. 169 (and note).

173. *phun* = " trunk, tree ".

174. The equivalent given is the specific name, but the *ku* in the Chinese transcription is unexplained.

175. Cf. 77 (and note), 157, 160, 161, 178, 185, 186, 264, 265, 295, 345. The specific name comes from the Sanskrit *panasa*.

176. This seems to be wrong. " Coconut " is *bauḥ laū* (pronounced *lo-u*).

178. Cf. the references in 175 (note).

179. Cf. 169 (and note), 171, 182, 194.

180. Cf. 499, which gives the correct meaning.

182. The order is evidently inverted as the meaning is clearly " perfume for the body ". Cf. 171, 179, 194 and 421, 423.

183. The last two syllables may represent *mo'ra*, *mo'raḥ*, *mo'rạḥ*, " red."

184. From the Sanskrit *marica*. In modern Cham *amraik* means " red pepper ". Ordinary pepper is *amraik kalū*.

185. Evidently the same word as the Malay *sĕpang*, but does not appear to be in the Cham dictionary.

186. Literally, " black wood." Cf. 160 (note), 161, 300.

187. Cf. 542, 189 (and note). The order is inverted.

188. Evidently the same as the Malay *kapulaga*, *kĕpulaga*, *pĕlaga*, " cardamom," but this form is not in the Cham dictionary.

189. Perhaps this represents *čanak*, *čanap*, *čano'p*, " faggot." A faggot of rattans is *čanak haụĕi*.

191, 192. The last two syllables in each of these entries mean " white ". Cf. 543.

194. Cf. the references in 169 (note). But if this is a plant name it has not been found in the Cham dictionary.

Part V

鳥獸門 *Birds and Beasts*

		Meaning.	*Sound Equivalent.*		*Cham.*
195	龍	dragon	格来	ko lai	garai*
196	虎	tiger	利孟	li mêng	rimauṅ
197	象	elephant	梨慢	li man	limo'n*
198	馬	horse	阿謝	ah hsieh	asaih*
199	牛	ox, cow	喇莫	la mo	lamau*
200	羊	sheep	比別	pi pieh	pabaiy*
201	犬	dog	阿搜	ah sou	asǎu
202	猪	pig	不背	pu pei	pabu̯ěi (= pabui)*
203	猫	cat	苗	miao	mo'yau
204	鼠	rat, mouse	老	lao	—
205	鹿	deer	格東	ko tung	—*
206	兎	hare	打伯	ta pai (po)	tapai
207	鵝	goose	公安	kung an	kaṅan*
208	鴨	duck	阿答	ah ta	adā*
209	鷄	chicken, fowl	悶怒	mên nu	mo'nuk*
210	魚	fish	依干	i kan	ikan*
211	鶯哥	parrot	者答	chê ta	jatā*
212	孔雀	peacock	姑菴厦	ku an hsia	amrak*
213	鳳凰	phœnix	珍撥刁	chên po tiao	čiṃ —*
214	鷺鷥	eastern egret (*Egretta modesta*)	各不的	ko pu ti	kauk putiḥ*
215	孔雀尾	peacock tail	一姑菴厦	i ku an hsia	ikū amrak
216	犀牛角	rhinoceros horn	賭鷄魯麻	tu chi lu ma	dukě rumo'ḥ*
217	鵲	magpie	阿	ah	[not recorded]
218	熊	bear	罷	pa	—
219	麞子	hornless river-deer (*Hydropotes inermis*)	答厦	ta hsia	—*
220	小馬	(? colt) pony	阿納阿謝	ah na ah hsieh	ano'k asaiḥ*
221	驢	donkey	勒	lo	—*
222	騾	mule	四	ssŭ	[not recorded]
223	騎象	ride an elephant	弟梨慢	ti li man	ḍik limo'n*
224	下象	dismount from an elephant	墩弟梨慢	tun ti li man	trun di limo'n
225	獅子	lion	性	hsing	siṅ*
226	牙象	male elephant, tusker	弄梨慢	nung (lung) li man	limo'n prauṅ*

		Meaning.	*Sound Equivalent.*		*Cham.*
227	母象	female elephant	乃梨慢	nai li man	limo'n binai*
228	象牙	ivory	八喇梨慢	pa la li man	bala limo'n*
229	騸馬	gelding	打的阿謝	ta ti ah hsieh	asaiḥ —*
230	騍馬	mare	乃阿謝	nai ah hsieh	asaiḥ binai*
231	兒馬	colt	弄阿謝	nung (lung) ah hsieh	asaiḥ —*
232	青馬	? grey horse	衣陳阿謝	i ch'ên ah hsieh	asaiḥ hijau*
233	白馬	white horse	不的阿謝	pu ti ah hsieh	asaiḥ putiḥ*
234	赤馬	reddish horse	赤阿謝	ch'ih ah hsieh	asaiḥ tiak*
235	黑馬	black horse	黑阿謝	hei ah hsieh	asaiḥ —*
236	銀褐馬	grey-brown horse	必喇阿謝	pi la ah hsieh	asaiḥ parjak*
237	黃牛角	cow-horn	賭鷄喇莫	tu chi la mo	dukō lamau*
238	天鵝	crane, wild swan	弓安喇儀	kung an la i	kaṅan laṅik*
239	玳瑁	tortoise; marine turtle	客南	k'o nan	—
240	龜仝	tortoise-shell	奔牛姑勒	pên niu ku lo	— kurā*
241	鸚鵡	parrot	那飯	na fan	—
242	班鳩	turtle-dove	阿必兒	ah pi êrh	[not recorded]
243	蛇	snake	虎喇	hu la	ulā
244	麂子	a species of fallow-deer	魯撒	lu sa	rusā*
245	秦黃魚	species of fish (unidentified)	依干又	i kan yu	ikan yău*
246	螃蟹	crab	阿亮	ah liang	arjo'ṅ
247	海浙	jelly-fish	不勒	pu lo	—

195. For *no'garai*, from the Sanskrit *nāgarāja*.
197. Epigraphic *limān*. Cf. 223, 224, 226–8.
198. Cf. 220, 229–236, 302, 304–6.
199. Epigraphic *lumvau*. Cf. 495, 555.
200. Actually, "goat." Cf. 493.
202. Cf. 494.
205. Cf. Bahnar *ko'tŏng*.
207. Cf. 496.
208. Cf. 497.
209. Cf. 483.
210. Cf. 492.
211. = 557.
212. Cf. 215. In 212 the first syllable *ku* is out of place.

213. *čiṃ* = "bird". The unidentified remainder may perhaps represent *putau* (or *po tau*), "emperor" or "king" (310), in the sense of "royal".

214. Literally, "white egret." Cf. 543, 233.

215. Cf. 212.

216. Another form of the word for "horn" is *dakē*, and for "rhinoceros" *ramo'h*. (The specific term for its horn is, however, *basan*.) Cf. 237.

219. Perhaps this is *rasa*, which, however, is the Sambur deer (= 244).

220. Literally, "child of horse"; this must mean "foal" or "colt", not "pony". Cf. 198, 334.

221. Cf. Khmer *léa* ?

223. *ḍik* = "mount, ride".

225. From the Sanskrit *siṁha*.

226. = "big elephant". Owing to the inadequate Chinese transcription the identification of the adjective is doubtful. The Chinese order may be right, as *praun̓* does in some cases precede the substantive it qualifies, but in others it follows it. Cf. 251, 267, 311, 354, 446–8, 455.

227. *binai* = "female". Cf. 230.

228. = "elephant tusk". Cf. 285, 301.

229. Cf. 198. The specific (which should follow) has not been traced. The dictionary has *pasiḥ* in the sense of "gelded".

230. Cf. 227.

231. On the analogy of 47 (and other instances given in the note) the word which should follow *asaiḥ* means "big" and is inappropriate here. Cf. 226 (and note).

232. = "green horse", which is clearly wrong. There are several words for "grey" in Cham.

233. Cf. 214, 543.

234. That is, a bay (horse). The adjective has the form *tia* in Annamese.

235. Cf. 544.

236. = "silver horse".

237. Cf. 199, 216 (and note).

238. Cf. 207, 1. But this combination is not recorded in the dictionary.

240. The first word is apparently identical with the Malay *pěnyu*, "turtle"; the second is registered as a Cham word meaning

"tortoise". The dictionary has *bauṅ kura* in the sense of "tortoise-shell".

244. = "stag", *Cervus* (*rusa*) *Aristotelis*, Cuv.

245. The name is applied to several species, including *Carcharias hemiodon*, a small shark.

Part VI

宮室門 *Buildings*

		Meaning.	*Sound Equivalent.*		*Cham.*
248	占城國	kingdom of Champa	不勒沾	pu lo chan	palau čam*
249	廳屋	rooms	弄桑	lung (nung) sang	ruṅ saṅ*
250	館驛	post, post station	鬧罷官衙	nao pa kuan ya	— —*
251	衙門	"yamen," office	邦弄	pang lung (nung)	ḅaṅ prauṅ*
252	門戶	door	邦乃	pang nai	ḅaṅ naiḥ*
253	房	house	桑	sang	saṅ
254	門	gate, door	邦	pang	ḅaṅ
255	窓橫	windows	莫郎	mo lang	mo'raṅ
256	臥房	bedroom	者曩	chê nang	čanaṅ*
257	厨房	kitchen	羅桑	lo sang	— —*
258	梯子	stair, ladder	喇羊	la yang	lañan
259	草房	grass hut	勒桑	lo sang	saṅ ro'k*
260	瓦房	tiled house	不豆桑	pu tou sang	saṅ batău*
261	倉房	granary	不喇桑	pu la sang	saṅ braḥ*
262	街市	market-street	鬧者藍	nao chê lan	jalan nau*
263	房樑	rooftree of house	一那桑	i na sang	inõ' saṅ*
264	房柱	"house-pillars"	格又不登桑	ko yu pu têng sang	kayău pado'ṅ saṅ*
265	舡板	deck	阿弄格又	ah lung ko yu	— kayău*
266	上梁	raise the beam [of a new house with ceremonial], upper beam	干刀一那桑	kan tao i na sang	— — inõ' saṅ*

248. Literally, the "Cham island", though Champa is not an island. Cf. 247.

249. = "room of a house". Cf. 253.

250. Cf. 262, 370-2 ?

251. Literally, "large gate (or door)." Cf. 254, 226, 267.

252. = "small gate", perhaps, on account of the antithesis with the preceding. (But *baṅ* (not *ḅaṅ*) means "race, family" from the

Sanskrit *vaṁsa*, which is an alternative meaning of the Chinese characters for "door", would be out of place in this section.

256. Also *čanõṅ, čano'ṅ, çano'ṅ*. It means "bed". Cf. 279.

257. The order seems to be inverted. Cf. 486, 253? The word for "kitchen" is not recorded in the dictionary. Cf. 259.

259. Cf. 172.

260. Literally, "stone house." Cf. 520.

261. Cf. 168.

262. Literally, "road for going (or walking)" = 113, cf. 106 (note).

263. Literally, "mother of the house." Cf. 323.

264. Literally, "wood raising the house," i.e. the posts that support it above ground level.

265. This entry seems really to belong to Part VII. Cf. 267.

266. Cf. 86 and 263; *inõ' saṅ* means the beam supporting the roof ridge, but *inău* is also a word for beam.

Part VII

器用門 *Implements, etc.*

		Meaning.	*Sound Equivalent.*		*Cham.*
267	大舡	large boat	阿弄	ah lung (nung)	ahauk prauṅ*
268	小舡	small boat	阿乃	ah nai	ahauk naiḥ
269	交床	nuptial-bed	敖敎	ao chiao	čɟo'v —*
270	鍾	cup	莫	mo	—
271	鼓	drum	撒根兒	sa kên êrh	sagar*
272	紙	paper	把阿兒	pa ah êrh	baar*
273	笙笛	reed instruments (pipes and flutes)	不敖的	pu ao ti	— —
274	硯	ink-slab	不的豆	pu ti tou	— —
275	筆	pen	木格兒	mu ko êrh	pakaiči (= pakči)*
276	墨	ink	墨	mo	mo'p
277	卓	table	記	chi	kik*
278	椅	chair	敎	chiao	čɟo'v*
279	床	bed	者農	chê nang	čanaṅ*
280	碗	cup, bowl	革碗	ko wan	khɟo'n
281	碟	saucer	籍	tsan	čɟo'n
282	鍋	saucepan	莫	mo	—
283	刀	knife, sword	莊	chuang	thauṅ*

		Meaning.	*Sound Equivalent.*		*Cham.*
284	鎗	spear	郝	hê	sau*
285	牙梳	ivory comb	底西八喇	ti hsi pa la	tasi bala*
286	篦子	fine comb	底西格兒	ti hsi ko êrh	tasi —
287	扇	fan	打的	ta ti	tadik
288	火	fire	阿背	ah pei	apuči
289	盔	helmet	姑姑	ku ku	—*
290	甲	armour	鎖阿箇鉄	so ah ko t'ieh	— — —
291	弓	bow	一納把納	i na pa na	inō' pano'ḥ*
292	箭	arrow	阿納格數兒	ah na ko shu êrh	ano'ḱ kasur*
293	傘	umbrella	不散	pu san	pathan*
294	針	needle	幸	hsing	—
295	木梳	wooden comb	底西格又	ti hsi ko yu	tasi kayǎu*
296	公座	seat of authority	拾班	shih pan	sabaṅ*
297	寶座	throne	波道拾班	po tao shih pan	sabaṅ putau*
298	枕席	pillow and mat	慢六	man liu (lu)	—
299	燈籠	lantern	八阿背	pa ah pei	baar apuči*
300	烏木筯	ebony chopsticks	鐸格又哈當	to ko yu ha tang	— kayǎu hataṃ*
301	象牙筯	ivory chopsticks	鐸八喇黎慢	to pa la li man	— bala limo'n*
302	馬鞍	saddle	安阿謝	an ah hsieh	an asaiḥ*
303	革秋	traces, crupper	馬納	ma na	—
304	鞍座	the seat of a saddle	安阿謝座	an ah hsieh tso	— an asaiḥ*
305	轡頭	bridle, reins	格令阿謝	ko ling ah hsieh	kleṅ asaiḥ*
306	鞭	whip	好外阿謝	hao wai ah hsieh	havěi asaiḥ*
307	銅鼓	(copper or bronze) drum	波撒根兒	po sa kên êrh	sagar —*
308	銅鑼	(ditto) gong	波正	po chêng	ǒo'ṅ —*
309	雨籠	lit. rain-basket (or cage)	胡沾姑姑	hu chan ku ku	— hujan*

267. Identification doubtful, as the Chinese transcription *ah* is a poor representation of *ahauk*. As to *prauṅ*, cf. 226 (and note). But the *naiḥ* of 268 supports the identification.

269. *cio'v* = "mat". Cf. 278.

270. Cf. 282.

271. Cf. 307.

272. Cf. 299.

275. If this identification is correct, the Chinese transcription is not very good.

277. "Bench that can serve as a table (?); chair (?)" (A. & C.).
278. Cf. 269 (note).
279. Cf. 256.
282. Cf. 270.
283. = "knife, dagger". But the identification is doubtful.
284. Annamese *sào*, "lance." But the identification is doubtful.
285. Cf. 228, 301.
286. Possibly the second part represents *kuā*, "to comb."
289. Cf. 309 ?
291. Literally, "mother of the arrow." Cf. 323.
292. Literally, "child of the bow." Cf. 334, 220.
293. Also *bathan*, *bithan*, "umbrella, parasol."
295. Cf. 285, 286, 77 (and note).
296. A raised platform in a house, covered with a mat, and used for the reception of persons visiting.
297. Cf. 310.
298. ? 被 席 ? quilts and mats = bedding.
299. Cf. 272, 288.
300. Cf. 160 (note), 161, 186 (and note).
301. Cf. 228, 285.
302–6. Cf. 198 (and note).
304. Cf. 302, 392 (and note).
305. Identification doubtful: *kleň limo'n* means "shackles of an elephant".
306. *haveĭ* is a generic name for various species of rattans or canes.
307. Cf. 271.
308. = "gong". The equivalent of *po* in 307 and 308 has not been found.
309. Cf. 289, 46.

Part VIII

人 物 門 *Relationships*

		Meaning.	*Sound Equivalent.*		*Cham.*
310	皇 帝	emperor	波 道	po tao	putau*
311	國 王	ruler, king	底 國 弄	ti kuo lung	taku prauň*
312	殿 下	heir-apparent	厦	hsia	çaḥ*
313	大 人	(Your) Excellency, lit. great man	底 國	ti kuo	taku*

		Meaning.	*Sound Equivalent.*		*Cham.*
314	頭目	head-man, chief	撒弄	sa nung (lung)	—
315	通事	interpreter	拍	p'ai	—*
316	內官	inner, or metropolitan, officials	牙答吝	ya ta lin	—*
317	官吏	officials	底國郎	ti kuo lang	— —*
318	民人	people	翁	wêng	avo'ṅ
319	公公	old man	不陶	pu t'ao	— —
320	婆婆	old woman	不吝	pu lin	— —
321	娘娘	father's mother	別	pieh	—
322	父親	father	阿罵	ah ma	amŏ'*
323	母親	mother	姨納	i na	inŏ'*
324	哥哥	elder brother	賒愛	shê ai	saai*
325	兄弟	younger brother	阿的	ah ti	adĕi*
326	女兒	girl, daughter	姑媒	ku mei	kumĕi*
327	叔	uncle (father's younger brother)	乜喇該	nieh la kai	mḷo' lakĕi*
328	嬸	aunt (wife of above)	乜姑媒	nieh ku mei	mḷo' kumĕi
329	女婿	son-in-law	麻豆姑媒	ma tou ku mei	mo'tau kumĕi*
330	姪兒	nephew	姑慢	ku man	kamṵo'n*
331	外父	maternal grandfather	波米	po mi	— —
332	外母	maternal grandmother	乜米	nieh mi	— —
333	親家	a term by which the parents of a married couple address each other, lit. related families	倭郎好	wei lang hao	uraṅ hauv*
334	兒子	child, son	阿納	ah na	ano'k*
335	娘子	woman	郎愛	lang ai	—
336	家人	family, household	桑倭郎	sang wei (wo) lang	uraṅ saṅ*
337	奴婢	slaves	阿的該喇	ah ti kai la	— —
338	老人	old man	倭郎賭下	wei (wo) lang tu hsia	uraṅ tuhā
339	好人	good man	倭郎線	wei (wo) lang hsien	uraṅ sḷaṃ*
340	歹人	bad man	倭郎茶	wei (wo) lang ch'a	uraṅ jha (*or* jhak)*
341	金匠	goldsmith	罵匠	ma chiang	(takran) mo'ḥ*
342	銀匠	silversmith	必喇匠	pi la chiang	(takraṅ) parḷak*

		Meaning.	*Sound Equivalent.*		*Cham.*
343	鉄匠	iron-worker	利匠	li chiang	(takraṅ) —*
344	錫匠	tin(pewter)-smith	歇匠	hsieh chiang	(takraṅ) —*
345	木匠	carpenter	格又匠	ko yu chiang	(takraṅ) kayău*
346	賊人	thief	倭郎借	wei (wo) lang chieh	uraṅ klaik*
347	長子	giant, lit. tall man	倭郎弄	wei (wo) lang lung (nung)	uraṅ glauṅ
348	矮子	dwarf, lit. short man	倭郎別兒	wei (wo) lang pieh êrh	uraṅ bio'r*
349	胖子	a fat man	倭郎魯麻	wei (wo) lang lu ma	uraṅ lumo'k*
350	廋子	a thin man	倭郎黎汪	wei (wo) lang li wang	uraṅ livaṅ*
351	瞎子	a blind man	倭郎不答	wei (wo) lang pu ta	uraṅ —*
352	風子	a madman	倭郎阿因	wei (wo) lang ah yin	uraṅ aṅin*
353	二哥	2nd brother	坐賒愛	tso shê ai	saai dụā*
354	大哥	eldest brother	弄賒愛	lung (nung) shê ai	saai prauṅ*
355	四哥	4th brother	罷賒愛	pa shê ai	saai pak
356	三哥	3rd brother	陋賒愛	lou shê ai	saai klău
357	五哥	5th brother	黎麻賒愛	li ma shê ai	saai limö
358	六哥	6th brother	南賒愛	nan shê ai	saai naṃ
359	七哥	7th brother	底竹賒愛	ti chu shê ai	saai tijuḥ
360	八哥	8th brother	打喇板賒愛	ta la pan shê ai	saai dalapan
361	九哥	9th brother	撒喇板賒愛	sa la pan shê ai	saai salapan
362	十哥	10th brother	撒不魯賒愛	sa pu lu shê ai	saai sapluḥ

310. Also *ṇō tau*. It was a title applied to the former Cham kings.

311. Literally, "great lord." Cf. 313, 226 (and note).

312. = Persian *shāh*, applied in Cham to princes, high dignitaries, and divinities.

313. A title, one of the French equivalents being "Monseigneur", i.e. "lord", etc.

315. Cf. 582, 590 ? It seems very doubtful.

316. Perhaps *ya* + *dalaṃ*, i.e. "those (who are) within".

317. Apparently the order of the words is inverted and the literal translation would then be "men of the great man" (or "lord"), if *lang* is written here for the usual *wei lang* (= *uraṅ*). Cf. 313, and 333, 336 (and note), 338–340.

322. Epigraphic *amā*.

323. Epigraphic *inā*.

324. Cf. 353–362.

325. Epigraphic *adiy*.

326. = " woman, girl, wife ". Cf. 328, 329.

327. *mio'* (also *mio'k*, *miök*, *miör*) = " uncle, or aunt, younger than the father or mother " ; *lakěi* = " male ".

328. Cf. 326.

329. = " daughter-in-law ". Cf. 326. The Chinese version is wrong.

330. Epigraphic *kumwan*.

333. = " a person of the family ", of either sex. Cf. 336–340, 346–352. *hauv* = " family " (Chinese 戶 *hóu*). *uraṅ* is pronounced *oraṅ*.

334. Also applied to the young of animals. Cf. 220.

336. = " people of the house ". The order is inverted. Cf. 253, 338–340, 346–352, 574, 581, 584.

339. Cf. 19 (note).

340. Cf. 18, 577, 593.

341–5. Identification doubtful as not agreeing well with the Chinese transcription. It seems more probable that instead of the Cham *takraṅ* this is merely the Chinese *chiang*, " craftsman."

341. Cf. 510 (and note).

342. Cf. 511 (and note).

343. Cf. 523.

344. Cf. 514, 522.

345. Cf. 77 (and note).

346. *klaik* = " to steal ".

347. Literally, " tall man," if the adjective is rightly identified. But it may be *prauṅ*. Cf. 226 (and note).

348. Cf. 85, 414.

349. Also *lamo'k*, *lamō'k*, and *limo'k*.

350. Also *lavaṅ* and *lavo'ṅ*.

351. The unidentified word seems to be akin to the Malay *buta*, " blind," but is not in the Cham dictionary.

352. Cf. 9 (and note). The expression for " madman " is not in the Cham dictionary. The Chinese character should be 瘋.

353–362. *saai* means " elder brother ", cf. 324. There is also a form *ai*. For the numerals, cf. 559–567.

354. Cf. 226 (and note).

Part IX

人事門 *Human Affairs*

		Meaning.	*Sound Equivalent.*		*Cham.*
363	進貢	present tribute	答麻魯麻道麻	ta ma lu ma tao ma	tamō' rumo'ḥ tauk mo'ḥ*
364	底頭	bend the head, bow	把故阿箇	pa ku ah ko	pakuk akauk*
365	賞賜	gift, bestow	阿吝	ah lin	alin*
366	前	in front of, before	阿鬧桑	ah nao sang	anap saṅ*
367	後	behind, after	里故桑	li ku sang	likuk saṅ*
368	進皇城	enter the imperial city	答麻魯麻波道	ta ma lu ma po tao	tamō' rumo'ḥ putau*
369	排齊	arrange in order	鄧把撒木	têng pa sa mu	tapak samu*
370	慢走	walk slowly	鬧答兒烏答兒	nao ta êrh wu ta êrh	nau udar udar*
371	快走	walk quickly	鬧不答喇	nao pu ta la	nau padraḥ
372	去	to go	鬧	nao	nau
373	來	to come	馬来 (= 來)	ma lai	mo'rai*
374	跪	kneel	快墩	k'uai tun	khuai trun
375	上御道	(?) ascend the imperial highway	鬧撒者籃	nao sa chê lan	nau jalan çah*
376	下御道	(?) descend the imperial highway	的淪撒者籃	ti lun sa chê lan	trun jalan çah*
377	左	left	腰	yao	ḭäv (= iou)
378	右	right	那	na	nuak*
379	鞠躬	to bow, lit. bend body	打安梭	ta an so	— —*
380	起來	rise	答過	ta kuo	taguauk*
381	叩頭	k'o. t'ou (kowtow)	所阿个	so ah ko	— akauk*
382	謝恩	return thanks	麻安正	ma an chêng	— —
383	平身	rise from the knees	賭罷打安	tu pa ta an	— —*
384	萬歲	10,000 years. (Long live the emperor.)	慢慢吞	man man t'un	mo'n mo'n thun*
385	官賞賜	official gifts	阿吝不鉄	ah lin pu t'ieh	alin —*
386	吃筵席	to eat a feast	八崩客鬧	pa pêng k'o nao	— —*
387	方物	regional productions	不鉄	pu t'ieh	—*
388	表裏	outside (and) inside	不鉄八	pu t'ieh pa	— —*
389	筵宴	banquet	崩阿鬧	pêng ah nao	— —
390	下程	inferior grade or qualifications	八羅	pa lo	—

		Meaning.	*Sound Equivalent.*		*Cham.*
391	彩段	(?) brocaded satin	不鉄	pu t'ieh	pataiḥ*
392	座	seat, throne, sit	坐	tso	—*
393	跕	stand	鄧	têng	do'ṅ*
394	笑	laugh	奔	pên	—
395	問	ask	答	ta	tañā*
396	答	answer	來	lai	čhalō'y*
397	上	above, ascend	干刀	kan tao	—*
398	下	below, descend	干仃 [? 仃 ting, or 你 ni]	kan (?) ni	—*
399	長	long	襖	ao	—*
400	短	short	乜	nieh	nak
401	哭	cry	卓	cho	čauk*
402	有	there is, to have	馬答	ma ta	mo'dā*
403	無	there is not, without	哈波	ha po	pak*
404	左邊來	to come on the left side	仰胡銳賭別馬來	yang hu jui tu pieh ma lai	—*
405	愁	sad, anxious, grieve	又	yu	—
406	右邊來	to come on the right side	仰胡銳麻馬來	yang hu jui ma ma lai	—*
407	深	deep	墩	tun	—*
408	淺	shallow	卜	pu	—*
409	多	many, much	羅	lo	lō*
410	少	few, little	的吉	ti chi	dikik*
411	謹愼	careful, cautious	線倭郎	hsien wei (wo) lang	uraṅ sịaṃ*
412	正直	straightforward, upright	茶倭郎	ch'a wei (wo) lang	uraṅ jak*
413	高	high	充	ch'ung	—*
414	低	low	別兒	pieh êrh	bịo'r*
415	喜	rejoice, happy, joy	線	hsien	sịaṃ*
416	生	to live, born	不墩的	pu tun ti	—
417	死	to die	麻大	ma ta	mo'tai*
418	見辭	(?) to be dismissed	漢波道	han po tao	—

363. Literally, "enter house, deposit (?) gold"; *tauk* is explained as meaning (*inter alia*) the French "placer, poser". Cf. 117.

364. Cf. 381, 419, 422.

365. Cf. 385.

366, 367. Cf. 89, 90.

368. Literally, " enter the palace (or house) of the king." Cf. 117, 310 (and notes).

369. These words apparently mean " correct " and " equal ". But *samu* can mean " together ", as that meaning is registered under its variant form *hamu*, e.g. *nau hamu*, " go together." Another form of *tapak* is *tupak*.

370. Or *adar*.

370–2. Cf. 250, 262.

373. Epigraphic *marai*. Cf. 404, 406.

375, 376. Cf. 65, 75, 113–16. For *çah*, cf. 312, but the identification is doubtful.

378. Short for *hanuak*, a variant of *hanuo'k*.

379. The unidentified *so* (also in 381) may possibly be *sauk*, " baisser, diminuer de niveau," but the Cham dictionary only gives as example the lowering of the level of water. Cf. 383.

380. There are also the variant forms *taguk*, *tagok*, and *tagauk*.

381. For the first syllable, cf. 379 ; for the rest, cf. 364, 419, 422.

383. Cf. 379, and perhaps 369 ; one meaning of *tapak* is " vertical ".

384. Cf. 144–154, 570.

385. Cf. 365, 387.

386. Cf. 389 and perhaps 484.

387, 388. Cf. 391 (and note).

389. Cf. 386 (and note).

391. Cf. 455, 459–462, 468, 469. Perhaps the Chinese means " ornamented satins ".

392. This may be the Chinese *tso* or the Annamese *toa*, *twa*. Cf. 304.

393. i.e. " to stand ".

395. Identification doubtful on account of the transcription.

396. Identification doubtful. An " answer " is *čhlo'i*.

397. Cf. 86.

398. Cf. 87.

399. Cf. 33, 155.

400. Cf. 34, 156.

401. = " to weep, to lament ".

402. Also means " to be ", like the Malay *ada*. An epigraphic form is *mada*. Cf. 57.

403. Epigraphic *upak*. Cf. 58.

404, 406. These phrases seem to mean " to come ", with some reference to the position of the sun. Cf. 5, 373.

407. Cf. 93.

408. Cf. 94, 103.

409. Cf. 60.

410. Cf. 61, 590.

411. = 339, though the sense given in 411 is different (and not recorded in the Cham dictionary). Cf. 17 (note).

412. Identification doubtful. The meaning of *jak* is "wise, intelligent" and the like. It seems as if the Cham equivalents of 411 and 412 had been interchanged.

413. Possibly *glauṅ*.

414. Cf. 85, 348.

415. Cf. 17, 339 (and notes).

417. Epigraphic *matai*. The last Chinese character should have been 太 *t'ai*, not 大 *ta*.

418. This rather suggests *haiy putau* (or *po tau*), "to escort the king," but the first word does not agree with the transcription.

Part X

身體門 *The Body*

		Meaning.	*Sound Equivalent.*		*Cham.*
419	頭	head	阿箇	ah ko	akauk*
420	眼	eye	麻答	ma ta	mo'tā*
421	身	body	幸郎	hsing lang	—*
422	頭疼	headache	阿个者納	ah ko chê na	akauk jano'k*
423	身疼	the body aches	幸郎者納	hsing lang chê na	— jano'k*
424	耳	ear	底阿	ti ah	tiñõ'
425	鼻	nose	一勳	i tung	iduṅ
426	口	mouth	把八	pa pa	pabaḥ
427	舌	tongue	底喇	ti la	dilaḥ
428	臉	face	命	ming	—
429	心	heart	昭	chao	—
430	肝	liver	路昭	lu chao	—
431	手	hand	打安	ta an	taṅõn
432	脚	foot	打該	ta kai	takai*
433	牙	tooth	底該	ti kai	tagĕi
434	腰	waist, loins	革羊	ko yang	kaĩṅ (= ka-iṅ)
435	鬚	moustache	粉速	fên su	[not recorded]
436	髮	hair	布	pu	ḅuk
437	肉	flesh	羅	lo	ralau
438	肺	lungs	阿	ah	lā*

		Meaning.	Sound Equivalent.		Cham.
439	洗臉	wash the face	腰麻答答來	yao ma ta ta lai	arau — —*
440	脚指	toes	打該胡盧	ta kai hu lu	hulău takai*
441	手帕	handkerchief	打安胡羅	ta an hu lo	hulaṅ taṅōn*
442	皮	skin	囊	nang	nor*
443	骨	bone	路	lu	—
444	血	blood	家	chia	—

419. Cf. 364, 381, 422.

420. Epigraphic *mata*.

421. Cf. 182, 423. Possibly for *çarirak*, *sarirak*, " body " (Sanskrit *śarīra*).

422. Cf. 364, 381.

423. Cf. 421. The order in 422, 423 seems doubtful but possible.

432. Epigraphic *kakai*. Cf. 440.

438. Conjectural identification.

439. The rest of this phrase is not clear. Cf. 420 ?

440. Order inverted. Cf. 432.

441. Order inverted. *hulaṅ* (also *halaṅ*) is described as a scarf of light texture. The Chinese character *shou*, " hand," may be an error for *shou*, " head ": head-kerchief. But cf. 431.

442. Identification doubtful.

Part XI

衣服門 *Clothing*

		Meaning.	Sound Equivalent.		Cham.
445	衣裳	clothes	襖	ao	av (= ao)
446	圓領	crossed revers on robe (lit. circular collar)	襖弄	ao (nung) lung	av prauṅ*
447	青圓領	black or dark blue ditto	衣陳弄襖	i ch'ên nung (lung) ao	av prauṅ hijau*
448	白圓領	white ditto	不的襖弄	pu ti ao nung (lung)	av prauṅ putiḥ*
449	白布衫	a long white robe	襖不的	ao pu ti	av putiḥ*
450	青布衫	a black or dark blue long robe	襖衣陳	ao i ch'ên	av hijau*
451	長衣服	long clothes	襖阿答	ao ah ta	av ataḥ*
452	短衣服	short clothes	襖阿乜	ao ah nieh	av anaiḥ*

		Meaning.	*Sound Equivalent.*		*Cham.*
453	大帽	large hat	端弄	tuan nung (lung)	ḍṵo'n prauṅ*
454	小帽	small hat	端乃	tuan nai	ḍṵo'n naiḥ*
455	段子圓領	crossed revers of (?) satin	不鉄襖弄	pu t'ieh ao nung (lung)	av prauṅ pataiḥ*
456	布圓領	crossed revers of cotton	必相(?租)襖弄	pi hsiang (? tsu) ao nung (lung)	av prauṅ —*
457	紗帽	official hat (Ming)	禿巾	t'u chin	—*
458	帶	belt	把阿革羊	pa ah ko yang	phā kaïṅ (= ka-iṅ)*
459	羅	open-work silk	不鉄羅	pu t'ieh lo	pataiḥ laău*
460	綾	thin silk, damask	不鉄綾	pu t'ieh ling	pataiḥ —*
461	絹	thin silk	不鉄見	pu t'ieh chien	pataiḥ —
462	紗	gauze	不鉄紗	pu t'ieh sha	pataiḥ —*
463	紅布	red cloth	線必相(?租)	hsien pi hsiang (? tsu)	— —*
464	白布	white cloth	不的必相(?租)	pu ti pi hsiang (? tsu)	— putiḥ*
465	布	cloth, linen	必相(?租)	pi hsiang (? tsu)	—
466	青布	black or dark blue cloth	衣陳必相(?租)	i ch'ên pi hsiang (? tsu)	— hijau*
467	葛布	a coarse yellow cloth	格又必相(?租)	ko yu pi hsiang (? tsu)	— kayău*
468	西洋布	foreign cloth	不鉄不阿	pu t'ieh pu ah	pataiḥ buṅŏ'*
469	西洋錦	foreign brocades	八鉄不阿	pa t'ieh pu ah	pataiḥ buṅŏ'*
470	藍布	light blue cloth	綠必相(?租)	lu (lū) pi hsiang (? tsu)	— —*
471	靴	boots	禿	t'u	[not recorded]
472	臘靴	? oiled boots	塔禿	t'a t'u	[not recorded]
473	鞋	shoes	撒	sa	—
474	帷幔	curtain, screen	不寧	pu ning	paniṅ*
475	白手巾	white handkerchief	看不得	k'an pu tê	khan putiḥ*
476	花手巾	flowered handkerchief	看不的	k'an pu ti	khan —*
477	皂靴	black boots	衣陳禿	i ch'ên t'u	— hijau*
478	白靴	white boots	不的禿	pu ti t'u	— putiḥ*
479	毡衫	? a kind of double-breasted long robe	襖正	ao chêng	av —*

446–8. Cf. 226 (and note). But the identification here is doubtful.
447. *hijau* means "green", cf. 92, 466, 541.

447, 448. Order inverted.

448, 449. Cf. 543.

450. Cf. 447 (and note).

451. The meaning given in the Cham dictionary for *ataḥ* include "distant", "distance", "long", and "length", but only the first two are illustrated by examples.

452. Literally, "small garment." For the shorter form *naiḥ*, cf. 48 (and note).

453, 454. Also *ḍuan*, both meaning "hat". The identification of the word for "large" is doubtful. Cf. 47 (and note), 226 (and note). For "small", cf. 48 (and note).

455, 456. *pataiḥ* means "silk texture". Cf. 391, 446 (and note), 459–462, 468, 469.

457. This may perhaps stand for *ḍuon kaṅ*, "hat worn by Annamese mandarins."

458. = "cord (for) the waist".

459. = "silk texture". Without the word *pataiḥ*, *laău* may also mean "cotton cloth". Cf. 455 (and note).

460. Cf. note 455 *supra*. The second word seems to be merely the Chinese *ling*.

462. The second word here is also apparently Chinese.

463, 464. Order inverted.

463. Cf. 542.

464. Cf. 543.

466, 467. Order inverted.

466. Cf. 541.

467. Cf. 161 ?

468, 469. *buṅō'* = "flower", and hence "spot", "pattern". Cf. 158 (and note).

470. Order inverted. Cf. 547.

474. = "curtain".

475, 476. Identification doubtful; *khan* means "cloth (in general)", "clothes", and in particular the skirt worn by both sexes (in Malay, *sarong*). The Malay *kain* also has these several senses. There seems to be some confusion here as regards the word for "white", cf. 543. Probably the transcriptions in Chinese characters of 475 and 476 have been interchanged.

477. Cf. 447 (and note), 471, 472.

478. Cf. 543.

479. Cf. 445–452, 455, 456.

PART XII

飲食門 *Food and Drink*

		Meaning.	*Sound Equivalent.*		*Cham.*
480	酒	spirit, wine	打伯	ta pai	tapai*
481	茶	tea	牙者	ya chê	ịā čaiy*
482	吃酒	drink wine	打伯米吞	ta pai mi t'un	minuṃ tapai*
483	雞肉	chicken	羅悶怒	lo mên nu	ralau mo'nuk*
484	不吃	not eat	八崩	pa pêng	pak ḥo'ṅ*
485	吃茶	drink tea	米吞牙者	mi t'un ya chê	minuṃ ịā čaiy*
486	肉	meat	羅	lo	ralau
487	醋	vinegar	牙竹	ya chu	ịā —*
488	醬	sauce	生	shêng	sịo'ṅ*
489	喫飯	eat food (i.e. boiled rice)	花喇塞	hua la sai (sê)	hụak lasči*
490	鹽	salt	賒喇	shê la	sarū
491	米	rice	不喇	pu la	braḥ*
492	魚肉	fish and meat	羅依干	lo i kan	ralau ikan*
493	羊肉	mutton, lamb	羅比別	lo pi pieh	ralau pabaiy*
494	猪肉	pork	羅不背	lo pu pei	ralau pabụči*
495	牛肉	beef	羅喇莫	lo la mo	ralau lamau*
496	鵝肉	goose-flesh	羅弓安	lo kung an	ralau kaṅan*
497	鴨肉	duck-meat	羅阿答	lo ah ta	ralau adā*
498	酒飯	wine and food	打伯花喇塞	ta pai hua la sai (sê)	tapai hụak lasči*
499	油	oil, grease	米牙	mi ya	mo'ño'k*
500	早飯	breakfast	馬來花喇塞	ma lai hua la sai (sê)	hụak lasči —*
501	中飯	lunch	五花喇塞	wu hua la sai (sê)	hụak lasči viḥ*
502	晚飯	dinner	答來花喇塞	ta lai hua la sai (sê)	hụak lasči —*
503	熟肉	cooked meat	八答羅	pa ta lo	ralau paḍịak*
504	生肉	raw meat	不墩羅	pu tun lo	ralau —*
505	黃酒	"yellow wine" (millet-spirit)	姑尼打伯	ku ni ta pai	tapai kuñik*
506	燒酒	ardent spirits	賭盃打伯	tu pei ta pai	tapai —
507	白酒	white wine	不的打伯	pu ti ta pai	tapai putiḥ*
508	淡酒	thin wine	打伯答八	ta pai ta pa	tapai —
509	白米	rice [lit. white rice]	不的不喇	pu ti pu la	braḥ putiḥ*

480. A fermented drink made from rice. Cf. 482, 498, 505–8.

481. Cf. 64.

482. Order inverted. Cf. 505–8.

483. = "flesh of fowl". Order inverted. Cf. 437, 486, and 209.

484. Cf. 386, 389.

485. Cf. 481, 482.

486. Cf. 437, 483, 492–7, 503, 504.

487. Cf. 64, and for the second part cf. Malay *chuka*, "vinegar," a word of Indian origin.

488. Identification doubtful. The Cham word represents a kind of paste, not sauce. Alternatively the alleged Cham word may be merely *chiang*, the Chinese word for sauce.

489. Literally, "eat boiled rice." Cf. 498, 500–2.

491. Cf. 168.

492. Cf. 210.

493. Cf. 200.

494. Cf. 202.

495. Cf. 199, 555.

496. Cf. 207.

497. Cf. 208.

498. Cf. 480, 489.

499. Cf. 180.

500. Order inverted. Cf. 489, 132.

501. Order inverted. Cf. 35, 88, 104, 489.

502. Order inverted. Cf. 489, 133.

503–9. Order inverted.

503. Literally, "hot meat." Cf. 36, 123, 135.

504. The word for "raw" is not recorded in the dictionary.

505–8. Cf. 480, 498.

505. Cf. 480 (and note), 22, 25, 539 (and note).

507. Cf. 543.

509. Cf. 168 (and note), 491, 543.

Part XIII

珍寶門 *Treasures*

		Meaning.	*Sound Equivalent.*		*Cham.*
510	金	gold	罵	ma	mo'h*
511	銀	silver	必喇	pi la	parjak*
512	銀壺	silver pot	必喇撒弄	pi la sa lung (nung)	halauñ parjak
513	銅 (t'ung)	brass, copper, bronze	董	tung	—*

		Meaning.	*Sound Equivalent.*		*Cham.*
514	錫 (hsi)	tin, pewter	歇	hsieh	—*
515	琥珀	amber	母的	mu ti	mo'tĕi*
516	瑪瑙	cornelian	波罩	po chao	[not recorded]
517	水晶	crystal, quartz	拜	pai	[not recorded]
518	珍珠	pearls	末的	mo ti	mo'tĕi*
519	金壺	gold (metal) pot	罵撒弄	ma sa lung (nung)	halauṅ mo'ḥ
520	珊瑚	coral	不豆的	pu tou ti	— —*
521	錫壺	pewter pot	歇撒弄	hsieh sa lung (nung)	halauṅ —*
522	茶壺	tea-pot	牙者撒弄	ya chê sa lung (nung)	halauṅ ḭā čaiy*
523	鉄	iron	利	li	—*
524	寶石	precious stones	木的	mu ti	mo'tĕi*

510. Epigraphic *māḥ*. Cf. 341, 363, 519, 525, 551, 553.

511. Epigraphic *pirak*. Cf. 236, 342.

512. Order inverted. Cf. 519, 521, 522.

513. Probably the Chinese *t'ung*, "brass"; but there is a Cham equivalent for "brass", *ḍauṅ ḅait*, of Annamese origin.

514. Perhaps the Chinese *hsi*, "tin." Cf. 344, 521.

515. This appears to be the same word as 518, 524. It includes "pearls, precious stones, jewels, gems, and bezoar stones" and is said to be derived from the Hindustani *motī*, Sanskrit *mutya*.

518. Cf. 515 (and note).

519. Order inverted.

520. The first two syllables probably represent *batău*, "stone." Cf. 260.

521. Order inverted. Cf. 512, 514, 519, 522, and 344.

522. Order inverted. Cf. 481.

523. Cf. 343.

524. Cf. 515, 518.

Part XIV

文史門 *Literature and History*

		Meaning.	*Sound Equivalent.*		*Cham.*
525	金葉表文	lit. gold-leaf despatch	八答麻蘇喇	pa ta ma su la	surak — mo'ḥ*
526	進表	present a document or memorial	八蘇喇	pa su la	ba surak*

		Meaning.	*Sound Equivalent.*		*Cham.*
527	勅書	imperial decrees	八蘇喇	pa su la	— surak
528	花押	signature	阿蘇喇	ah su la	— surak*
529	勘合	collate	見蘇喇	chien su la	— surak
530	印信	credentials, a seal	弄蘇喇	lung (nung) su la	— surak
531	文書	official despatches	蘇喇	su la	surak*
532	領勅書	receive imperial decrees	蘇班納八麻	su pan na pa ma	— —
533	讀書	read	拜蘇喇	pai su la	baď (= bai) surak
534	寫字	write	墩蘇喇	tun su la	— surak
535	名字	personal name and style	倭郎蘇喇	wo (wei) lang su la.	— —*
536	唱曲	sing songs	阿坐	ah tso	adauḥ
537	封記	to seal	奉蘇喇	fêng su la	— surak*
538	使印	affix official seal	打安蘇喇	ta an su la	— —*

525. The first two syllables may perhaps represent the Sanskrit *paṭṭa,* "tablet, copper plate for inscribing royal grants or orders." Cf. 510, 531.

526. Literally, "bring a document." Cf. 531.

528. Perhaps a character has been omitted and *ah* stands for *aṅan,* "name." Cf. 585.

530. The order may be inverted and the unidentified word may be *praun̓,* "great." Cf. 47 (note).

531. *surak* is registered in the dictionary as a verb, but is evidently also a substantive as appears plainly in most of the items of this section. Its variants, *çarak, sarak,* and *harak,* also play several parts. Cf. 600.

535. The order is evidently inverted and it seems that this must stand for *surak uraṅ,* which would mean "a person's document".

537. The first syllable may possibly be *bhin,* "mark, spot."

538. This might possibly stand for *surak taṅõn* (cf. 431), which could mean "handwritten document" or perhaps "signature". There is no authority for this in the dictionary, however, and it does not agree with the Chinese.

PART XV

聲 (? 顏) 色 門 *Colours*

		Meaning.	*Sound Equivalent.*		*Cham.*
539	黃	yellow	姑泥	ku ni	kuñik*
540	蠟黃	wax (i.e. light) yellow	塔姑泥	t'a ku ni	—*
541	青	black, dark blue	衣陳	i ch'ên	hijau*
542	紅	red	線	hsien	—*
543	白	white	不的	pu ti	putiḥ
544	黑 (hei)	black	黑	hei	—*
545	綠	green	夜喇莫	yeh la mo	aiḥ lamau*
546	紫	purple	藍	lan	[not recorded]
547	藍	light blue	綠	lu (lü)	—*
548	花	flower	阿	ah	—*
549	素	plain, unadorned, white	賴	lai	—
550	天青	sky-blue	喇儀衣陳	la i i ch'ên	hijau lañik*
551	金黃	golden	罵姑泥	ma ku ni	kuñik mo'ḥ*
552	大紅	deep red	弄線	nung (lung) hsien	— —*
553	桃紅	pink (peach-red)	麻線	ma hsien	— —*
554	花紅	scarlet (lit. flower-red)	阿線	ah hsien	— —*
555	黑綠	black (i.e. dark) green	黑夜喇莫	hei yeh la mo	aiḥ lamau —*
556	葱白	leek-white	阿喇遜不的	ah la hsün pu ti	putiḥ lasun*
557	鸚哥綠	parrot green	者答	chê ta	jatā*

539. Cf. 22, 25, 505.

540. The syllable *ta* has not been identified.

541. Cf. 21, 23 (and note). Alternative forms are *hajau*, *hajav*, and *hujau*. The dictionary also gives a reference to *hijau* but there is no separate entry of this form.

542. Cf. 26, 552–4.

543. Cf. 192, 193 (and note), 448, 449.

544. This seems to be the same as the Chinese word. Cf. 27, 235.

545. Literally, "cow's dung." Cf. 199, 495, 555.

547. Cf. 470.

548. Cf. 158 (and note), 468, 469.

550, 551. If used attributively the order would probably be the reverse of the Chinese.

550. Cf. 21, 23 (and note). It is doubtful whether *hijau* ever means "blue".

551. Cf. 539 (and note). *kañik*, a variant form of *kuñik*, means both "yellow" and "turmeric"; *kañik mo'ḥ* is a golden coloured kind, *Curcuma pallida*. Cf. 510.

552–4. Cf. 26, 542.

554. This may be a sentence = "the flower is red". Cf. 158 (and note), 548.

555. Cf. 545 (and note), 544.

556. Cf. 165, 543.

557. = "parrot". Cf. 211.

Part XVI

數目門 *Numerals*

		Meaning.	*Sound Equivalent.*		*Cham.*
558	一	one	撒	sa	sā*
559	二	two	坐	tso	dṇā*
560	三	three	陋	lou	klău*
561	四	four	罷	pa	pak
562	五	five	黎麻	li ma	limö*
563	六	six	南	nan	naṃ
564	七	seven	底竹	ti chu	tijuḥ
565	八	eight	打喇板	ta la pan	dalapan
566	九	nine	撒喇板	sa la pan	salapan
567	十	ten	撒不魯	sa pu lu	sa pluḥ
568	一百	one hundred	撒喇多	sa la to	sa ratuḥ*
569	一千	one thousand	撒喇瓢	sa la p'iao	sa ribău
570	一萬	ten thousand	撒喇慢	sa la man	sa tamo'n*

558. Cf. 154.

559–566. Cf. 353, 355–362.

560. Epigraphic *tluv*, *kluv*.

562. Epigraphic *limā*.

568–570. Cf. 151–3.

570. Cf. 384.

PART XVII

通用門 *Current Phrases*

		Meaning.	*Sound Equivalent.*		*Cham.*
571	常來打攪	Frequently come and disturb . . .	仰胡銳馬來不多不答	yang hu jui ma lai pu to pu ta	yaṅ hurĕi marai — —*
572	各守地方	Each defends his territory	把不勒八坐	pa pu lo pa tso	— — —*
573	休生事	Don't cause trouble	綴底格來	cho (chui) ti ko lai	jụai —
574	人民艱難	The people are in difficulty	倭郎肚答者當	wo (wei) lang tu ta chê tang	uraṅ — —
575	平天理 (? 憑)	According to justice	撒底把答莫偷	sa ti pa ta mo t'ou	— — —
576	地方寧靖	The place is peaceful	打納線	ta na hsien	tano'ḥ sio'm̥*
577	地方不寧靖	The place is not peaceful	打納茶	ta na ch'a	tano'ḥ jha*
578	朝廷喜	The Court (i.e. Emperor) is pleased	波波打納牙完不端	po po ta na ya wan pu tuan	pu poṅ tana rayā ụo'n tavo'n*
579	朝廷惱	The Emperor is displeased	波波打納牙肯木兒	po po ta na ya k'ên mu êrh	pu poṅ tana rayā gumur*
580	休要動	Don't move	綴馬該	cho (chui) ma kai	jụai mo'gĕi
581	休要罵人	Don't curse people	綴不盖倭郎	cho (chui) pu kai wo (wei) lang	jụai pakai uraṅ*
582	休說話	Don't talk	綴敗	cho (chui) pai	jụai puaĕ (= pụói)*
583	休咳喇 (? 嗽)	Don't cough	綴不度	cho (chui) pu tu	jụai batuk
584	你是那里人	Where do you come from ?	哈勒把勒倭郎	ha lo pa lo wo (wei) lang	— — —*
585	你姓甚麼	What is your surname ?	海及阿南	hai chi ah nan	hagaik aṅan*
586	我問你在那里住	May I ask where you live ?	朶翁坐哈勒不勒	to wêng tso ha lo pu lo	— — — —*
587	多少年已 (? 紀)	How old are you ?	翁海端吞	wêng hai tuan t'un	— — — —*
588	我在這里住	I live here	哈勒不勒翁坐	ha lo pu lo wêng tso	— — — —*

		Meaning.	*Sound Equivalent.*		*Cham.*
589	休要鬧	Don't make a disturbance	綴嫂馬新	cho (chui) sao ma hsin	jụai — —
590	少說話	Talk less	敗的吉	pai ti chi	pụaŏ (= pụéi) dikik*
591	休胡說	Don't talk nonsense	推邦又拜	t'ui pang yu pai	— — —*
592	你每听着	Whenever you hear . . .	鬧黎敖	nao li ao	— — —
593	朝廷法度利害	The imperial law is very severe	革他不內茶	ko t'a pu nei ch'a	— — —*
594	遵守法度	Keep the law	革他不內線	ko t'a pu nei hsien	— — —*
595	朝廷禮体	Court ceremonial and decorum	波道不線	po tao pu hsien	— — —*
596	敬順天道	Respect and obey the laws of Heaven	鬧波波不道	nao po po pu tao	— — — —*
597	遇有緊急事情	In cases of emergency; in crises	鬧馬來波波	nao ma lai po po	— — — —*
598	務審直僞	Earnestly investigate honest and false (the facts)	波波打納牙坐	po po ta na ya tso	— — — —*
599	不要作亂	Don't be rebellious	綴敗	cho (chui) pai	jụai ḅaŏ
600	寫勅與他	Write (imperial) orders to him	鬧蘇喇	nao su la	— —*
601	若有差錯	If there be any error . . .	不革不及	pu ko pu chi	— —

571. Cf. 5, 373. The remainder has not been identified.

572. Unexplained; but perhaps cf. 584, 586, 587.

576. Literally, "the country is good." Cf. 19, 52, 339.

577. Literally, "the country is bad." Cf. 18, 340.

578, 579. The first four words of each of these sentences are epigraphic forms (given under *pu* in the dictionary). The modern forms are *pō* for *poṅ* and *tano'h* for *tạna* (cf. 73, 74 and note); there is also an alternative *riyā* for *rayā* (cf. 598). The literal meaning of the whole is "sovereign lord of the great earth (or land)", i.e. H.M. the King. In 578 the Chinese syllable *pu* is not represented in our Cham rendering. It may be that the order of the sounds was confused by the Chinese recorder, for a fuller form of *tavo'n* is *tabụo'n*.

581. Cf. 336, 338–340, 346–352, 574, 584.

582. Cf. 590, 591.

584. The words are probably *haléi*, "what," *paléi*, "country, village", and *uraṅ*, "man"; but the order seems to be wrong. Cf. 586.

585. = "what name?"

586. Cf. 584 and 588.

587. The last two syllables probably represent *duṃ thun*, "how many years."

588. The Cham rendering implies a question (cf. 584 and 586) and therefore does not agree with the Chinese sentence. Cf. 584.

590. = "speak little". Cf. 582, 410.

591. The first syllable may be a variant transcription of *jụai*, "do not," and the last is presumably for *pụač*, "speak" (cf. 582). But the rest is unexplained unless it represents *baño'k*, "much."

593. This seems to represent *kathā pu* (or *pō*) *nī jha* (or *jhak*), "the words (or sentences) of this sovereign are bad (or cruel)." Cf. 578 (and note), 139, 144, 340.

594. Like the preceding except for the substitution of *siạm* or *sio'ṃ*, "good," for *jha*, "bad." Cf. 339.

595. This seems to represent *putau*, "king" (or "emperor", cf. 310), *pu*, "lord" (cf. 578, 579, note), and *sio'ṃ*, "good," which does not fit the Chinese very well.

596. This seems to mean "go (to) H.M. the King". Cf. 372, 578 (and note), 595.

597. This seems to mean "go (and) come to H.M." Cf. 372, 373, 578 (and note).

598. This looks like 578 and 579 (q.v.), but the final syllable is unexplained. Alternatively *ta na ya* may represent *tañā*, "to question" (cf. 395).

600. = "go (and) write" (?), which, however, does not quite represent the Chinese. Cf. 372, 525–534, 531 (and note).

Note.—The collection of vocabularies, from which the present one and the Chinese-Malay one published in Vol. VI, part 3, of the *Bulletin* were copied, was described in *T'oung Pao*, Série II, Vol. IX (1908), pp. 689–95, by Sir Denison Ross, who had discovered it in the Morrison Collection at University College, London. Besides the two vocabularies above mentioned it includes eight others, namely of Korean, Japanese, Persian, Turkish, Siamese, Po-y, Annamese and Luchuan. In the same article Sir Denison Ross makes mention of other, somewhat different, collections of vocabularies in Chinese characters which are preserved at Paris, St. Petersburg, Berlin and the British Museum, London.

Sogdian Loan-words in New Persian

By W. B. Henning

It is well known what an extraordinary power of absorbing foreign words Persian possesses. In addition to the innumerable Arabic words which since the creation of the New Persian literary language have formed an integral part of Persian speech, we have a fair number of Aramaic words [1] on the one hand, and of Eastern Iranian words on the other; in later times, there is also considerable borrowing from Turkish. It is, I think, proper to regard Eastern Iranian words in Persian as "loan-words" in the same way as, say, Arabic or Aramaic words; for no Eastern Iranian language is amongst the constituent dialects of Modern Persian, which can perhaps best be defined as the descendant of the current language of culture and commerce which developed in Persia during the Sasanian era.

So far, little attention has been paid to the Eastern Iranian words in Persian. Horn, in his excellent paper on the New Persian literary language,[2] quoted examples such as *Balaχšān*, *Hilmand*, *fuš* "mane", *faγ*, *fuγ* "idol", *malaχ* "locust", *bilist* "span", *lōγīdan* "to milk", etc., words whose phonetic habitus does not agree with the normal Persian development. To-day we are in a much more fortunate position since the Sogdian language has gradually become known to us: seen from Persia, Sogdian was by far the most important Eastern Iranian language, a language of culture, literature, and commerce, whose territory bordered on the area of Persian speech and extended towards the frontiers of China. Moreover, if we consider the important rôle which the Sogdian mother-country, Bukhara and Samarkand, played in the development of early Persian literature, we must expect a considerable number of Sogdian words to have entered the Persian language. It may be true that several amongst the words which I am going to mention might have been borrowed also from some Eastern Iranian language other than Sogdian;

[1] See Nöldeke, *Pers. Stud.*, ii, pp. 34 seqq. Several additions to his collection are possible now, e.g. کیانا "*natura*", Asadi, p. 5, Šams-i Fakhrī, p. 7 (i, 40; کیا ibid., p. 4 = i, 10, is of course wrong), from Syriac ܟܝܢܐ *kyānā*; کونیا "square", from Syr. ܓܘܢܝܐ = *γωνία*, etc.

[2] *Die Neupersische Schriftsprache* (Grdr. Ir. Phil.), pp. 8, 14 seq., 57, 69.

however, the historical and cultural preponderance of Sogdian makes it *a priori* more likely that Sogdian was the lending language.

It is not intended to discuss at length those Persian words which have already been recognized as Sogdian loan-words, e.g. *fayγ*, *fuγ* "idol",[1] or *fayγpūr* (also *bayβūr* and *fayβūr*) "Chinese emperor",[2] or those Indian and Chinese words which have passed into Persian through the medium of Sogdian, e.g. *but* "Buddha, idol" from Sogdian *pwt-*,[3] *farχār* "Vihāra" from Sogdian *βrγ'r*[4] (beside which we have Pers. *bahār*), or تیم *tīm* "Karavanserai, Bazaar" from Sogdian *tym* = Chinese 店 *tien* "inn, shop".[5]

With a number of words which are homophones in Sogdian and Persian it is difficult to say whether they have been borrowed either from Persian or Sogdian, or whether they are common inheritance in both languages. The following examples may be given here :—

(1) خذول *χaδūk* (*χuδūk*) "disappointment, grief, anger", Vullers, i, p. 663 ; Šams-i Fakhrī,[6] p. 72 ; 'Abd-ul Qādir Baγdādī,[7] nr. 823, and nr. 824 = Asadi, p. 69, verse by 'Unṣurī with باخذول "depressed, disappointed". Sogdian *γδwk*, Man. *xδwk*, see *BBB.*, p. 92. If the word, which is rare in both languages, had been borrowed by Persian, one would rather expect *غلول or خلول.

(2) نوك *nauk* "point, nib" (Firdausi, verse by Bū Šukūr in Asadi, p. 72 ; still to-day freely used, also in modern dialects, from Pers.,

[1] See Gauthiot, *JA.*, 1911, ii, p. 58.

[2] See Gauthiot, ibid., p. 53. Originally Sogdian *βaypūr* was taken from Parthian *baypuhr* (Manich. Parth. *bgpwhr*), with the usual replacement of short vowel + *hr* by long vowel + *r*, cf. *BBB.* (= *Manich. Bet- und Beichtbuch*), p. 73, cf. also *mīr* from *mihr*, ibid., p. 85, *šāristān* from *šahristān*, ibid., p. 93, etc. Schaeder's assumption that the Sogdian word was borrowed from Saka (*OLZ.*, 1938, p. 598) is not in accord with our present knowledge of Saka phonology ; *bagapuθra-* would result in Saka **baavirā* (or still shorter), cf. *baravirīā* from *bara-puθra-* (Bailey, *BSOS.*, IX, p. 77 ; cf. Sogd. *βrpš-*, Parth. *brbwhr*).

[3] See Gauthiot, ibid., p. 58 ; Bailey, *BSOS.*, VI, pp. 279 sqq.

[4] See Gauthiot, ibid., pp. 53 seqq. On the insertion of *r* see *BBB.*, p. 88, *BSOS.*, IX, p. 570 ; it is frequent in Saka. I do not see any difficulty in deriving Sogd. *βrγ'r* directly from *vihāra*. I reject, therefore, the derivation from Av. *pouru.xvāθra* which has been proposed by Benveniste, *BSL.*, xxviii (1928), pp. 7 seq. ; one would expect Sogdian **purχwāš* or **puruχāš*.

[5] See F. W. K. Müller, *S.T.*, i, p. 104 n. ; Müller-Lentz, *S.T.*, ii, p. 524, n. 2. Müller referred to the passage in Yaqut, *Geogr. Dict.*, i, p. 909, quoted by Salemann, Šams-i Fakhrī, p. 160, cf. ibid., p. 93. Cf. Asadi, p. 94. There is also a diminutive, *tīmče*, see Vullers, i, pp. 493 seq.

[6] Ed. Salemann ; abbr. *ŠF.*

[7] *Shahname Glossary*, ed. Salemann ; abbr. *AQ.*

cf. e.g. Morgenstierne, *IIFL.*, i, pp. 276, 402) = Sogdian *nwk*, see *BBB.*, p. 61. Possibly connected with Saka *nūha, nauha*, cf. Bailey, *BSOS.*, VIII, p. 130; Konow, *NTS.*, xi, p. 58.

(3) ترت‌مرت or ترت‌ومرت *tart(-u-)mart* "raided, topsy-turvy, disordered" (e.g. Asadi, p. 31; *ŠF.*, pp. 13, 28[19], 56[7]) = Sogdian *trtmrt, BBB.*, p. 84. For the formation the synonym Pers. تارمار *tār(-u-)mār* is of interest.

(4) ستیغ *sitēγ* "erect", also "long" and "top of a mountain", Asadi, p. 58; *ŠF.*, p. 66; *AQ.*, nr. 1444 and 1445 (verse by Minochihri). With the frequent change of final postsonantic γ to χ we have ستیخ *sitēχ* (*ŠF.*, p. 24), which according to Wolff's *Firdausi Dict.* occurs once in the Shahname. The better form is *sitēγ* = Sogdian *'st'yγ*, *(ə)stēγ* "erect" (Dhyāna, 84, 137). Should *sitēγ* belong to √*stā*, its Sogdian origin would be assured (Sogd. adjectival suffix *-'yγ*, Gauthiot-Benveniste, *Gramm.*, ii, p. 95). It is, however, at least equally likely that the word is derived from the root *(s)taiγ* "to be pointed", etc. (cf. Duchesne-Guillemin, *BSOS.*, IX, p. 865, on Av. *stiϑa*), so that it would be closely related to Pers. *tēγ*, etc. In that case the two forms could belong to the heritage common to both languages. This may be true also for the following word.

(5) راغ *rāγ* "plain, slope, hillside" (frequent) = Sogdian *r'γ* (e.g. *S.T.*, i, 33, 21 = *τόπος πεδινός*). Cf. Saka *rraa-* "desert", Bailey, *BSOS.*, VIII, p. 135; Konow, *NTS.*, xi, p. 73. The meaning "desert" is corroborated by the Sogd. adjective *r'γyh* "wild, desert", *SCE.*, 39, 300; *r'γ* "deserted, bare", *SCE.*, 315. Pashto *rāγa*, quoted by Konow, has probably been taken from Persian. We have to assume OIran. **rāga-*, possibly connected with Avestan *ravah-* "open space, freedom", also "plain" (as in *ravasčarāt-*), if from **ragvah-*.—Cf. also Morgenstierne, *NTS.*, v, p. 49, on Bal. and Oss. *raγ*.

(6) ارمان *armān* "trouble, grief" (cf. Asadi, pp. 28[8], 98) probably = Sogdian *('pw) rm''n* "(without) trouble",[1] Vim. 3. Prothetic vowels are common in Sogdian.

(7) غول *γōk* "frog" is not rare (e.g. Asadi, pp. 38[15], 68[15, 19, 20, 21]) = Sogdian *γwk* (pl. *γwkt* Frg. iii, 16, 19; left untranslated by Reichelt). From Persian, *γōk* has entered modern dialects, e.g. Ormuri and Parachi, see Morgenstierne, *IIFL.*, i, pp. 255, 395.

[1] Chinese: "without losing (from memory)," see F. Weller, *Asia Major*, x, pp. 319 seq.

(8) چغز *čayz*, another word for "frog" (Asadi, p. 38; *ŠF.*, 72[7], 74[7]; *AQ.*, nr. 744) = Sogdian *čγz-*, see Benveniste, *BSOS.*, IX, p. 515, n. 1, who quotes Yaghnobi *čayz* (Pers. *ǰayz*, *ǰayaz*, *čuγr*, etc., are misspellings).

(9) چغد *čuγd* "owl" (old and frequent, common to-day but pronounced *ǰuγd*) = Sogdian *čγwt-*, *SCE.*, 148. For readers not acquainted with Sogdian orthography it may be pointed out that the spelling *čγwt-* proves the existence of a word *čuγd* and suggests a coexisting dialectical pronunciation *čᵘγúd*, see *BSOS.*, IX, pp. 548 seq. The latter may account for Persian *čuγū* "owl" (loss of final post-sonantic *d* ?), see Asadi, pp. 22, 25, and 112 with the following verse by BūŠukūr :—

Agar bāz-iy andar čuγū kam nigar,
Vagar bāše-ī sūyi baṭṭān ma-par.[1]

(10) زیور *zēvar* "ornament" = Sogdian *zywr* (*BBB.*, p. 140; cf. Benveniste, *JA.*, 1936, ii, p. 234).

(11) سنگسار *sangsār* "stoning" (*ŠF.*, p. 39 = viii, 40; *sangsār* "stony terrain" is to be kept apart) = Sogdian (Chr.) *snqs'r bw-* "to be stoned" (*S.T.*, ii). The second part of the compound could be regarded as the Sogdian postposition *-sār* (*-sā* in Chr.), cf. OPers. *uzmayā-patiy*.

(12) کرو *karve* "hollow, decayed teeth" (Asadi, p. 115; also کرو *karv*, *ŠF.*, p. 113; cf. Vullers, ii, pp. 824 seq.) = Sogdian *krw-δnt'k* "having hollow or defective teeth", *SCE.*, 83; also *krw'*, *Dhyāna*, 66, "hollow space" or "gap", see Benveniste, *JA.*, 1933, i, p. 219; F. Weller, *Mon. Serica*, ii, p. 386. The semantic difference (cavity : gap) is perhaps not very considerable. The meaning does not suit Av. *kaurva-* very well, which is usually explained from Skt. *-kulva*, *-kūlva* "*calvus*" (but "short" acc. to Bailey, *BSOS.*, VI, pp. 598 seq.; *JRAS.*, 1939, p. 117); but the possibility of a connexion (bald : deficient : having deficient teeth) should not be lost sight of. The specialized meaning of the Persian word perhaps makes a borrowing more likely.

(13) چرخشت *čarχušt* "a winepress", Asadi, p. 11 (verse by Rudagi), 54 (Farrukhi), 107[9], etc. = Sogdian *črχwšt*, *S.T.*, i, 19[16]

[1] Asadi at least clearly understood *čuγū* as "owl", although he gives the same verse with چکک *čukuk* or *čuguk* "a bird" (p. 70), elsewhere explained as "sparrow" (cf. *ŠF.*, p. 76). Again, *AQ.*, nr. 765, explains *čuγū* in the same verse as "sparrow". Acc. to dictionaries *čuγū*, *čuγūk*, *čuγuk*, *čukuk*, *čuguk*, *čukūk*, *čugūk* are "sparrow" (whilst *čakūk*, *čagūk*, *čakāv*, *čakāvak*, *čakāve* are "lark").

(the equation has also been noticed by Benveniste, *BSOS.*, IX, p. 515, n. 1). The work is done by crushing the grapes with the feet: that explains the synonym *sipār* (*ŠF.*, p. 36 = viii, 7), from √*spar* "trample". Persian origin of *čarχušt* would be assured, if the word were connected with *čarχ* "wheel, spinning-wheel, sphere, sky, bow, collar". However, that is unlikely, although the dictionaries amongst other wrong forms (e.g. چرخست) have also *čarχ* as "winepress" (e.g. *BQ.*; indeed, the author of *BQ.* uses *čarχ* in this meaning for the explanation of *sipār*); for the metathesis of (*hr*) *χr* into *rχ* occurs, as a rule, at the end of a word only (*čahre* against *čarχ*; exception: *parhīz-*). Possibly *čarχušt* is connected with Pahlavi ولسرد "winepress", *P.T.*, ii, p. 69u., if to be read *karχōš* (*karhōš*), as Nyberg [1] proposes; apart from the finals, the relation of the two words would be similar to that found in Persian *kargas* : Sogdian *čarkas* "vulture" [2] (cf. *BSOS.*, VIII, p. 584).

However, besides more or less doubtful cases of this kind, there is a sufficiently large number of genuine Sogdian loan-words in Persian to warrant the title of this paper. It will be useful to mention the more important phonetic rules: Sogdian *β* (= Man. and Chr. *β* and *f*) is always rendered by ف, which has the double function of *f* and *β* (= ڤ in some ancient Persian MSS., in Choresmian, etc.).—Sogdian δ (Buddh. and Man.) = Chr. *d* [i.e. δ] and *t* [i.e. *θ*] regularly appears as ل *l*. It seems that in most Sogdian dialects Old Iranian *d* (δ) and *θ* had merged into one sound which was very near to *l* in the West (as shown by Persian loan-words as well as by the Sogdian system of writing: letter δ = Aramaic *l*), whilst it was pronounced more like *d* in some Eastern dialects (for the Uyγur employed the Sogdian letter δ for their *d*). On the other hand, the distinction between δ and *θ* was preserved in Christian Sogdian, exactly as in Yaghnobi (*d* resp. *t/s*) or Choresmian.[3]—Sogdian *γ́* (= Man. and Chr. *γ* and *χ*) is represented by غ *γ* as a rule, rarely by خ *χ*. It must be borne in mind that two letters, Gimel and Ḥeth, are responsible for the Sogdian letter *γ* [4];

[1] *Texte Mazd. Kal.*, p. 76. In the passage in question Nyberg inadvertently translates *angūr* ("grapes") as "figs" and *razān* ("vineyards") as "orchards" (p. 51).

[2] A Persian word for "vulture" of possibly Eastern Iranian origin is *zaγan* (for **zγan*) : Saka *uysgana* "vulture" (cf. Bailey, *BSOS.*, IX, p. 71; Konow, *NTS.*, xi, p. 42).

[3] This should be regarded as an intentional simplification of the very complicated problem.

[4] See *BBB.*, pp. 52 seq.

this is fully proved by the sequence of letters in the Ūyγur alphabet (i.e. the nearly intact Sogdian alphabet) where γ (q) appears twice: *a v γ(q) w z γ(q) y k d m n s b(p) č r š t l ([δ] m q)*.[1]—Sogdian *-γt-*, pronounced *-γd-*, and *-βt-*, pronounced *-βd-*, are correctly rendered by غد and فد respectively. For the Sogdian nominal ending *-e* from *-ak* (spelt *-'kw, -'k, -k, -'w, -'y, -y*, etc.) we have ـه = *-e* (*-a, -ä*) in loan-words, i.e. the Sogdian ending is spelt in exactly the same way as the etymologically identical Persian ending. However, from this way of spelling we can draw the inference that the Sogdian ending had a short vowel, cf. *BSOS.*, IX, p. 561, n. 1.

It does not seem that the borrowing was restricted to any particular group of words, so that it has been found impossible to arrange the material in order of subjects. It is fitting to begin with آغاز *āγāz* "beginning" = Sogdian *"γ'z* (frequent). The word is isolated in Persian (*āγāzīdan* is of course denominative), but well represented in Sogdian: verb *āγāz-, āγašt-* "to begin", *fraγāz-*, impf. *frāγāz-* "to begin", etc.

پساك *pasāk* "a coronet (of flowers)", Asadi, p. 64; *ŠF.*, p. 70. From Avestan *pusā-*, MPers. *pusag* (Arm. *psak*) we should expect Persian **puse*. The ending and the loss of *u* prove Sogdian origin: (*'sprγmym'k*) *'ps'kh, Vim.* 88, (*βwδ'ndč*) *'ps'k, HR.*, ii, 98[11]; cf. also *pasāk*(*īč*), the name of the fourth Sogdian month, *ZDMG.*, 90, p. 12, n. 1; *Orientalia*, viii, p. 94.

پل *pil* "heel" (Asadi, p. 83; *ŠF.*, p. 89; Vullers, i, pp. 255, 369) is an Eastern Iranian word on account of its *l* from *d* (Sogdian *pδ-*, *BBB.*, p. 54; genuine Persian *pai*).[2] This is also true of مل *mul* "wine", from Sogdian *maδu* > *muδ*[3] (cf. *mwδy* nom., against *mδw* acc., in the *Ancient Letters*, iv, 5, 6; *myw, S.T.*, i, 36, 1, error for *mdw* ?), compared with Persian *mai*. Again, we have نال *nāl* "reed, reed-pen, the thin thread of wood in the middle of the reed" (e.g. Asadi, p. 78; *ŠF.*, p. 85; *AQ.*, pp. 224 seq.; Vullers, ii, p. 1282, *nāl* 5) besides

[1] Thus in an Uyγur manuscript from Qočo, see von LeCoq, *Türk. Man.*, iii, p. 22. Cf. also Rahmeti, *Uygur alfabesi*, in *Muallim M. Cevdetin Hayati, Eserleri ve kütüphanesi*, Istanbul, 1937.

[2] Cf. also Pashto *pal*, Morgenstierne, *EVP.*, p. 56. For another explanation of Persian *pil* see Horn, op. cit., p. 171.

[3] For the umlaut cf. e.g. Choresm. *wuδ* "wife" from Sogd. *waδu, miθ* "here" from Sogd. *maθi*, the above-mentioned Pers. *pil* from Sogd. *paδi*. Sogd. *muδ-* may help to explain the first vowel of Chinese *p'u-t'ao*, see Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, p. 225; cf. also Oss. *mud*.

nāi and *nai* "reed, flute".[1] In this group belongs also پالیك *pālīk* "leather shoes" (Asadi, p. 72, verse by Rudagi; cf. *BQ*. s.vv. *pālīk* and *bālīk*), obviously derived from Sogdian *p'δ-* "foot", cf. *δ'rwk-p'δy* "wooden shoes", *SCE*., 152.[2]

ریژ *rēž* "desire" (*AQ*., nr. 1141), usually coupled with *kām*, ریژکام or ریژوکام *rēž(-u-)kām* (Asadi, p. 41), is easily recognized as Sogdian *rēž* "desire, lust" (common). In Sogdian we have also the verb *rēž-* "to like", etc.

کاس *kās* "pig" is the ordinary Sogdian *k's*. In Persian کاسموی *kāsmūi* "bristles" is well attested (Asadi, pp. 42, 119; *ŠF*., p. 138, his verse, p. 139, quoted by *AQ*., nr. 1984), it seems that the simple word *kās* was never used. The lexicographers, of course, could not fail to detect in *kāsmūi* a word for "pig", and unhesitatingly entered *kās* "pig" into their dictionaries. Even Firdausi is suspected of having employed *kās* as "pig", see *AQ*., nr. 1983, but cf. Wolff s.v. It will be observed that Firdausi, as a rule, avoids the Eastern Iranian loan-words, although most of them are ascribed to him by his lexicographer 'Abd-ul Qādir.

فرخواك *farχᵛāg*, acc. to *BQ*. "a soup, sprinkled with (hard-boiled) chopped egg", recalls Sogdian *frχw'k*, which is derived from *fraχwāy-* "to cut into pieces". Indeed, in a Middle Persian-Sogdian vocabulary we have the gloss: MPers. *'škng* = Sogd. *frχw'k* (see *BBB*., p. 59). MPers. *'škng, iškanag*, of course from *škastan* "to break", is to be explained by Persian *iškane* "the bread which is put into the bouillon in pieces" (*BQ*.), now also used for various kinds of soup or bouillon. The original meaning of Sogd. *fraχwāk* and MPers. *iškanag*, accordingly, was "something which is cut or broken into small pieces and put into the soup".

غولین *γōlīn* "a jug with a wide mouth" (Asadi, pp. 109, 94[7], 110[6], etc.) can hardly be separated from Sogdian *γwδ'k* "vessel" (Dhyāna, 277), Chr. Sogd. *γwdy* as a dry measure (*βάτος* or *κάδος*), *S.T*., i, 43[9, 10].

پلندین *palindīn* "door-frame", also "lintel" (Asadi, p. 109; *ŠF*., p. 105). The vowels are given as *palandīn* or *pilandīn*, but *palindīn* would be more correct. In the dictionaries we find also *baland, biland*

[1] Cf. Morgenstierne, *IIFL*., ii, pp. 232, 531, on Yidgha *nəl*, and Wakhi *nālčik*. Kabuli Pers. *nal* "tube, pipe" is borr. from Hind. (Skt. *nala, naḍa*, cf. *nāli*, etc.), according to Bogdanov, *Stray Notes*, p. 97. Cf. also Morgenstierne, *EVP*., p. 53.

[2] Cf. Morgenstierne's explanation of Pashto *abl*, *EVP*., p. 56.

(for *palind*) with the same meaning, see Vullers, i, pp. 260, 261, 371. There can be hardly any doubt that this word has been taken from Sogdian *pδynd* = *paδīnd* "threshold", see *BBB.*, p. 131, cf. also Shughni *piδīnd* (etc.), Lentz, *Pamirdial.*, i, p. 186; Morgenstierne, *IIFL.*, ii, p. 300. From **pati-antā*, cf. Av. *ąiθyā-*, Lat. *antae*.

نس *nus* "*ambitus oris*" (Asadi, p. 45; *AQ.*, p. 223; *ŠF.*, p. 57; Vullers, ii, p. 1310) has probably been borrowed from Sogdian *ns* "nose". The Sogdian word, it seems, was pronounced *nos* or with a nasalized vowel, *nąs*, as is suggested by the Buddhist Sogdian form; *nns* = *nans* (see *BBB.*, p. 79).

پتفوز *patfōz* "mouth, muzzle, beak" gives the correct reading of Sogdian *ptβ'wz* "beak" (hitherto read *ptβ'wn*), in *βrzptβ'wz'y* "with a long beak", *SCE.*, 170. The Persian word is used of wild animals, dogs, birds, also of men, see Asadi, pp. 31 (MS. پُتنوز, Horn erroneously پتپوز), 39; *ŠF.*, p. 51 (ix, 23). 'Abd-ul Qādir, nr. 305, who quotes a verse by Firdausi (see Wolff, p. 116), offers the wrong reading بنفوز and the etymology بُن پوز *bun-i pōz*, which is probably correct as far as connexion with Persian *pōz*, *pōze* "*ambitus oris*, upper lip, beak, etc." is concerned. Amongst the numerous wrong readings which he gives, تُمفوز *tumfūz*, or better *tamfūz* (*BQ.*), is noteworthy; the existence of this form is supported by Pashto *tambūza* "muzzle", cf. Morgenstierne, *EVP.*, pp. 62 seq. The vocalization *butfūz* (i.e. *putfūz*) is hardly correct.

ژغار *žaγār* "cry", etc. (*ŠF.*, p. 36 = vii, 19), has no cognates in Persian. We may assume a Sogdian noun **žγār* from the base which we have in Sogdian *žγēr-* "to call". Benveniste, *BSOS.*, IX, p. 515, n. 1, has drawn attention to the relation between Persian برخی *barχī* and Sogdian *prxy(y)* "recompensation, wages" (cf. also *BBB.*, p. 131).[1]

سرچیك *sarčīk* "chief" (Asadi, p. 69, verse by 'Unṣuri) is a Sogdian loan-word, as shown by the form of the suffix, therefore = Sogd. *srč'yk*, *SCE.*, 199. If it were Persian, as Horn, op. cit., p. 177, seems to have thought, we should expect **sarzī*.

فام *-fām* "colour", only as second part of compounds, can hardly be explained otherwise than as loan-word from Sogdian *β'm* "(lustre,)

[1] An interesting Persian word of Eastern Ir. origin is فرغول *farγōl* "delay" (Asadi, p. 87; *ŠF.*, p. 86 = xvi, 35), cf. Parthian *frgwš-*, *fraγōš-* "to delay", *Mir. Man.*, iii, p. 899. For *-š-* > *-l-*, besides Sariqoli, etc., cf. Parthian *'zgwl-*, *izγōl-* "*exaudire*", see Ghilain, *Langue Parthe*, p. 66, and Persian *ispaγōl*, Morgenstierne, *NTS.*, v, p. 54.

colour ",[1] also " dawn " (as in Chr. *b'msnyq*) ; there is even a denominative verb *β'm-* " to shine (of colours) ", Dhyāna, 153. The etymologically identical Persian word is, of course, *bām* " dawn ". Sogdian *β'm* also occurs at the end of Bahuvrīhi compounds, e.g. *zyrnβ'm* " of golden hue " (Dhyāna, 216), *n'krt'yβ'm'y* " of silver colour " (Dhyāna, 262), *'rγw'nβ'm'y* " purple " (Dhyāna, 362), etc. ; cf. also Av. *vīspō.bāma-*.

فدرنك *fadrang* " a mallet for beating clothes, a wooden beam used as door-bar " (Asadi, p. 74 ; *ŠF.*, p. 79 ; Vullers, ii, p. 640) furnishes the noun Sogd. **βtr(')nk*, hitherto unattested, from Sogd. *βtrynč-* " to subjugate " (etc.), see *BBB.*, p. 60.[2] The original meaning of **βtr(')nk* would be something like " presser " or " subjugator ". From the same root, **trk-*, *trnk-* " to press ", آدرنك *ādrang* (or *āδrang*) " depression " is derived, cf. Asadi, p. 76 ; *ŠF.*, p. 83 (xv, 146), which, too, may have been borrowed from Sogdian (*"*tr(')nk* = *'*ntr(')nk*, cf. *mntr'γs*).[3]

If Sogdian (Chr.) *dsprtry* = *δaspardare* " *sudarium*, handkerchief " (see *BBB.*, p. 74 n.) had been borrowed by Persian, one would expect *لسپردره *laspardare*. Such a word, but with a different ending *-ak*, therefore لسپردرك, can perhaps be restored in a verse by Rudagi (see Asadi, p. 69, and annot. *w*, *x*) :

lab-rā bi-laspardarak be-kun pāk az mai

(ed. بسپیدرك, var. زسپردرك ; MS. twice اسپیدرك, other dictionaries سپردرك).

فژ *faž* " sordidness, impurity, filth " (once used by Firdausi, see Wolff) and فژه *fižih* (thus *ŠF.*, p. 126, rhyming with *firih*, *BQ.*, etc. ; probably wrong for *faže* or *fiže*) " sordid, filthy, detestable " are exact renderings of Sogdian *'βz-*, *'βž-* (*Vim.*, 143), *'βyz-*, Chr. *bž-*, *byž-*, Man. *'βj-*, *βj-*; *βyj-* " evil, sin ", a frequent word with numerous derivatives. Some of them also have entered Persian : *BQ.* has the following series : *fažāk*, *fažākin*, *fažāgīn*, *fažγand*, *fažγanda*, *fižgin*,

[1] Cf. F. Weller, *Mon. Serica*, iii, p. 80.

[2] Benveniste, *BSOS.*, IX, p. 515, n. 1, overlooks that Pers. *turunjīdan* had been referred to, *BBB.*, p. 60, by quoting Tomaschek's paper.

[3] MPers. and Parth. *'ndrxt*, *nydrxt*, etc. (Parth. pres. *'ndrynj-*, etc.), also belong here rather than to *drang* (cf. *ZII.*, ix, p. 217 ; Ghilain, *Langue Parthe*, pp. 51, 79). It is, however, difficult to explain MPers. *ēring*, *ēriχt*, *ēranz-* (see *ZII.*, ix, p. 199) as *ātrnka-*, *ātrχta*, *ātrnč-*. There may have been confusion of the bases *drang* and *tr(n)k*. Herzfeld, *Altpers. Inschr.*, pp. 188 seqq., on *'ndrxt*, etc., is not convincing.

fažgand, fažganda, most of them [1] probably due to the imagination of the lexicographers. Apart from فژ and فژه (Asadi, p. 117), فژاکن is best attested, see Asadi, pp. 103 and 19[12], 64[17], *ŠF.*, p. 107 (xviii, 129: *fažākan*), and compare Sogdian *βyzkn'k* "mean", *SCE.*, 11, 16, 72. The genuine Persian equivalent, it may be recalled, is بزه *baze* "sin", see Bailey, *BSOS.*, VII, p. 85.[2]

یافه *yāfe* (frequent) besides "futile, nonsense" is also "lost, gone astray"; this is the meaning also of Sogdian *y'β'k* = *yāβe, SCE.*, 28, cf. *y'β'y, SCE.*, 300; fem. *y'βčh, VJ.*, 1413; Chr. *y'b-*, B 49, 14.[3] One might consider یافه as a loan-word, یاوه *yāve* as the proper Persian form.

نمونه *namūne* (*numūne*), well known as "example", also occurs as "useless, ugly, despicable", cf. Asadi, p. 108; *ŠF.*, p. 134 (xx, 188); *AQ.*, nrr. 2607/8; Vullers, ii, p. 1352. The latter seems to be connected with the Sogdian group *nm-* "ignominious, contemptible", *nmy'k* "insult", etc., cf. Müller-Lentz, *S.T.*, ii, p. 589,[4] and *BBB.*, pp. 59, 75. One might even consider *namūne* to be a slightly corrupt representative of Sogdian *nmγ'wn'y, namγōne, SCE.*, 411, cf. 128, 164; Chr. *nmγwnqy', S.T.*, ii.

ربوخه *rabūχe* "pleasure, lust; lustful" (Asadi, p. 24; Vullers, ii, p. 21; var. lect. زبوخه, زبوجه) can perhaps be compared with Sogdian *'rp'wγ, Dhuta*, 74, *'rpwγ, Dhyāna*, 6, "*pénétrant*" according to Benveniste, *JA.*, 1933, i, p. 214, cf. F. Weller, *Mon. Ser.*, ii, p. 362.

بلاد *balād*, بلاده *balāde*, and بلایه *balāye* are given as "contemptible, corrupted, depraved, perverted", see Vullers, i, p. 256. Although *balāye* seems to be well attested (Kisā'ī is credited with this spelling, Asadi, p. 118; it is employed by *ŠF.*, p. 73[1]), nevertheless it must be wrong; for *balāde* is the correct rendering of Sogdian *'pδ'ty, pδ'ty* (*VJ.*, 946; *SCE.*; Chr. *pd'ty, pd'tqr-* "ἄδικος") "unjust, unlawful", also "perverted". From the point of view of etymology, *balāde* is

[1] *faž-āgīn* is, of course, Persian composition. فژغند (etc.), at least with the meaning "filthy", might be due to misreading of فرغند (etc.).

[2] Saka *baśdaṃggāre* (E, xiv, 70) is hardly a verb, as suggested by Leumann, but compares with Sogdian *βəžangāre* "sinner" (cf. *BBB.*, p. 63).

[3] Possibly connected with *y'β-* "to drive" or "to travel" (*Vim.*, 85; cf. F. Weller, *Asia Major*, x, p. 358), which, however, could also be taken as *yaf-* or *yāf-* from *yam-*, cf. Parthian *waf-* "to spit" from *wam-*.

[4] s.v. *nmy'q*; the following word should be read *nm'čq'n* "veneration", cf. Kara Balgasun, 21, 22.

nearly the same as Persian *bī-dād*.[1] Persian فلاد, فلاده *falād(e)* "useless, nonsense" (Asadi, p. 35; *ŠF.*, p. 31 = vii, 17; Vullers, ii, p. 687) might be a different word.

افده *ēfude, aifude, aifada*[2] "frivolous" has probably been taken from Sogdian "*y'βtk* "adulterous" (fem. "*y'βtčh, SCE.*, 434), cf. "*y'np-* "to commit adultery", etc. (*SCE.*, 130; Chr. '*ymp-*, *S.T.*, ii), cf. Bailey, *BSOS.*, VI, p. 594.[3] The Sogdian word, originally pronounced *āyaβdak*, became later on *ēβde* (cf. Man. '*yt-* = *ēt-* from *āyata-*, *BBB.*, pp. 94 seq.), borrowed as *ēfde*: the group of consonants *-fd-*, alien to Persian speech, necessitated the introduction of a short vowel, hence *ēf*ᵘ*de*, etc. (Asadi, p. 27; *ŠF.*, p. 122).

Besides *ēf*ᵘ*de*, several other participle-adjectives have been accepted by Persian from Sogdian, whilst the number of borrowed finite verbs is very small. A Sogdian Past Participle can be recognized, e.g. in Persian آرغده *āruγde* "greedy, ferocious" (*AQ.*, nrr. 196/7; Vullers, i, pp. 27/8, 81, wrong spellings: *āluγde, arγude*) = Sogdian **āruγde* "greedy", *BBB.*, p. 71.[4] The differentiation of the Persian word, *āruγde* "ferocious" but *āraγde* "greedy", appears to be artificial; most likely it is due to expressions such as *šēr-i āruγde* "a greedy lion" (who well can be expected to become rather "*iratus, iracundus, furens, litigiosus, agitatus*").

آسغده *āsuγde* "half-burnt fire-wood" (Asadi, p. 26; Vullers, i, pp. 36, 98, misspellings: آسفته, اسفد, اسفده, اسفره) betrays its Sogdian origin when compared with the genuine Persian word *sūχte* "burnt"; "*s'wγtk* happens to be unattested, but we have "*s'wγs-* "to burn", *Vim.*, 117.

اسغده *āsaγde* (or *a(s)saγde*) "prepared, disposed", etc., can be either Sogdian *ansaγde* "set up, prepared" (later **a(s)saγde*,

[1] I must apologize for dragging in an explanation of Persian *bīdār* "awake" which, I believe, has not yet been considered: *bīdār* (with unusual metathesis) from **bīrād* = MPers. *wiγrād* (*wiγrāt*).

[2] Vowels acc. to dictionaries; اغده has long been recognized as a misspelling.

[3] It seems hard to separate Sogd. "*y'βs-*, *Dhyāna*, 241 (*L'* "*y'βst L' ZY* "*yωčt* = "*sans erreur sans confusion*"), "*y'βtk*, R., ii, 69, 22, and *Dhyāna*, 158, 234, "false, wrong," corresponding to Skt. *mithyā*, see Benveniste, *JA.*, 1933, i, pp. 226 seq.; F. Weller, *Mon. Ser.*, iii, pp. 82, 98. Perhaps "*y'np-* "to pervert", "*y'βs-* "to be perverted, to be wrong", "*y'βtk* "perverted, perverse, wrong".

[4] I feel that my interpretation of Sogdian "*r'γs-* (*Dhyāna*, 186, etc.) as "to desire" is corroborated by the analysis of the Chinese text given by F. Weller, *Mon. Ser.*, iii, pp. 88 seq. Saka *rrauṭa, E*, xxiii, 163, if "desire" (Leumann), might be connected with Sogd. *āruγd-* (or with MPers. *ruzd* ?).

possibly **āsaγde*, cf. *ns* : *nns*, *χs-* : *χns*) [1] or a dialectical Sogdian form **āsaγde*, with the normal Sogdian exchange of the preverbs *ā-* and *ham-*. The former solution seems preferable in view of the Persian spellings (see Vullers, i, 36, 97 ; also denom. *asaγdīdan* ; سغده, ibid., ii, p. 298, is rather suspect) and the occurrence of Sogd. *'ns'č-* in at least two dialects (also Man. ; for Buddh. *'ns'γt'kw*, *'ns'č-*, *'ns'γs-*, *'ns'k-*, etc., see Benveniste, *JA.*, 1933, i, p. 223).

پسغده *pasaγde* "disposed, prepared, experienced" belongs to the same Sogdian group, probably = Sogd. *patsaγde* (*padsaγde*) "ordered, ready, adorned" (frequent). The proper Persian equivalent to *pasaγde* (e.g. Asadi, p. 35[12] ; Vullers, i, pp. 242, 361, also denom. پسغدیدن = *pasaγdīdan*) is *pāsāχt*. The development *pats-* (*pads-*) > *pas-* is probably due to Persian.

Closely connected with *pasaγde* is پسیچیدن *pasēčīdan* "to prepare, esp. for a journey" (common), most likely a Sogdian causative **pts'yč-*, *patsēč-* from **patisāčaya-*. Needless to mention that سیچیدن has arisen from an erroneous analysis of the wrong pronunciation *bisēč-*, and does in fact not exist. There is also a noun *pasēč* "preparedness". The inherited Persian form would be **pāsāz-*, from MPers. *passāz-*.

لنج *linǰ-* "to pull out, to extract" is clearly Sogdian *δynč-*, *δinǰ-*, *SCE.*, 246. Asadi, p. 18, rightly explains *linǰ-* by the parallel Persian verb *ā-hiχtan*. Cf. *ŠF.*, p. 22 (iv, 69), and *AQ.*, nr. 2262 (= Asadi) ; *lanǰ-*, *linǰ-* "to stride" is to be kept apart.

زندباف, زندخوان, زندوان, زنددان, زندران, زندلاف, زندواف = *zand-bāf*, *-χᵛān*, *-vān*, *-dān*, *-rān*, *-lāf*, *-vāf* are said to mean "Zoroastrian" and "nightingale" (cf. Vullers, ii, p. 151). Whilst *zand-dān* "knowing the Zend", *zand-χᵛān* "reading the Zend", etc., are perfectly comprehensible compounds as far as the meaning "Zoroastrian" is concerned, one wonders why these words should be used also for "nightingale". Moreover, there can be hardly any doubt that most of these forms are simply due to *taṣḥīf* : amongst them زندواف (زندهواف) *zand(a)vāf* is probably the best attested spelling (Asadi, p. 58, verse by ʿUnṣuri, as "nightingale", not "Zoroastrian") ;

[1] See *BBB.*, p. 104. Benveniste's explanation of Chr. *χs-d'r-*, *JA.*, 1936, i, p. 224, is based on the wrong reading *xšṯ* which F. W. K. Müller gave in his first transcription for Matthew, 10, 17. Immediately afterwards he corrected his initial error in the publication of the text (*S.T.*, i, 6, 9, *pyšṯ* = δδ).

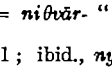
next comes زندباف *zandbāf*,[1] *ŠF.*, p. 68 (xiv, 4). It is easy to explain *zandvāf* from Sogdian **zntw'β*, lit. "song-sayer". In Sogdian *zand* (< Av. *-zanti-*) is "song, singing", cf. *znt*, *DN.*, 80; *zntyh*, ibid., 42; *znth*, *SCE.*, 122; cf. *Vim.*, 77, and particularly *zntw'čh 'mrγ'* "singing bird", *SCE.*, 179.[2] In *-vāf* from Sogdian *-w'β-* we have the present stem of the ordinary Sogdian verb for "to say".

Sogdian origin, I believe, is assured for the Persian verb الفغدن *alfaγdan*, pres. الفنج *alfanǰ-* "to acquire, gain, earn, collect, save". The unusual final of the infinitive *-γdan* has produced a variety of corrupt forms: الفقدن, الفخدن, الفختن, الفاختن. Amongst these, *alfaχtan* alone can be accepted as a form which is properly adapted to the Persian tongue; indeed, it seems clear that the present stem *alfanǰ-* is but a Persian derivation from *alfaχtan* (not from *alfaγdan*), cf. *farhaχtan* : *farhanǰ-*. That alone would sufficiently ensure the authenticity of *alfaχtan*, even if we did not know that already Rudagi employed this form (Asadi, p. 12, rhyming with *laχt*); *alfanǰ-* is frequently used by BūŠukūr, see Asadi, 17[16], 27[1], 45[12] (= *AQ.* nr. 1142). All the same, *alfaγdan*, as the *lectio difficilior*, is undoubtedly the original form; it is employed by BūŠukūr (Asadi, 27[1], 45[12]), again by Rudagi (Asadi, 93[8]), by the author of the old Quran Commentary (see E. G. Browne, *JRAS.*, 1894, p. 443), etc. When we substitute the Sogdian consonants *-δβ-* for *-lf-*, according to the rules given above, we should expect Sogdian **[a]δβaγd*, spelt **(')δβ'γt* or (')*δβγt*. Such a word, it is true, does not actually occur, but can be inferred from *δβ'γš-* "to collect, acquire",[3] *VJ.*, 241, 243 (*δβ'γš-* : **δβ'γt-* = *βγš-* : *βγt-*). In a hitherto unpublished Middle Persian-Sogdian vocabulary Man. Sogd. *δβχš-* translates MPers. *'ndwč-*, just as *alfaγdan* is explained by Asadi as Persian *andōχtan*.

The number of Sogdian loan-words in Persian could of course easily

[1] Probably an adaptation of *zandvāf*, so as to mean "weaving the Zend".

[2] By mistake these words have hitherto been read *nnt-*.

[3] The translation offered by Gauthiot (on the passages) and Benveniste, *Gramm.*, ii, p. 200, is incorrect. *δβaχš-* possibly from Av. *θwaxš-*, cf. especially the meaning of Av. *θwaxšah-*. For Sogd. *-δβ-* from Av. *θw*, cf. e.g. Sogd. *pδβ'r*, *pδβyr* : Avestan *θwāša-*, see *BBB.*, pp. 59 seq. To the examples for OIran. **niθwāra-* (cf. also Ghilain, *Langue Parthe*, p. 74), Pahlavi  *nswb'l-* = *niθwār-* "to hurry" (frequent) and Parthian Inscr. *nytpr-* (Paikuli, nr. 682, p. 221; ibid., *ny'pk-* : *nyw'pk-* = Man. *ny'bg*, *BSOS.*, IX, p. 86) should be added. Man. MPers. *niχwār-* is, of course, a developed form of *niθwār-*.

be increased. It was, however, intended to give a few typical examples only, not a full list of all more or less certain cases. A careful study of the vocabulary of the more ancient Persian books and particularly an addition to our still scanty knowledge of Sogdian would enable us better to determine the influence which Sogdian has exercised upon the Persian literary language.

Various Eras and Calendars used in the Countries of Islam

(*Continued from Vol. IX, 4, p. 922.*)[1]

By S. H. Taqizadeh

In the first part of this article we have discussed seven different eras or (to be strictly correct) different kinds of time-reckoning with or without a common era. We are now going to deal with the fourteen remaining sections of our list. But before proceeding to the discussion of the next number, I want to insert here a small note relating to No. 3, i.e. the Kharājī era in Egypt, as a complement to what has already been said in the preceding number of this Bulletin (*BSOS.*, pp. 914–15).

Professor A. S. Tritton called my attention to a few Kharājī dates occurring in an Arabic manuscript in the British Museum (Or. 1338). On examining these dates, which belong to the fifth and early sixth centuries A.H., I find some interesting points which supplement our knowledge about that era as used in that country in the time of the Fāṭimid caliphs. This anonymous book is a history of the Monophysite patriarchs of Alexandria, from St. Mark to Matthew the 87th patriarch who died 31st December, 1408, and it must have been composed by an unknown author soon after the latter date.[2] Some of the Kh. dates in this book are given with their corresponding dates of the Diocletian era (era of the Martyrs). These are as follows :—

Kh.	*Mart.*	*Kh.*	*Mart.*
463	= 790 (fol. 268*b*)	482	= 809 (fol. 281*a*)
475	= 802 (fol. 274*b*)	511	= 838 (fol. 289*a*)

Moreover, the date of the death of the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Musta'lī, which happened in the month of Ṣafar, A.H. 495 (*Hilālī*) = December, A.D. 1101, is given as 491 Kh. (fol. 284*b*).

[1] An erratum which may cause confusion has slipped into the last page of the first part of this article (*BSOS.*, IX, 4, p. 922) in the postscript note, where an unnecessary bracket is opened in the 8th line of the said note and is closed at the end of the note.

[2] The book seems to be an abridgment of the famous history of the patriarchs of Alexandria by Severus (Ibn al-Muqaffa') with continuation to the time of the author. It ends on fol. 345 and is followed by a few pages on the same subject by a later author, who begins with the life of the 103rd patriarch enthroned in the year 1672–3 and concludes with the death of the latter's successor (the 104th patriarch) in 1725–6.

The first date (463) implies a divergence of about three years between the *Hilālī* and *Kharājī* dates, the second a difference of about 3 years and 4 months, the third about 3 years and 7 months, the fourth about 4 years and 5½ months, and the fifth (the date of the death of the Caliph) 3 years and 10 months.

These dates, if accurate, prove: (1) that contrary to the version of al-Qalqashandī and the printed text of Maqrīzī's book, the "sliding" in A.H. 501 (if it ever took place) was not from 499 to 501 but from 497 to 501, as a variant of Maqrīzī has it (see *BSOS.*, IX, p. 914 and footnote 1); and (2) that the said "sliding", if it was really effected, did not affect the popular reckoning which apparently did not take that operation (the forward shifting of the solar date) into account, but that it was only a matter for the official reckoning and remained limited to the official circles. It appears also that since the institution of the *Kharājī* year by al-'Azīz in A.H. 366 no "sliding" was effected till A.H. 501. The "sliding" was apparently considered as the abolition of the *Kharājī* system, as may be deduced from a statement by Ginzel (i, 265), whose source of information is unknown.[1] It may even be supposed that the institution of the Kharājī year meant the abolition of the "sliding" rather than its introduction.

I must also add that, as according to what now is proved by the above-mentioned facts, no "sliding" had ever taken place between A.H. 366 and 501, Neugebauer's table for the Kharājī years must be correct and the question as to its helpfulness (*BSOS.*, IX, 4, p. 914, n. 2) must be withdrawn.

8

The *Jalālī* (or *Malikī*) Era.—The inconvenience of the Arabian novilunar year for practical purposes in the life of the individual and still more in the social life was by no means unnoticed by the Muslims who used that system of the time-reckoning not only for religious purposes but also for their civil business and in daily life. Particularly in the affairs of the State and most of all in the financial matters of the government this defect always caused much difficulty. On the other hand, the adoption of the Persian year with the Persian (Yazdegerdian) era, besides possibly offending the Muslim sentiment, would not have brought complete stability into the calendar, because the

[1] According to Nuwairī (*Nihāyat*, Cairo ed. i, p. 164) the operation of "sliding" was practised in the early times of Islam (صدر الإسلام).

Persian year being a vague year its beginning (with which the collection of the taxes and the payment of the pensions, etc., were connected) was itself retrogressing in the tropic year. Therefore this system of computation of time, which seems to have been more or less in use in Persia by the people in the time of the early Abbasid Caliphs, also needed periodical correction if the time of the tax-collection had to be kept fixed so as to correspond always to the periods of the natural seasons of the tropic year. But as the necessary correction which, according to the report of the early Muslim astronomers, consisted of the adjustment of the Persian year by the intercalation of one month each 120 years and by which method, in the Sassanian period, the said year was periodically brought into harmony with the tropic year (or rather with the Julian year), was neglected after the Arabian conquest (and even at least about half a century before that event),[1] the instability of the New Year was the subject of continuous complaints of the Persian landlords and farmers as well as all other taxpayers.

Different methods for remedying these deficiencies were proposed, one after the other, and some were tried. The adjustment of the Arabian lunar year through the intercalation of an extra month each two or three years with a view to harmonizing it with the natural solar year, as the Babylonians did, being considered contrary to the precepts of the religion,[2] other ways such as the system of the *Kharājī* year (Nos. 2–3) and the calendar reform of al-Mu'taḍid (*vide infra*) were applied but without the desired result. The periodic shifting in the *Kharājī* year (*sliding*) each thirty-three or thirty-four years was liable to be forgotten and neglected, as we have seen. The reform of Mu'taḍid, with its four-yearly bissextile day adopted after the Julian model, was, on the other hand, not acceptable to the Zoroastrians, who never admitted any change in the names of the days of the month, nor was it popular with the masses of the Muslim Persians as it, being used with the *Hijra* era and *Kharājī* year, added another complication to the already difficult system of time-reckoning and moreover changed the place of the greatest national feast, i.e. the New Year (Naurūz).

The Seljūqian empire with its extensive dominion, consolidated

[1] It is even doubtful whether this old Persian usage of intercalation which was certainly effected always in the religious (and not in the civil) year ever affected the matters relating to taxation, etc. as well.

[2] The intercalation was considered to be the same as the *nasī'* which is condemned in religion (Qur'ān ix, 37).

power, comparatively tolerable order, peace and prosperity, settled state and stable government, as well as a quite good administrative organization, was at the zenith of its greatness in the time of Malikshāh (reigned A.H. 465–485) and his wise and experienced minister, Niẓām al-mulk. It was natural that the men responsible for the administration of this great empire should feel the inconvenience of reckoning by the lunar year as a serious handicap to the correct management of the finances and the keeping of the public accounts in good order. Therefore, by consulting the learned astronomers, they found that no radical and efficient remedy for the difficulty encountered by them on account of this deficiency of the system of time-reckoning was possible so long as they did not separate the two systems of computation (the lunar and solar year) completely from each other by using each of them with a different era. At the same time the astronomers advised them of the necessity of basing their solar calendar on a strictly accurate measure of the length of the tropic year if they wished to prevent the year from receding against the natural seasons. Therefore the king decided to institute a new era with a new calendar and he appointed a committee for the study of the question.

The era (*Jalālī* or *Malikī*) began with the vernal equinox in the year A.H. 471 (15th March, A.D. 1079). The Jalālī year was made the strictly astronomical tropic year according to the measure fixed by the observation then held to be the most correct one. It is said that eight astronomers forming the committee helped in the calendar reform. Their names found in some later sources, however, seem to have been given not very accurately. For instance, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Khāzinī (or al-Khāzin), whose name is included in the list of the members of the said committee, could hardly have taken part in the deliberations of that body unless he had had a very long life and had joined the elder astronomers in his early career. His astronomical tables entitled *az-Zīj al-mu'tabar as-Sanjarī* must have been composed more than sixty years after the institution of the era, if the chronological table of the Seljūq rulers and of the events of their time given there was authentic. 'Umar Khayyām, the famous mathematician and poet, was actually a member of the committee though having died in 526 or at any rate not before A.H. 518; he also must have been very young in the early years of Malikshāh's reign. Another astronomer mentioned in the older sources, Abū'l-Muẓaffar Asfizārī by name, too, cannot have been an old man at that time, as we find him in Nīshāpūr in A.H. 506 (i.e. thirty-nine years later) again in company

of Khayyām (see *Chahār Maqāla* of Niẓamī 'Arūḍī, *GMS.*, xi, p. 63). The part of Khayyām in this reform is somewhat exaggerated in modern times owing to the giving of too much prominence to the composer of the widely known and popular quatrains, and even sometimes going so far as to credit him with the initiation of the reform.

The date of the reform of the calendar (which must not be confounded with the beginning of the era) and the institution of the system of fixing the leap years have both been the subject of much controversy and of a great many conjectures by modern authors. The Oriental sources are not in agreement about the date. Ulugh Bey in his *Zīj* composed about A.D. 1437 gives two different dates, namely the 10th Ramaḍān, 471, and 5th Sha'bān, A.H. 468. Khāzinī in his above-mentioned *Zīj* (Vatican MS., fol. 15 and 122) gives the date of the "issuing of the royal order—صدور الأمر السلطانى" as the 8th Rajab, 467, which date corresponds to the Persian New Year's Day (or the day preceding it). Ibn al-Athīr in his general history also gives the same year.[1] Since the two last-named sources are older than other books referring to the date of this reform, we may reasonably accept their record and assume that in the year 467, the third year of the reign of Malikshāh, he issued an order, on the Persian New Year then falling on 27th February, A.D. 1075, to reform the calendar so that the *Naurūz* might fall henceforth on the vernal equinox and not in winter. This order must have been carried out either immediately or from the next year (468) on. The latter date agrees with one of Ulugh Bey's dates.[2]

Perhaps the best way of interpreting these different versions and of establishing a harmony between them would be to suppose that Malikshāh and his advisers, in celebrating the Persian New Year in A.H. 467 (A.D. 1075), as usual, felt the inconvenience of celebrating this feast in winter, to which season, as we have seen, it had receded, and therefore they issued an order to the effect that the astronomers should be invited to deliberate and recommend a reform by which

[1] Abū al-Fidā' has also the same date for the calendar reform.

[2] It is, of course, also possible that the decree came into force (i.e. the actual use of the new calendar began) only in A.H. 471, the beginning of the Malikī era. Also it is not impossible to suppose that Ulugh Bey found in his source the two dates given without any qualification, though both referred to the one and the same year, the one (471) being the Hilālī (lunar) and the other the Kharājī date of the same year, but taking both of the dates as of different *lunar* years he worked out the month and day of the equinox for the lunar year 468 (which month and day were not given in the said source) adding the words "5th Sha'bān" to the date of the year.

the next *Naurūz* might be celebrated in the spring. It may be that the King, as we are told by the old authors,[1] at the same time also expressed a desire for a new observation of the stars (especially the planets) to be undertaken. The result of the consultation was the famous reform which was applied to the next year, when the New Year was made to correspond not to the 26th February but to the 15th March, 1076 (the day of the vernal equinox). After the reform of the year it was realized that the adoption of a new era for the use of the new calendar was also necessary if the disharmony between the Arabian *Hijra* lunar years and the reformed new solar year was to be avoided in future.[2] Then the astronomers advised the King to institute an era bearing his name, and accordingly the vernal equinox or the Jalālian New Year falling in the year A.H. 471 was chosen for the beginning of the Malikī era. The epoch was Friday, the 15th March, A.D. 1079, and the 19th Farvardīn, A.Y. 448. As to the Arabian date, though all reports agree in that it was a Friday, some of our sources give it as the 10th Ramaḍān and some others as the 9th day of the same month. But none of these dates agree with the said day of the week (Friday). The last new moon (or the conjunction of the moon and sun) preceding this date was, according to the calculation based on Schram's *Mondphasentafel*, at 6 hours a.m. Greenwich time (in Iṣfahān at about 9 h. 24 min. a.m.) Wednesday the 6th March (1079), and therefore the earliest possible visibility of the moon would have been on the evening of the next day (Thursday). Consequently the 1st day of Ramaḍān (as well as the 8th of that month) would be a Friday. At any rate, the date 10th is absolutely impossible, and the 9th is hardly possible unless we assume that the new moon in Persia was a few hours before the time given above and that on that occasion the interval happened to be the minimum possible between the new moon and the first visibility of the crescent. I am, however, not able to confirm either of these possibilities.

There exists, however, no doubt as to the first year of the era which began, as already stated, in A.H. 471, yet it is curious that a contemporary astronomer, Muḥammad ibn Ayyūb al-Ḥēsib aṭ-Ṭabarī, who, already in A.Y. 438 (A.H. 461–2 or A.D. 1069–1070), was engaged

[1] Ibn al-Athīr reports this expressly also as an event happened in A.H. 467. This author states also that the work in the observatory, for which a large amount of money was spent, began by the famous astronomers in A.H. 467 and has continued till the death of the Sultan in A.H. 485.

[2] Just as Mutawakkil and Mu'taḍid tried to deal with both inconveniences, though by other means.

in astronomical works, undertook the observation of the stars in Āmul (Mazandarān) in A.Y. 452 or A.H. 476 (i.e. only four years after the institution of the era) and must have written his *Zīj* shortly after Malikshāh's death,[1] puts in the said *Zīj* (Cambridge O, 1, 10, fol. 19*b*) the beginning of the Malikī era in A.Y. 447, i.e. in the year which ended twenty days before the real beginning of the said era.[2]

As to the system of the new calendar, there has been much misunderstanding on the part of the Oriental as well as Occidental authors on this matter. The Jalālian year being tropic and beginning always on the vernal equinox, the commencement of the year was to be found out every year by calculation. The astronomical beginning was always the exact point of time when the sun (in reality the earth) reached the equinoctial point of the ecliptic which in astronomy is conventionally called "the first point of Aries". The New Year's Day, however, was always the day at the midday of which the sun was already in Aries, or in other words the day on which the equinox occurred before its noon and after that of the preceding day. It follows that each time the equinox happened after noon (provided that it had occurred before noon in the preceding year),[3] that day was a leap day and the year just coming to a close a leap year (of 366 days). Therefore no rule for the periodical readjustment of the year by the intercalation of a supplementary day was necessary nor was it provided. The same system is adopted now in Iran and consequently the question of finding the leap years according to a conventional rule never arises (see above, No. 5). The result of the process described above in the Jalālian years was that while normally each fourth year was a leap year, this fell, from time to time, in the fifth instead of the fourth. But the precise time of this quinquennial or five-yearly intercalation was never fixed, by a regular rule, by the reformers. It was left absolutely dependent on the result of the astronomical calculation each year. Some rule for this periodical shifting of the bissextile year could be, of course, worked out if the exact length of the tropic year, in the opinion of the reformers, was

[1] All these dates are found in the said *Zīj*.

[2] This astronomer may have not had a clear idea of that recent innovation of his time as is shown by his giving the day corresponding to the autumnal equinox in A.H. 476 as the day Ashtād (the 26th) of the Malikī month Mihr and the 1st day of Jumādā I, whereas the equinox day and the first of Jumādā corresponded in that year to the day Ashtād of the Persian (Yazdegerdian) Mihr and not to that of the Malikī Mihr. The day was the 6th Mihr (Khordād) of the Malikī calendar.

[3] Or, in other words, the equinox took place after noon but before 5.49 p.m.

known or according to any other length adopted after this or that *Zīj* (astronomical tables). The later Oriental astronomers, though they expressly stated that the only way of finding out whether a leap year is to be a quadrennial or quinquennial is the deductive method (بالاستقراء), expressed at the same time the opinion that the quinquennial ones would follow at times the sixth and at other times the seventh quadrennial without giving any regular sequence for the alternative courses. Some others put the alternative periods as 7 and 8 which means periods of 33 and 37 years for the quinquennial leap years. Also some of these authors tried to work out a formula for the sequence of the 29 and 33 yearly periods, each of course according to his own opinion of the length of the year. It would take us too far afield to discuss the details of all those conjectures or theories. These are to be found fully in my *Essay on the Iranian Calendar* in Persian (pp. 168–174 and 298–300). In this article the mention of those formulas will suffice. Much more space would be needed to mention all the theories proposed by the modern European authors on this question. Having misunderstood the statements of the Oriental astronomers as to the alternative periods of the recurrence of the quinquennial leap years, these authors tried to discover (not only to work out) the supposed *original* system of these periods which they presumed was laid down by the founders of the Jalālian calendar. Goluis, Bailly, Weidler, Montucla, Ideler, Sédillot, Matzka, Ginzel, and Suter have discussed the question, and many of them have proposed formulas based, in fact, on their own calculation according to the modern opinion of the length of the tropic year. Some of them have even credited the founder of the Jalālian calendar with such an ingenious system as to make the divergence between the Jalālian and real tropic year possible only one day in each 10,000, or each 28,000, or even each 400,000 years. These theories are also described in my above-mentioned *Essay*.

The truth is that not only the men responsible for the institution of the Jalālian calendar did not establish any rule for the four-yearly or five-yearly leap years, but that even their opinion of the length of the tropic year is not known to us to make it possible to base on it a formula by working it out. We may assume that the length of the year in the opinion of Malikshāh's astronomers did not differ much from that given by their younger contemporary Khāzinī in his above-mentioned *Zīj*. According to

this astronomer, who was engaged in the observation of the stars in A.H. 509, i.e. thirty-seven years after the institution of the Jalālian era, the length of the solar year was 365° 14′ 24″ 20‴ 36⁗ 47′′′′′, which in terms of time would come to 365 d. 5 h. 45 min. and little more than 44 seconds. But it is curious that Khāzinī gives a formula for the leap years according to which the complete cycle was 220 years, and to find out whether a given Jalālian year was a leap or common year (*kabīsa* or *basīṭa*) one has to add 172 to the number borne by the Jalālī date in question, then to multiply the total by 53 and to divide the product by 220. If the remainder after the division was less than 53 the year was a leap year, and if it was more than that number it was a common year. Then he states that out of 220 years 53 were leap years, of which 8 were quinquennial and 45 quadrennial.[1] This cycle, however, does not agree with the above-mentioned measure of the length of the year given by that author.[2] Other rules for the same matter (i.e. to find whether a coming leap year should be the fourth or the fifth year after the last bissextile year) given by some other Oriental astronomers (no doubt according to their own opinion of the length of the year) are: (1) a 1,440 yearly cycle in which 305 quadrennial and 44 quinquennial leap years occurred, and of the latter 41 were 33 yearly and 3 only 29 yearly, i.e. the seventh leap year coming after six four-yearly ones[3]; (2) a cycle of 491 years with fourteen successive 33 yearly and one (the last) 29 yearly quinquennial leap years[4]; (3) a 258 yearly

[1] The author apparently considers the first year of the Jalālian era as the 173rd year of the cycle which must, in his opinion, have begun in a year when the entry of the sun in Aries had happened (perhaps in Iṣfahān) just at noon or a very short time (say two or three minutes) before it.

[2] A 220 yearly cycle with 53 leap years implies a length, for the solar year, of 365 d. 5 h. 46 min. and little more than 54·5 seconds, whereas with the length adopted by Khazinī (*vide supra*) the formula would be much nearer to perfection if a cycle of 429 years had been adopted which contained sixteen 25 yearly and one 29 yearly quinquennial and 86 quadrennial leap years. In this case the excess would have amounted to less than half a minute in a whole cycle (of course without taking into consideration the gradual shortening of the tropic year proved by modern astronomy).

[3] Mīram Chalabī (d. A.D. 1525) in his book *Dastūr al-'amal fī taṣḥīḥ al-Jadwal* (Berlin MS., Wetzstein, ii, 1140). This calculation is apparently based on the length of the year according to *Zīj i Ilkhānī* of Naṣīr ad-dīn Ṭūsī (365 d. 5 h. 49 min.), and curiously enough not on that given by *Zīj i Ulugh Beg* (Gūrkānī) of which his (Chalabi's) grandfather was the co-author and he himself the commentator (365 d. 5 h. 49 min. 15 sec. and a fraction of the second).

[4] *Sharḥ i Sī-Faṣl*, a commentary by an anonymous author to the Persian treatise *Sī-Faṣl* on the calendriography by the famous Naṣīr ad-dīn Ṭūsī. The commentary was composed in A.H. 824 (Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 7700).

cycle with 50 leap years, of which 42 were quadrennial and 8 quinquennial, without a precise order being given for them [1]; (4) a cycle of 3,989 years composed of 121 sub-cycles of which 120 were 33 yearly (i.e. with seven quadrennial leap years and the last one quinquennial), and one or the last, 29 yearly (i.e. with six successive quadrennial and one quinquennial).[2]

Naṣīr ad-dīn Ṭūsī in his famous *Zīj i Ilkhānī*, composed in the second half of the thirteenth century, simply gives a table for the leap years in the first 300 years of the Jalālian era worked out according to his own opinion of the length of the solar year (365 d. 5 h. 49 min.). This confirms the opinion expressed above, namely that no regular and established rule for ascertaining the quinquennial leap years had existed, as otherwise that illustrious savant would have known of it. In the said table the quinquennial leap years are: 31st, 64th, 97th, 130th, 167th, 192nd, 225th, 258th, and 291st (MS. Paris, ancien fonds, 163). A certain Ḥasan ibn Ḥusain ibn Shahanshāh of Simnān, in a commentary he wrote in A.D. 1393–4 to the same *Zīj* (Brit. Mus. Add. 11636), completed the said table down to A.D. 1521 (443 Jalālian era). There the quinquennial leap years after the 300th Jalālian year are given as: the 320th, 353rd, 386th, and 419th.[3]

I need hardly repeat that all the above-mentioned conjectural theories, worked out according to this or that opinion on the length of the tropic year, have nothing to do with the original scheme of the founders of the Jalālian era and calendar. These not only did not formulate any rule for the leap years but they may even have paid no attention to the periodical recurrence of the quinquennial intercalations. It is very curious that Quṭb ad-din ash-Shīrāzī, the famous man of science in his *at-Tuḥfat ash-shāhiyya* (Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 7477, fol. 146*a*), composed about A.D. 1276 (A.H. 675), criticizes 'Umar Khayyām for "his blunder" concerning the leap years "when he (Khayyām) stated in his *Zīj* (فى زيجه الّذى وضعه) that all intercalations were in the fourth years", or in other words the leap years were always quadrennial.

It must also be said that even with the modern measure of the

[1] *Zīj i Ashrafī*, composed about A.D. 1303 (Paris, suppl. Pers. 1488).

[2] *Rabī'al-mumajjimīn*, also a commentary to *Sī-Faṣl* mentioned above.

[3] Ulugh Bey, on the other hand, gives in his *Zīj* a table containing the number of days plus the fraction of a day elapsed since the beginning of the Jalālī era up to the end of each Jalālian year from the 1st to the 1,000th year, by adding always for each year 365 d. 5 h. 49 min. 15 sec., the length of the year according to his own observation.

length of the tropic year it is not possible to formulate a simple rule, applicable for a long period of time, for the intercalation of the bissextile day, because the said length is continually decreasing at a rate of 0·00000614 day each century. It would perhaps be useful to add that according to calculation based on Schram's *Zodiakaltafel*, the vernal equinox took place in Iṣfahān in A.D. 467 (the probable date of the calendar reform) on 24 Rajab 7 h. 12 min. a.m. apparent time (15th March, A.D. 1075), and in A.H. 471 (the year in which the era began) on 9 Ramaḍān 6 h. 9 min. a.m. (apparent time). Therefore the year beginning with the former was a leap year because the next vernal equinox must have fallen in that town at about 1 p.m., but the year beginning with the latter equinox (in 471), in spite of its being the fourth after the last leap year, must have been a common year as it ended a little before midday. Thus the first leap year of the Jalālian era was the second year of the era and at the same time a quinquennial bissextile as this is confirmed by the old authors.

As to the length of the months again there was no unanimity. While most people [1] counted twelve months each of thirty days with five (and in the leap years six) supplementary days added to the 12th month, some astronomers [2] adopted for the length of each month the period of time during which the sun remained in the corresponding zodiacal sign. Thus the first and second months corresponding to Aries and Taurus were each 31 days long, the 3rd month corresponding to Gemini 32 days, etc. There are also differences as to the names of the Jalālian months. Most of the sources agree that the names were the same as those of the Persian (Yazdegerdian) months, as is confirmed by the use of the same by the famous Persian poet Sa'dī about two centuries later.[3] Nevertheless some authors speak of the introduction of the new names for the Jalālian months and even the days of the month of which a list is given by them.[4]

9

The Era Khānī (i) or the Era of Chingīz Khān.—The use of this era in the Arabic or Persian books has more than once come to the notice of the present writer, but unfortunately no note has been made of those cases except one from a book on astronomy composed

[1] e.g. Khāzinī.
[2] According to Quṭb ad-dīn.
[3] He speaks in his *Gulistān* of the Jalālian month Ardībihisht.
[4] These names are to be found in *Sī faṣl* of Naṣīr ad-dīn Ṭūsī and elsewhere.

in A.H. 764 (A.D. 1362–3) for (or dedicated to) the Emperor of China of the Yuan dynasty (Mongol) whose name as well as the Mongolian names and the Chinese titles of his ancestors up to Chingīz are given in Arabic spelling.[1] According to this he was the great-great-grandson of Tūlī the son of Chingīz. The book is curiously enough in Arabic and the author, a certain Abū Muḥammad 'Aṭā ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Khʷāja Ghāzī of Samarqand often uses in this book (Paris Arab. 6040) an era which he calls Khānī with the Persian month names. For instance, he makes the date of the composition of the book A.H. 764 correspond to the year 157 of this Khānī era. This era is, no doubt, counted from A.D. 1206 (A.H. 603) when Temūchīn, after defeating the Nāimāns and uniting all the peoples of Mongolia under his rule, proclaimed himself king and assumed the title of *Chingīz* Khān. In the same book one meets here and there with such expressions as "the month Bahman of Khānī" era or the Khānī Farvardīn, etc.

I find also in a calendar for the Persian year beginning on the 2nd Sha'bān, A.H. 1005 (21st March n.s., A.D. 1597), a mention of this era. This calendar is appended by Mullā Muẓaffar of Gunābād, the famous court astronomer of Shāh 'Abbas I, to his book *Sharḥ i Bīst Bāb*, composed also in A.H. 1005. The said year is there called the year 394 after the accession of Chingīz Khān to the throne [2] (Teheran edition, A.H. 1271, p. 173).

10

The famous Khānī (ii) Era of Ghāzān.—This is the better known of the two eras under this name. According to the famous historian Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī of Qazvīn in his *Tārīkh i guzīda* (*GMS.*, xiv, 1, p. 595), it was founded on 12 Rajab, A.H. 701 (13th March, A.D. 1302). The same date is given by the same author also in his versified general history *Ẓafar-nāma* (Brit. Mus. Or. 2833). But it is curious that in his other work entitled *Nuzhat al-qulūb* composed in A.H. 730 (Brit. Mus. Add. 16736, fol. 30*a*) he gives the day as 13 Rajab. 'Alī Yazdī in the introduction to his *Ẓafar-nāma* (which introduction he entitles *Tārīkh i Jahāngīr*), in the course of the history of the reign of Ghāzān states that the Khānī

[1] It is unnecessary for me to try to give the spelling of these names in Roman letters.

[2] This date, if it is correct, makes the accession of Chingīz fall in 1203, i.e. the first stage of the consolidation of power by Chingīz after his decisive defeat of the Keräyits.

era which was used by the servants of the state was founded in his (Ghāzān's) time in A.H. 701 in Pārs yīl (the year of the cheetah). The position of the year in the Turkish duodenary animal cycle leaves no doubt as to the correctness of the date.[1] Abu'l-Faḍl 'Allāmī in his *Ā'īn i Akbarī* also gives the date of the composition of the book as corresponding to the year A.H. 1002, A.Y. 963, 516 of the Jalālian era and 293 of the *Khānī* era. This correspondence again implies that the beginning of the era was A.H. 701. The Khānī dates given in the Persian astrological calendars published every year in Persia also agree perfectly with the same epoch for this era. For instance, one of these calendars which was for the year beginning with the vernal equinox of the year A.D. 1935 gives the corresponding dates according to other eras and among them 857 Jalālī and 634 Khānī. This would again make the first year of the Khānī era correspond to the year 224 Jalālī and A.H. 701.

However, there is another version which contrary to all above-mentioned testimonies seems to put the beginning of the era in A.H. 700. This is given, curiously enough, by no less an authority than Vaṣṣāf, the famous historian of the Mongol court in Persia, who was himself a contemporary of Ghāzān and a witness of his reforms and who presented to Ghāzān the first three volumes of his comprehensive work (the history) in 1303, i.e. only one year after the institution of the era. In some passages of the same book this author makes the first Khānī year correspond to the year 692 Kharājī and the third Khānī year to 694 Kharājī (*Tārīkh i Vaṣṣāf*, Bombay ed., pp. 404 and 435). This correspondence would have agreed with the statements of the other authors if Vaṣṣāf meant by the Kharājī date that which was used in Persia where the Kharājī year 692 began, as a matter of fact, in Rajab, A.H. 701. But as the author in a passage of the same book (p. 404) expressly makes the 694th Kharājī and the third Khānī year begin with the Jalālī *Naurūz* (New Year) or the vernal equinox falling on 22nd Rajab, A.H. 702, this shows that he meant the Kharājī date as reckoned in Baghdād, which, as we have seen (No. 2), was one year behind the more widely used computation, i.e. the Kharājī years as reckoned in Persia. Consequently the beginning of the Khānī era would be according to Vaṣṣāf on the 1st Rajab, A.H. 700.

It must, however, be said that the different passages in Vaṣṣāf's

[1] The Chinese year of the tiger (or cheetah) began on the 30th January, 1302, and 29th Jumādā i, A.H. 701.

book relating to this matter are not very clear and that they are sometimes inconsistent with each other.[1] Therefore, I think we can continue to take the well-known epoch, namely A.H. 701, as the beginning of the era. Moreover, this date is more suitable for the institution of the era than 700, because in the month Rajab of the latter year Ghāzān was still on his way back from Syria and was not yet settled again in his residence.

Mullā Muẓaffar, on the other hand, in his above-mentioned calendar (see above, No. 9) made for the solar year beginning on the 21st March, A.D. 1597, makes the said year correspond (roughly) to the Khānī year 295. This would imply that the beginning of the era was in A.H. 702 !

11

The Ilāhī Era of Akbar.—We do not need to describe fully this era of which full details are to be found in *Ā'īn i Akbarī* of Abū 'l-Faḍl 'Allāmī (English translation by Jarret, vol. ii, p. 30). This author tells the story of the institution of this era. It suffices here to give the main points :—

The era was instituted by Akbar, the famous Moghul Emperor of India, in the year A.H. 992 (A.D. 1584) [2] or in the 29th year of the same era. It was made to begin not from the date of the institution but retrospectively from the first New Year (the vernal equinox) after the accession of that Emperor (in fact twenty-five days after the accession) [3] in A.D. 1556. The years were tropic like the Jalālī years but without putting the five supplementary days at the end

[1] While he always makes the 1st year of the Khānī era correspond to the 692nd Kharājī year, he gives in another passage (p. 435) the 3rd Khānī year as corresponding to 704 Kharājī. In another place, as it is stated above, he gives the beginning of the year 694 Kharājī, which is according to him the same as the third year Khānī, as 22nd Rajab, A.H. 702 (p. 404), and this implies the correspondence of 692 Kharājī and the first Khānī year with the novilunar year A.H. 700. He speaks also of the time between the death of Arghūn (d. 7 Rabi' i, A.H. 690) and the accession of his successor as the year 682 Kharājī (Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 23517, fol. 296*a*), and of the Kharājī 6 (no doubt 686) as the early days of the reign of Ghāzān, who came to the throne towards the end of A.H. 694. Both these correspondences agree only with the Baghdādian reckoning of the Kharājī era in which only eight years divergence existed between the Kharājī and *Hilālī* Hijra dates as against the nine years difference in Persia.

[2] Only two years after the Gregorian calendar reform.

[3] Akbar came to the throne on the 3rd Rabī' ii, A.H. 963, and the equinox was on the 28th of the same month. 'Allāmī curiously enough makes an error in giving the beginning of the second year of the Ilāhī era as corresponding to the 27th Rabī' ii, whereas it must be the 9th Jumādā i.

of the year.[1] The months were solar and astronomic. According to Bendrey (*Tārīkh-i-Ilāhī*, 1933, p. 18), this era was in use till the accession of Shāh Jahān in 1628 (see also Ginzel, i, p. 395).

The Foreign Eras used by Muslims or mentioned in the Books of the Muḥammadan Writers

12

The Christian era with the Gregorian calendar was adopted in Turkey in 1926. The month names are Syrian with the exception of March, May, and August for which European names are in use.

13

The Mundane era or the era of the creation.—This era is mentioned in the books of the Muslim historians and astronomers and is discussed by Bīrūnī (*Chronology*, p. 15 seq.) and many others. They speak of the difference of opinion between the Jews and Christians about the beginning of the era.

14

The era of the Deluge.—This era was not only mentioned in all Oriental books on chronology but was also used by some astronomers in time reckoning. As to the beginning of the era opinions in Arabic and Persian books are widely divided. The following are some of the different calculations [2] which have come to my notice and which by no means form an exhaustive list :—

(*a*) Abū Ma'shar of Balkh, the famous astronomer of the ninth century, who is said to have based his tables of astronomy (*Zīj*) on the era of the Deluge, in a treatise on the conjunction of the superior planets, etc., entitled دلالات الأشخاص العلوّية الدّالة على الأحداث الكائنة فى عالم الكون والفساد من جهة محلّها عند طوالع البوادى القرانّية وغيرها[3] (Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 3577), puts (fol. 39*a*) the interval between the Deluge and the conjunction which happened just before the birth

[1] i.e. counting 29, 30, 31, or 32 days.

[2] Though the calculations are different from each other the results of some of them agree approximately.

[3] In a marginal note it is stated that the treatise is the same as *Kitāb al-qirānāt* and that the book is ascribed by some authors to Abū Ma'shar and by some others to Ibn al-Bāziyār.

of Muḥammad as 3,671 years. This means that the Deluge had taken place in or about 3,101 B.C.

(*b*) Ḥamza of Iṣfahān in his *Annals* (ed. Berlin, p. 11) quotes the same Abū Ma'shar (mentioned above) as giving the interval between the Deluge and the beginning of the era of Yazdegerd (16th June, 632) as 3,735 years and 322 days.[1] This would bring the Deluge back to about 3,104 B.C.

(*c*) According to Mas'ūdī in his *at-Tanbīh w'al-ishrāf* (*BGA.*, viii, p. 198), some people believed the interval between the Deluge and Alexander (Sel. era) to be 2,925 years. This makes the Deluge fall in 3,237 B.C.

(*d*) Sajzī (Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Jalīl), who flourished in the second half of the tenth century, in his book entitled *Muntakhab[t] Kitāb al-mawālīd* (Brit. Mus. Or. 1346, fol. 81*a*), states that the fourth millennium (of the Deluge) ended in A.Y. 266, which means that the Deluge had taken place in 3,103 B.C.[2]

(*e*) According to Bīrūnī (*Chronology*, p. 25), the same Abū Ma'shar (mentioned under *a*) has given the interval between the Deluge and the beginning of the Seleucidian era (312 B.C.) as 2,790 rectified years (i.e. with the intercalation of about one day each four years) 7 months and 26 days. This comes to about 3,102 tropic or 3,104 vague years B.C.[3]

(*f*) Again according to Bīrūnī (op. cit., pp. 24–5), "the astronomers have found as a result of their calculations that the Deluge happened 2,604 years before the era of Nabonassar" (beg. 747 B.C.). Consequently it must have taken place in 3,351 B.C.

(*g*) Bīrūnī ascribes (op. cit., p. 23) to the Jews the belief that from the Deluge to the Seleucidian era (*Tārīkh al-Iskandar*) 2,792 years[4] have elapsed, which would bring the former to 3,103 or 3,104. This

[1] The text is not in good order and apparently one or two lines are omitted where the date is confused with the date of the departure of Mutawakkil for Damascus. The source of Ḥamza's statement was most probably the famous book of Abū Ma'shar entitled *Kitāb al-ulūf w'al-adwār* of which an abridged copy is contained in a volume in Brit. Mus. (Or. 3577) where in fol. 4*a* the same statement occurs.

[2] A.Y. means the era of Yazdegerd.

[3] The same number is also the result of the calculation given by Abū al-Faḍl in *Ā'īn i Akbarī*, where he puts the composition of the book in 4696 after the date of the Deluge as given by Abū Mā'shar (Engl. translation by Jarrett, Calcutta, 1891, vol. ii, p. 22).

[4] In al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī of the same author (Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 1997, fol. 27*a*) the number is 1793 given in words. Possibly the word *alf* (thousand) is a miswriting for *alfā* (two thousand).

last number agrees with the version (*b*) as well as with the version of Hamdallāh Mustawfī, who in his *Tārīkh i guzīda* (*GMV.*, xiv, 1, p. 10) makes the year A.Y. 698, the date of the composition of the book, correspond to 4,433 after the Deluge "according to the astronomers".

(*h*) Also the same author (ibid. and Qānūn, 27*a*) attributes to the Christians the belief that 2,938 years have elapsed from the Deluge to the Sel. era. Thus the former must have, according to them, occurred in 3,249 B.C.

(*i*) According to Kūshyār (ibn Labbān (?) Bāshahrī Jīlī), the famous astronomer of Gīlān, who flourished in the second half of the tenth and the early years of the eleventh century, in his book *Mujmal al-uṣūl* (Brit. Mus. Add. 7490, fol. 22*b*), the beginning of *adwār* (the astrological cycles relating to the zodiacal signs and planets)[1] was 276 years[2] before the Deluge and the end of these, when a complete course came to an end, was in A.Y. 321. The course (12 × 360) needing 4,320 years must have begun in 3,368 B.C. to end in A.D. 952 or A.Y. 321. Deducting 276 from 3,368 the remainder will be the epoch of the Deluge, i.e. 3,092 B.C.

(*j*) Ideler, in his *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie* (Berlin, 1820, vol. ii, pp. 625–7), quotes the Arabic text of a passage from the *Zīj* of Kūshyār (manuscript of Berlin) which deals with the era of the Deluge and gives the intervals between the Deluge and other eras. In the case of the Seleucidian era the interval is given as 2,792 years, which means that the Deluge was in 3,103 B.C. Ideler, however, basing his calculation on the interval between the Deluge and the era of Nabonassar given there as 860,172 days, puts the Deluge on 18th February, 3,102 B.C. Abū Ma'shar in *Kitāb al-adwār* (see p. 122, n. 1) puts it on 29th February.

(*k*) Ṣafadī in his *al-Wāfī bil-wafayāt* (*JA.*, 10th serie, tome xvii, 1911, pp. 270–2) counts the interval between the Deluge and the era of Bukhtanaṣṣar (meaning Nabonassar) 2,400 [solar] years and

[1] According to Kūshiyār the cycles began when there was a conjunction [of Saturn and Jupiter] and Saturn was in Crab. Therefore the first cycle of 360 years was the cycle of the Crab and Saturn and the second cycle also of the same length was the cycle of Leo and Jupiter and so forth. Thus every cycle was succeeded by that of the next sign and the next planet, and one whole course of the cycles concluded when the turn came again to Crab. Each cycle was under the influence of the planet and sign dominant in that period as is stated.

[2] According to Abū Ma'shar in his above-mentioned book on the effect of the conjunctions this was 287 years before the Deluge. Bīrūnī gives the interval as 229 years and 108 days (*Chronology*, p. 24).

11 months. Adding 747 years (the difference between the latter era and the Christian era) to this number we get 3147, B.C. as the date of the Deluge.[1]

(*l*) In an anonymous Persian book on astronomy (Berlin MS. Orient. 4° 848), composed apparently in the second half of the eleventh century (probably in 1074) and which I believe to be a copy of *Rawḍat al-munajjimīn*, the famous work of Shahmardān ibn abi 'l-Khair of Ray, the author of another work entitled *Nuzhat nāma i 'Alāī*, the interval between the Deluge and the era of Yazdegerd is given as 3,705 years and 322 days. This makes the former correspond to 3074, B.C.

(*m*) Finally, Sharaf ad-dīn 'Alī Yazdī, in the introduction to his book *Ẓafar nāma*, which introduction he calls *Tārīkh i Jahāngīr* (Brit. Mus. Or. 6538, fol. 11*a*), states that "the astronomers have an era reckoned from the Deluge and in our days in the year 788 A.Y. 4,021 years have elapsed from the Deluge". Consequently the Deluge according to this author must have taken place in 2,602 B.C.

All these thirteen versions do not seem, however, to be of independent origin and different from each other. The versions (*a*), (*b*), (*d*) (*e*), (*g*), (*j*) may be considered as traceable to a common origin.

15

The era of Alexander (*Tārīkh al-Iskandar*).—This era is the well-known Seleucidian era which has also been given many other names by the different peoples who used it. It was called the "years of the Kingdom of the Greeks" or the "years of the reign of the Greeks" or the "era of the Hellenes",[2] "the era of contracts",[3] "the era of the Seigneur",[4] the "era of the Chaldaeans",[5] the "era of the astronomers of Babylon",[6] the "Syro-Macedonian era",[7] the "era

[1] The author adding 436 (solar) years and a fraction of a year, which is the interval between the Nabonassarian and Seleucidian eras, to the above-mentioned number (2,400) concludes that the interval between the latter era and the Deluge was 2,932! This number is apparently reached by converting the solar years into lunar years and dividing the real product (2,836) by 30 (!!) and adding the quotient to the dividend.

[2] By the Jews in the books of Maccabees and Josephus.

[3] Also by the Jews.

[4] By the people of Tyre.

[5] By Ptolemy in his Almagestes (ix, 7, and xi, 7), for the dates of three observations of the planets.

[6] By Mānī in Shāpurakan (see below).

[7] By later Greeks, e.g. *Paschal Chronicle*.

of the Macedonians ",[1] the " era of Seleucus ",[2] the " era of the Greeks " (*Tārīkh al-yūnāniyyīn*) (i.e. the Syrian Greeks),[3] and the " era of the two-horned one " (*Tārīkh i Dhi 'l-qarnain*).[4] This era was used in Babylonia in the astronomical tablets since the third century B.C., the oldest date of this kind known being from A.S. 23 (beg. 289 B.C.), and in many parts of Western Asia. Besides being used by the Jews in the Maccabees where we find dates according to this era relating to times as far back as the beginning of the second quarter of the second century B.C. It was used also on the coins of many countries and towns, from Asia Minor, Syria, and Arabia in the West to India in the East. Leaving aside the controversial dates of some of the Phœnician coins supposed to be from the year A.S. 5, dates according to this era appear on the coins of the Seleucid kings since 201 B.C., on the Parthian coins as early as 188 B.C., and on a coin of one of the Græco-Bactrian rulers, corresponding to 165 B.C.[5] However, with the falling away of some Syrian towns from the Seleucidian Empire, dating according to this era ceases, each of them instituting then a new era beginning apparently with the date of its freedom. But the use of the Sel. era continued in the Syrian churches, and with the Syrian Christians it was, till modern times,[6] almost the only method of dating. It was used by them in their writings as early as the first half of the fourth century.[7]

The epoch of the era seems to be connected with the death of Alexander IV (Aegus) which probably happened in 311 B.C. Therefore, the beginning of the era was for the Macedonians the first day of the Macedonian year during which that event (the death of Aegus) happened, namely the first day of the month Dios which fell in the

[1] By the Syrian writers.

[2] Also by the Syrians.

[3] By the Syrian and Arabian writers.

[4] By the Arab authors, Muslims, and Christians. Agapius uses this expression exclusively.

[5] All these dates on the coins are believed to be Sel. because they are fitting according to that era, though the name of the era does not appear in the legends.

[6] It was in current use, at least in the beginning of the present century, with the Nestorians as well with some Jewish communities in the East, such as those in South Arabia.

[7] e.g. Aphraates uses it in his *Demonstrations* written between A.D. 337 and 345. With regard to the details relating to the Sel. era, cf. G. F. Hill, *The Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Persia*; Percy Gardner, *Catalogue of Greek Coins—the Seleucid Kings of Syria*; also *The Parthian Coinage* and *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India* by the same author, Ginzel, i, 136, 263, 305; ii, 59; iii, 40–2; Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans u. seine Nachbarländer, passim*; Bouché Leclercq, *Histoire des Seleucides*, ii, 516; and Pauly's *Realencyclopädie* (*Aera*).

autumn of the year 312 B.C.[1] But for the Babylonian astronomers, who used this era, it began with the commencement of the Babylonian year [2] during which Aegus died, i.e. with the 1st day of the Babylonian month Nīsān, which fell on 2nd April, 311 B.C. With the Jews it seems that the era began with their (religious) New Year or the Jewish Nīsān in 311 B.C. (also in the spring), and curiously enough the epoch of the Sel. era used for the dates of the observations of the planets given by Ptolemy according to the "years of the Chaldaeans" is 9th November, 311 B.C., i.e. the 1st Toth or the beginning of Egyptian year which followed that during which Aegus died. With the Syrian Christians of the Roman Empire the year began with Tishrīn I (October) and therefore the Sel. era with them was of the Syro-Macedonian form (i.e. beginning with Oct., 312),[3] but the Syrian Christians of the East and particularly those of the Persian Empire in the times before the fourth century (and perhaps some even during the fourth and fifth centuries) reckoned by a lunar year beginning in the spring, and consequently their era (the Sel.) must, like that of the Babylonian astronomers, have begun in the spring of 311 B.C. but not necessarily exactly at the same time. Their year, though beginning with their month Nīsān and near the vernal equinox, seems to be not identical with the Bab. year. I am, however, unable to discover to what kind of calendar it belonged,[4] as the week days

[1] The Macedonian year was lunisolar and therefore its beginning has oscillated around the autumnal equinox. Some time after the conquest of Syria by the Romans the Macedonian months were made to correspond to the Julian months (Hyperberetaios = October and so forth) and the year became solar, beginning for the Syrians in general with the 1st October, but for some Western Syrians who followed the Greek indictions (after these had come into use in the Orient since the fourth century), with the 1st September.

[2] The Babylonian New Year's Day oscillated in the post-Seleucidian period between 21st March and 22nd April.

[3] The Oriental authors give not only the number of the days elapsed between the epoch of "the era of Alexander" and that of Hijra as well as that of Yazdegerdian era, but they state also that the former fell on a Monday. Both of these data agree only with the 1st October (Julian), 312 B.C. But it must be borne in mind that the said number and the week day are only reached by backward calculation based on the presupposed date of the era and not on tradition.

[4] If Kugener's reading of the indiction number relating to the date of the ordination of Severus, the Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch, in the Syriac text of the book of Michael the Syrian should prove to be correct, we have here another instance of the reckoning of the Sel. era from 311 B.C. Kugener in his *Extraits relatifes à Sévère*, vii, 9 (*Patrologia Orientalis*, vol. 2, p. 314), gives the French translation of an extract from the list of the Jacobite bishops in the Syriac book on general history by the said Michael (late twelfth century). In that passage the date of the ordination of Severus is given as Tishrī ii, 823 (Sel.), indiction vi. The same occurs also in another anonymous Syriac note (p. 317 of the same volume, *Notice* I). The indiction number points to

which are given in some of the acts of Oriental martyrs, together with the day number of the month, agrees neither with the Syro-Macedonian nor with the Babylonian month.

The name of Alexander was probably given to this era, as is already mentioned, on account of its epoch being the year of the death of Alexander "Aegus". But the designation of the Seleucidian era by this name ("the era of Alexander") seems to be of Syrian and late Greek origin [1] and the Muslim authors have most probably adopted it from the Syrians. So far as I know there is no evidence of any use of this denomination in pre-Islamic Persia. We may even assume that this name was unknown there in Sassanian times. Mānī, in his book, *Shāpūrakān*, calls this era "the era of the astronomers of Babylon" (Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, pp. 118 and 206). Although the era was, as has already been said, used in the Seleucidian and Parthian periods on the coins of those dynasties, as well as on those of some other minor dynasties, we have no proof that such a name (Alexander) was ever used to designate it. This point may have a bearing on the much discussed question of the traditional date of Zoroaster. According to the national tradition which can hardly have originated as late as the Islamic age, the date of Zoroaster (his birth or his mission or the conversion of Vishtāspa to the new faith) was 258 years before Alexander's conquest of Persia and the death of Dārā (Darius). This date has, I believe, nothing to do with the Seleucidian era. The chronology of the Kings of Iran in *Bundahishn* also implies 258 years from Zoroaster *to the death of Dārā* (though the beginning of this period is given there as the coming of the religion in the thirtieth

the year A.D. 512 and this implies that the era used began in 311 B.C. and excludes 312. In the second note (same page) the date of the ordination is given as 8th November, 820, "which is the year 509 of our Lord," and this reduction again means the same beginning for the Sel. era. It is, however, curious that the indiction number in the French translation of Chabot in the *Revue de l'orient chrétien*, 1899, p. 446, from which Kugener professes to have taken the above-mentioned passage, as well as in the original Syriac text edited by Chabot (*Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, tome iii, fasc. iii, Paris, 1910, p. 752), and in the French translation (the same volume, p. 448), is x and not vi, though this number (x) is not fitting in any of the years after 501–2 and before 516–17. (I learn from a Syriac scholar that Chabot's translation is a slip on his part due to his misreading of the Greek word number used in the Syriac text.) According to Comte de Mas-Latrie in his *Trésor de Chronologie*, col. 36, the Syrian Catholics use, even now, the era of Alexander as reckoned from 311 B.C.

[1] It was used by Aphraates of the fourth century (*Patrologia Syriaca*, ed. Graffin, vol. i, col. 723–4, 942, 1043; vol. ii, col. 150), and in the proceedings of the Chalcedonian Council in the middle of the fifth century, where it is said "in the year 636 *after Alexander* . . ." (Mansi, *Sacor. concil. collect.*, iv, 956), and also in the Acts of Martyrs as well as by Agathias (second half of the sixth century).

year of Vishtāspa's reign). Taking this number as the interval between the conversion of Vishtāspa (which was the real starting-point for the success of the mission just as the *Hijra* was for the Muḥammadan faith in spite of its being posterior by many years to the first revelation) the year 588 B.C. would be the 42nd year of the life of Zoroaster and consequently his birth would fall in 630-29. This date is not only exactly 300 years before the death of Darius III, which number agrees with the other tradition preserved in the Pahlavī books of Zād Spram and Arda Vīrāz,[1] but it conforms also with another tradition coming from a quite different source, namely "the book of Scholia" of Bār Qônāi, a Syriac work probably of the seventh century, where Zoroaster's date is given as 628 years and 7 months B.C.,[2] i.e. roughly 629 years (see Pognon, *Inscriptions Mandaïtes* . . ., Appendix II, p. 165). There is also another point to be raised in support of the authenticity of the tradition and its being old and relating to the well-known Alexander the Great and his conquest of Persia. Ardashīr, the founder of the Sassanian dynasty, has, according to Mas'udī[3] and Bīrūnī,[4] falsified the history of Persia by causing the time which elapsed between Alexander the Great and his own accession to the throne of Irān to be officially put as 266 years (or according to another version 260). This was, it is related, with a view to shortening the space of time between himself and Zoroaster. As the eschatological belief in the millennial calamities was generally established,[5] he feared the end of the millennium (the 10th), and hence the calamity for his country and his dynasty would fall not far from his time if the real interval between Alexander and himself were to be taken into calculation. This means that the interval between Alexander and Zoroaster (with whom the millennium began) having been rendered indisputable by the force of tradition, the only cut possible was in the period after Alexander by ignoring a great part of the period of the unpopular Arsacid rule, so that the beginning of his (Ardashīr's) reign should

[1] Though these two sources speak of the religion as flourishing for 300 years till Alexander's conquest of Persia, this does not prevent us from supposing that the period was counted from the birth of Zoroaster just as in common language one may hear it often said to-day that the Christian faith is now 1,939 years old.

[2] In fact the astronomical year 629 B.C. is the historical 630. The date also fits with the story about the age of the famous Cypress of Kashmar which is said to have been 1,450 years old when it was cut down in 861 by order of the Abbasid Caliph Mutawakkil. The planting of the tree by Zoroaster or Gushtāsp would thus fall in 589 B.C.

[3] *BGA.*, viii, p. 98.

[4] al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī.

[5] See the letter of Tanasar ed. Mīnovī 44, Mas'udī (op. cit., p. 99), and Miskôye (*GMS.*, vii, p. 125).

fall roughly in the 524th or the 518th year of the Zoroaster's millennium (the 10th). He nearly halved the length of the period of 549 years from the death of Alexander to his own time (323 B.C.–A.D. 226), or, to make it more exact, perhaps between Alexander's death and the beginning of his reign as a local prince in Pārs. Is it not obvious that if there was not such an indisputable tradition in the way, the pre-Alexandrian period would be much more suitable for the operation of falsification than the period after Alexander? Moreover, how could Ardashīr pretend that only 266 years had elapsed since Alexander if an era under the very name of Alexander was in current use or known among the Persians outside Babylonia and its astronomers or the Syrian subjects of Persia, and if everybody knew that the year of Ardashīr's accession was the 537th of the so-called "era of Alexander"? That the above-mentioned number (266) was contained in the official history of Persia and was given in *Khwadhāi nāmak* is proved beyond doubt by many proofs which cannot be discussed here.

However, the Muḥammadan historians who adopted the designation of *Tārīkh al-Iskander* (the era of Alexander) were misled by the same name and thought it had begun with Alexander the Great (either with his succession to the throne of his father or with his invasion of Persia). Therefore they took the old Persian tradition relating to the interval between Zoroaster and Alexander as meaning that Zoroaster lived 258 years before the "era of Alexander" which under the influence of Syrian writers was in current use with them for the solar years. Accordingly by adding always 258 to any Seleucidian date in their own time they worked out the time elapsed between Zoroaster and that date. This explains all the errors of Bīrūnī in his first book, the work of his early career, *al-Āthār al-bāqiya* (pp. 14, 119, and 213), where he worked out the interval between the first man and Zoroaster and between the latter and Yazdegerd I, as well as the time of Abū Zakariyyā aṭ-Ṭammāmī, all according to the above-mentioned erroneous basis, namely the interpretation of the word Alexander by the era of this name, i.e. Seleucidian era.[1] He discovered his mistake later, however, and corrected it fully in his *al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī*, where he gives a fairly correct history of Alexander's life and puts

[1] Bīrūnī had at the time of the composition of that book no clear idea as to the time of Alexander the Great or the real meaning of the "era of Alexander". He takes the latter as beginning from the 26th year of Alexander's life (p. 28) and at the same time gives the interval between the accession of Cyrus and that of Alexander as 222 years (p. 18), which is correct.

Zoroaster 276 years before the "era of Alexander" (the Seleucidian). Apparently he wrote also a treaty of apology for his great mistake of early life on this matter, as the title فى الاعتذ ارعمّا سبق لى فى تاريخ الاسكندر given in the list of his works composed by himself suggests (see Sachau's introduction to the edition of chronology, p. xxxxiii).

The fact that Bīrūnī's earlier book (*Chronology*) was available to everybody in Sachau's edition while the *Qānūn*, composed about twenty years later, is not yet published and hence not accessible except in the manuscripts in few public libraries, is responsible for Bīrūnī's erroneous statements becoming the basis for the discussion, by many scholars, of the tradition relating to the date of Zoroaster.[1] It is curious that even Abū Ma'shar Balkhī, the famous astronomer, apparently knowing that the conquest of Persia by Alexander was eighteen years earlier than the so-called era of Alexander, was still under the impression that the 258 years interval between Zoroaster and Alexander referred to the said era and not to the reign of the Macedonian conqueror in Persia and therefore put Zoroaster 240 years before Alexander.[2]

The principal historical question of the date of Zoroaster and of choosing between the traditional date and an earlier one based on philological grounds, namely the antiquity of the Gātha dialect, and on the statements of the classical authors, is, however, outside the subject of this article as well as of my province.

16

The era of *Ṣufr* or the Spanish era.—This era began with the 1st January, 38 B.C. This is believed to be the date of the conquest of Spain by Augustus. It was used in Muḥammadan Spain and North Africa and is sometimes called by the Muslim authors the year of Majūs or the Magians. This expression occurs in an Arabic book of astronomy composed about A.D. 1020 by a certain Muḥammad ibn Raḥiq ibn 'Abd al-Karīm (Berlin Lbg. 108).

17

The Diocletian era or the era of Martyrs (*Tārīkh ash-shuhadā'* or *Tārīkh al-aqbāṭ*), beginning with the 29th August, A.D. 284. This era was used in Egypt and especially in the Arabic books of the Monophysite Christians.

[1] e.g. Herzfeld in Pavry memorial volume, and *AMI.*, ii, pp. 41–4.
[2] al-mudhākarāt li Shādhān ibn Bahr. Cambridge Gg. 3, 19, fol. 4*a*.

The Particular Calendars

18

The Mu'taḍidī Calendar.—As is already stated, the Abbasid Caliph Mutawakkil attempted to change the position of the Persian *Naurūz* in the tropic year by postponing it to 17th June and stabilizing it there. This was to relieve the people from paying the land taxes in April, in which month the Persian New Year fell at that time, instead of in summer when the crops were collected. The life of the Caliph, however, came to an end before the new calendar had been solidly established and found currency. The idea was revived about forty years later by the Caliph Mu'taḍid, who in A.H. 282 reformed the Persian calendar and postponed the *Naurūz* from 12th April, on which day it fell at that time, to 11th June and made it stable there by introducing into the Persian year the Julian system of four-yearly intercalation of one day. The names of the months and their length remained as they were. Only the supplementary days at the end of the eighth month (Ābān) were made, once each four years, six instead of five. This new calendar was in use for a long time and perhaps till the Jalālian reform. The first *Naurūz* of this new calendar was on the 13th Rabī' al-akhar,[1] 282.

The reform of Mu'taḍid of the Persian year was imitated by the ruler of Khʷārizm, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Irāq ibn Manṣur, in A.D. 959 (A.H. 347) when he reformed, in the same way, the Khʷārizmian calendar (see Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, p. 241). He stabilized the Khʷārimzian New Year on the 2nd day of April.[2] Full details about the calendar of Mu'taḍid are to be found in the *Essay* mentioned above.

19

In the *Naurūz-nama*, a Persian treatise attributed to 'Umar Khayyām, the author speaks (ed. Mīnovī, p. 12) of a calendar reform (*Kabīsa* or intercalation) introduced by the famous Ṣaffārid Prince of Sistān Khalaf ibn Aḥmad and states that up to his (the author's) time again a difference of sixteen days has grown up. This means

[1] As Ṣafadī correctly gives it and not on the 12th Rabī' al-awwal as Bīrūnī and some others have it.

[2] This is the correct date as it is given in the *at-tafhīm* by Bīrūnī and not the 3rd April as given by the same author in the *Chronology*.

that the year was not well stabilized by the said reform. As the reign of Khalaf in Sistān ended in A.H. 393, the reform must have been effected in the second half of the tenth Christian century.

20

The financial year of Persia before the last reform in 1925 (see No. 5) was a solar year used with the duodenary animal cycle of the Turko-Chinese system and with the corresponding date of the lunar *Hijrī* year.[1] The month names were those of the zodiacal signs. The year began on the vernal equinox. In Afghanistan the month names are still those of the constellations, though the era used is the solar *Hijrī*.

* * * * *

The Sogdian and Khʷārizmian calendar, each of them with special month names but both with the Persian year except for the difference of the position of the epagomenæ, were also used by the Muslims of Transoxiana and Khʷārizm in the first centuries of Islam. However, the system being exactly the same as that of the Persian calendar, these two calendars can be considered as coming under Nos. 6 and 7 as far as it concerns the time before the stabilization of the Khʷārizmian calendar mentioned above.

There are some other eras mentioned or discussed in the chronological books of Muslims such as the era of Nabonassar, the era of Philip of Macedonia, the era of Augustus, and that of Antoninus. However, these eras are never or very seldom used for dating by the Muslim authors and therefore they are not included in the list of the eras discussed in this article.

[1] In the last years before its abolition (I believe since 1911) it was also often used with the solar Hijra dates.

The Average Man in Early Islam

By A. S. Tritton

LITERATURE is full of the saints of Islam, like the man who was so oppressed by the seriousness of life that he always looked as if he were coming from the funeral of a near relative, and another who fainted when he saw a bedouin smearing his camel with hot tar, because it reminded him of hell. It is a mistake to think that all Muslims lived up to this standard.

Even the pious 'Umar lost his temper at a formula consecrated by religion. In reply to a question a man said, "God knows best"; the caliph told him to say either "I know" or "I do not know".[1] Tales told of society in Medina show that amusements tolerated there fell far short of the standard of decency demanded by religion.

There was a class of men who told edifying stories to instruct the faithful. One of them said that those, who fasted for three successive months, would have in heaven houses one thousand parasangs long, broad and high, with doors ten parasangs square. "A poor house for January," ejaculated one of the audience.[2] Another of these preachers said, "The name of the wolf that ate Joseph was so and so." It was objected that no wolf ate Joseph so he corrected himself, "The name of the wolf that did not eat Joseph was so and so."[3] This tale throws a sidelight on the popular knowledge of the Qur'ān. A man was eating by the roadside when a friend rebuked him for such indecorum. He asked his mentor if he would be ashamed of cattle seeing him eat in his own courtyard, and then began to pray, preach, and tell edifying stories. A crowd soon gathered and he said, "It is recorded that no one, who can touch the tip of his nose with his tongue, will go to hell." The audience all put out their tongues. When the crowd had dispersed, he said to his friend, "Did I not tell you that they were cattle?"[4] A man with some reputation as a theologian saw men hurrying to the mosque so as not to be late for prayer and said, "Look at these asses and cattle! What did that Arab do to men?"[5] Al-Farazdak could call the prophet, "That man of Quraish."[6]

A quotation from the Qur'ān or a saying of the prophet is always an ornament to polite conversation; such quotation could serve

[1] Bukhāri 65 (2), 47.
[2] *Aghāni* (ed. 3) 3, 160.
[3] *'Uyūn al-Akhbār* 2, 46.
[4] *Aghāni* (ed. 2) 12, 4.
[5] *Farḳ bain al-Firaḳ* 158.
[6] *Aghāni* (ed. 2) 19, 39.

impolite ends. A poet boasted that he was the son and grandson of poets, hinting at the tradition that Joseph was a prophet and the son and grandson of prophets. He was answered in irony with, "Evidently you are of those from whom God has removed all dirt and cleansed thoroughly"; a slight adaptation of Sūra 33, 33.[1] A man was invited to eat and was then asked what he thought of the food; he replied, "It was made before God gave his revelation to the bee" (Sūra 16, 70).[2] The food was not sweet enough. One man said of another that if he had been among the children of Israel when the verse, "Moses told his people that God bade them slaughter a cow" (Sūra 2, 63), was revealed, he would have been the only one they could kill.[3] This was not the only time this man showed his skill in quotation. A man named Moses had been appointed to make a prisoner pay a fine and had tortured him to death. When asked if he knew anything of the victim, this man said, "Moses struck him and finished him." Moses was annoyed and threatened him so he quoted afresh, "Will you kill me as you killed a man yesterday?" (Sūra 28, 14.18).[4] The same man, when told that he was a laughing-stock, was ready, "Those who do wrong laugh at those who believe" (Sūra 83, 29).[5] Two poets quarrelled, one said, "You are not he whom the women saw, admired, and cut their hands" (Sūra 12, 31), meaning Joseph. The other retorted, "Nor are you he, of whom Jethro's daughter said, 'Father, hire him, he is the best of those you hired, the strong, the faithful'" (Sūra 28, 26). When men quarrelled and each hinted that the other's mother was no better than she should be, the Mother of the Book, which probably means the first chapter of the Qur'ān, was often dragged in.[6] The practices of religion did not escape ridicule. Referring to the prostrations one said, "We depress our nobler and exalt our baser parts."[7] A Christian turned Muslim and was made vizier. A man went to call on him and was told by the servants that their master was at prayer. So he went away to return later and found the convert still at his devotions. "It is excusable; novelties are amusing."[8] The prophet had recommended funerals to move quickly. As one passed swiftly, a bystander said, "Do they think they have stolen the body and fear pursuers who will take it from them?"[9] A like temper is shown in the saying, "Beating the

[1] *Aghāni* (ed. 3) 3, 175, cf. Bukhāri 60, 8.
[2] *Aghāni* (ed. 2) 17, 92.
[3] Yāḳūt, *Irshād* 7, 69.
[4] Yāḳūt, *Irshād* 7, 66.
[5] Ibid., 7, 64.
[6] *Aghāni* (ed. 3) 1, 140.3, 212.4, 221.
[7] *'Uyūn al-Akhbār* 1, 324.
[8] Yāḳūt, *Irshād* 7, 65.
[9] *Aghāni* (ed. 3) 3, 161.

camel driver is a regular ceremony of the pilgrimage." [1] It is believed that at the day of judgment unbelievers will be choked in their own sweat. 'Amr, the conqueror of Egypt, told the caliph, "Last night I saw the resurrection in a dream, the scales were set, and men gathered for the reckoning. You were there, the sweat reached to your mouth, and the books of your sins were in front of you like mountains." The caliph asked him if he had seen there any of the money from Egypt. The sting was that 'Amr had grown fabulously rich on the spoils of his conquest.[2]

A poet got drunk and was flogged. He asked the caliph, the strict Manṣūr, to arrange that he might get drunk without having to suffer the penalty. The caliph said that this was impossible as it was a penalty imposed by God. However, he wrote to the governor of Medina, "If anyone reports this man for drunkenness, give the informer one hundred lashes." So men said, "Who will buy eighty with a hundred?" [3] Eighty lashes is the punishment for drunkenness. One, who was known as somewhat of a freethinker, sent a thousand dinars to a friend with this note, "I send you this money and buy your religion. Keep the cash and send me a transfer in writing." The friend wrote back, "I have kept the money and sell you my religion except the belief in one God, for which you have no use." [4] Sometimes very free interpretations were put on the teachings of religion. A traveller in Syria tells how he saw a respectable man steal a pomegranate from a passing porter and hide it in his sleeve. He could hardly believe his eyes but later he saw him give it to a beggar. He asked for an explanation of the strange act and the man said that the theft was one bad act and would be counted as one whereas the giving of alms would be counted as ten good acts.[5] The talk chanced to turn on a man with an ugly name so one of the company at once said, "That is not one of the names taught to Adam." [6] Valuable presents had been given to an emir, a tent worth ten thousand dirhams and a silk-lined cloak worth twenty thousand dinars. A cynic remarked that the tent of Islam was not worth a thousand dirhams nor a cloak lined with down from angels' wings worth twenty dinars.[7] The tent of Islam is a name for Basra and also a periphrase for Islam.

[1] *'Uyūn al-Akhbār* 1, 320.
[2] Ibid., 1, 318.
[3] Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Kitāb al-Shi'r* 176.
[4] *'Uyūn al-Akhbār* 1, 318.
[5] Jāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān* 3, 5.
[6] *Aghāni* (ed. 2) 17, 92.
[7] Ibid., 17, 100.

Religious books are full of tales of men who saw the prophet in dreams and had their difficulties solved by him. Here is a parody of these tales. A poet looked very mournful and in answer to sympathy explained that his donkey was dead and had appeared to him in a dream. He had asked why it had died and it answered in verse.

Sir, it was a she ass at the gate of the man from Ispahan,
She enslaved me with a finger and arts which made me sad.
The day we started she enslaved me with her lovely teeth,
With capricious wiles that stripped off my flesh and left me thin.
Her cheek is smooth like that of *shaifarān*.
I died. Had I lived my anguish had been long.

They asked the poet the meaning of the mysterious *shaifarān* and he said, "How do I know? Ask the donkey, it is his secret."[1] The same man said on hearing a song, "This is more beautiful than the chapter Resurrection from the Qur'ān."[2] Another poet happened to recite his works while a crowd listened to a reading of the Qur'ān; he exclaimed, "Why this crowd! What I have to say is better than that."[3] A man was sitting with some figs in front of him when he saw a bedouin coming to beg so he hid them under his cloak. He asked the beggar if he knew any of the Qur'ān; the man at once recited, "By the olives and Mt. Sinai" (Sūra 95, 1). The man asked, "Where are the figs?" the rest of the quotation. The answer was, "Under your cloak."[4] A man recited the verse, "Thieves, male and female, cut off their hands" (Sūra 5, 42), but finished with, "God is merciful and compassionate." Al-Farazdaḳ said that it was not fitting for the verse to end in that way. Someone told him that the verse ended, "Strong and wise." "That is fitting" was his comment.[5]

A man boasted that he was the first in Basra to be disrespectful to his parents for, when his father said to him, "God has joined obedience to him with obedience to me when he said, 'Thank me and your parents'" (Sūra 31, 13), the boy answered, "He has guarded me against you but not you against me when he said, 'Do not kill your children from fear of poverty'" (Sūra 17, 33).[6] Manners were not as refined as they might have been. A guest dining with the caliph got a mouthful of vinegar to the amusement of his host who laughed outright. The guest said, "Do not blame me, it has wiped

[1] *Aghāni* (ed. 3) 3, 231.
[2] Ibid., 3, 211.
[3] *Aghāni* (ed. 2) 13, 74, cf. also (ed. 3) 3, 215; 4, 34; 6, 151.
[4] Ghazāli, *Iḥyā* 3, 176.
[5] *Aghāni* (ed. 2) 19, 35.
[6] Yāḳūt, *Irshād* 7, 69.

out the sweetness of faith from my heart." [1] A public entertainer boasted that he was the son of the woman who had stirred up strife between the wives of the prophet. When men made fun of him for such boasting he asked who could make a like claim for, if the Mothers of the Faithful had not believed her, they would not have hated each other.[2] These jests must not be taken too seriously but they show that the fear of the day of judgment did not always press heavily on the Muslims. A man lost his camel and said, "If I do not find it, I will never pray again." He found it and said, "God knew that I was in earnest." [3] Al-Ḥajjāj could say, "Would that God, if he created us for the next world, had made us independent of this by freeing us from care about food and drink, clothing and marriage; or that he, when he put us in this world, had made us independent of the next and delivered us from anxiety about what will save us from his wrath." [4] Perhaps he was less serious when he said, "Obedience to me is a more exacting duty than obedience to God for he says, "Obey God as far as you can," admitting exceptions; yet he says, "Hear and obey" (Sūra 64, 16), admitting no exceptions. So if I tell a man to go through a door and he will not, I can kill him." [5]

Some heretics dared to criticize the prophet. One found fault with him for having too many wives and held that a famous ascetic of his day, Abū Dharr, was more religious than he.[6] Another blamed him for taking ransom for the prisoners captured at the Battle of Badr.[7] Some held that men might become superior to archangels or the prophet; others argued that the words of the Qur'ān already quoted, "Kill a cow," referred to his favourite wife.[8] Theological discussion gave room for plain speaking. A man affirmed that if God made a promise or uttered a threat he fulfilled both and so drew upon himself the retort, "You are a Persian, not in tongue but in heart. Do you not know that the Arabs count the fulfilment of a promise and the non-fulfilment of a threat noble deeds?" [9] Another asked his opponent, "Do you think that God in his goodness, mercy, and justice has laid on us tasks which we cannot perform and then will punish us?" The reply was, "By God, he has done so and we cannot say a word." [10] A believer in the freedom of the will asked a Magian why he did not turn Muslim, "I shall when God wills." "He does will but Satan

[1] Yāḳūt, *Irshād* 7, 68.
[2] *Aghāni* (ed. 3) 7, 90.
[3] Ḳāli, *Amāli* 1, 199.
[4] Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān* 1, 217.
[5] Jāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān* 3, 5.
[6] Maḳrīzi, *Khiṭaṭ* 2, 347.
[7] Ibid., 2, 353.
[8] Ibid., 2, 352.
[9] *'Uyūn al-Akhbār* 2, 142.
[10] Ibid., Jaḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān* 3, 3.

prevents you." "I side with the stronger."[1] A Shī'ite and a Murjite had an argument and agreed to let the first comer arbitrate between them. The first comer was a notorious humorist yet they laid their difference before him. He refused to decide as his top half was Shī'ite and his lower Murjite.[2] Theological strife was often bitter; two brothers would not speak because they belonged to different schools of thought. Bishr al-Marīsi had a big following and was hated as the incarnation of heresy. This tale is told of him. A youth died and soon after appeared to a friend in a dream. His hair had turned white. Bishr had been buried in the cemetery in which he lay and when the heretic was put into the ground hell gave such a groan that the hair of all who were buried there turned white.[3] Two men holding different views on theology were friends and at last one asked the other's daughter in marriage. "But," said the father, "she is a believer." That was the end of the friendship.[4]

Some went beyond words to actions. There were three brothers; one performed the pilgrimage for the uncle of the prophet who fell at the Battle of Uḥud as he had been killed before he could carry out this duty; the second offered sacrifices for the first two caliphs because they had omitted to do so; and the third abstained from fasting for 'Aīsha because she had fasted on a feast day. He argued that if you can fast vicariously you can also feast vicariously.[5] Someone announced that it was his custom to say two prayers together (instead of saying each at its proper time); one of his hearers interrupted with the words, "by omitting both."[6] A servant had difficulty in making his master get up for the morning prayer and after one or two attempts he said, "Time is short, rise, pray, and then rest." His master said, "I can rest now if you will let me alone."[7] In Mecca the governor was leading the prayer and recited, "Why do I not worship him who created me?" (Sūra 36, 21). A humorist said, "I do not know." Most of the congregation laughed and cut short the prayer. The governor finished his prayer and then sent for the interrupter. "Won't you stop this tomfoolery!" "I thought you wanted to worship God and when you asked a question I assumed that you were in doubt, so I strengthened your faith."[8] Before prayer washing of the hands and feet is necessary and the prophet

[1] *'Uyūn al-Akhbār* 2, 142.
[2] *Aghāni* (ed. 3) 4, 279.
[3] Sam'āni, *Ansāb*, f. 524 r.
[4] Ash'ari, *Maḳālāt* 112.
[5] *'Uyūn al-Akhbār* 2, 55.
[6] Yāḳūt, *Irshād* 7, 64.
[7] *Farḳ bain al-Firaḳ* 158.
[8] *Aghāni* (ed. 3) 4, 281.

said, "My people will be shining, wearing bracelets and anklets as the mark of their ablutions." A man performed his ablutions but did not wash his right foot as he wished to be shining with only three circlets.[1] Three white stockings were believed to be the mark of a fine horse. Once at prayer time a blind poet kept his seat when the rest of the company rose to get ready for worship. They strewed dust on his clothes and when they came back from their devotions it was still there, showing that he had not gone through the prescribed forms.[2] A friend suggested to this man that as they were both regarded as infidels they ought to go on pilgrimage. They started from Baghdad but got no further than Kufa where they tired of the journey, so they stayed there and when the time came, cut their hair to make it appear that they had shaved their heads in Mecca, joined the returning pilgrim caravan, and went back to Baghdad to be saluted as pilgrims.[3] It is only fair to say that the tale is told of another also, so it may be an invention.

As a battle was about to begin the question was asked, "What do you think of the Qur'ān and action in accord with its precepts?" The circumstances may excuse the reply of the opposing faction, "We put it at the bottom of the bag."[4] 'Abdullah b. Ruwāḥa, the Companion who was killed at Mu'ta, was asked by a woman to recite the Qur'ān; he repeated three verses of religious poetry and the woman was satisfied.[5] During the pilgrimage it is forbidden to take life. A pilgrim threw a stick at a jerboa and killed it; when the camel driver remonstrated, he explained that there was no harm in throwing the stick, which was all he had intended, the killing was an accident.[6]

A member of the prophet's family twice had words with one of their clients. The descendant of the prophet said, "Do you oppose me when you are bound to say, 'God bless Muḥammad and his family?'" The client replied, "But I add, 'the pure the good' and that excludes you." On the second occasion the descendant of the prophet said, "You are wicked."

"That does not contradict the word of the prophet, 'The client of a family is one of them.'"

"You are only adopted."

"My wickedness proves my descent."[7]

[1] Ibid. (ed. 2) 17, 92.
[2] Ibid. (ed. 3) 3, 186.
[3] Ibid. (ed. 3) 3, 185, cf. (ed 2) 12, 87.
[4] *Aghāni* (ed. 2) 20, 110.
[5] Ibn Ḳayyim, *Ijtimā' al-Juyūsh al-Islāmiya* 40.
[6] *'Uyūn al-Akhbār* 1, 320.
[7] Yāḳūt, *Irshād* 7, 67 f.

A merchant associated with loose-living poets and, when drunk, acted and talked as they did; when sober he feared the consequences. One day he was tired and hot after seeing a friend off on the pilgrimage so one of the poets offered him a meal on condition that he abused the angels. He refused. Another offered him a better meal if he would abuse the prophets. Again he refused. Yet another made a still more enticing offer if he would first say a long prayer. With an oath he refused to say any prayer just to get food, for prayer is offered to God only. Their next proposal, to say no prayers that day, was rejected as impious. Finally they let him eat and drink without conditions; he got drunk and in that state did all that the several poets had asked of him.[1] The same group held a convivial gathering which lasted several days and during which they said no prayers. They remembered the omission and appointed a girl singer to lead the service.[2] The caliph, Walīd b. Yazīd, also made a slave girl lead the prayers.[3]

During the first three centuries not all Muslims were saints. Religion sat lightly on some. The worst offenders were confined to small groups yet there was an audience which took a horrified delight in their doings.

[1] *Aghāni* (ed. 2) 12, 95.
[2] *Aghāni* (ed. 2) 12, 100.
[3] *Aghāni* (ed. 3) 7, 47.

A Civil and Military Review in Fārs in 881/1476

By V. Minorsky

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1. Davānī's *'Arḍ-nāma*

THE well-known Turkish scholar Kilisli Raf'at, to whom we owe the publication of Kāshgharī's monumental *Dīwān lughat al-Turk*, was fortunate in discovering a short but important work in Persian, which throws an unexpected light on the military and civil organization of the Aq-qoyunlu state in the reign of Uzun Ḥasan (A.D. 1466–1478).[1] The original of the *'Arḍ-nāma* ("Account of the Parade") forms one of the twenty-one items of MS. 1438 of the Ḥamīdiya Library in Stambul which contains the complete works (*kulliyāt*) of Jalāl al-dīn Muḥammad b. As'ad Davānī (A.H. 830–908/ A.D. 1427–1502).[2] This learned theologian, poet, and moralist is particularly known in the west by his *Akhlāq-i Jalālī*[3] compiled at the request of Sulṭān-Khalīl, who was governor of Fārs on behalf of his father Uzun-Ḥasan.[4] The *'Arḍ-nāma* is a further proof of

[1] Published by Kilisli Raf'at in *Milli tatabbu'lar mejmū'asī*, jild ii, say 5, Istanbul, 1331 (A.D. 1913), pp. 273–305 (corrections, pp. 385–6).

[2] He was a native of Davān, a village lying 2½ farsakhs to the north of Kāzarūn, see Ḥasan-i Fasā'ī, *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣiri*, part ii, 25. He taught at the Madrasa-yi Dār al-aytām of Shīrāz and was qāḍī of the province of Fārs.

[3] Translated a century ago by W. T. Thomson under the title of *Practical philosophy of the Muhammadan people*, Oriental Translation Fund, London, 1839. The work is based on Naṣīr al-dīn Tusi's *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī*, cf. Rieu, ii, 443.

[4] The *Akhlāq* has no date. In the Conclusion, ed. Lucknow, 1875, pp. 334–5, the author says with regard to S. Khalīl : *nihāl-i amal-i ahl-i Fārs rā ki az athar-i khushk-sāl-i fitna* (NB) *khūshīda būd az fayḍ-i amṭār-i ra'fat-i Sulṭān . . . ābī ba-jūy bāz āmad.* The allusions to "troubles" quelled by S. Khalīl may have in view Oghurlu-Muḥammad's revolt (A.D. 1474), but it may as well refer to the last times of the Qara-qoyunlu rule (before A.D 1467).

Davānī's connection with the said Prince : it is an account of a parade held by Sulṭān-Khalīl near Band-i Mīr in Fārs,[1] of which the author was an eye-witness. The domination of the Aq-qoyunlu Turcomans, as we now see,[2] was a period of great moment in the history of the Middle East. In many respects the Ṣafavids merely continued the policy of their predecessors. It is a little known fact that, even in the important field of finance, Uzun-Ḥasan's institutions survived for a long time after his death.[3] The sources on the Aq-qoyunlu dynasty are numerous and varied,[4] but, as usual in Oriental histories, give no systematic account of matters constitutional and economic which would particularly interest us. In this respect Davānī's *'Arḍ-nāma*, in spite of its restricted, provincial scope, possesses a genuine documentary value. It gives a complete list of civil and military officers in Fārs, with the addition of some welcome statistical data, and forms a kind of Almanac of Fārs for the year 881/1476.

Davānī's Persian is highly turgid and it will be quite sufficient for our purpose to give but an abridgment of it. Great care has been taken not to omit any single fact, and here and there Davānī's metaphors have been maintained, especially if they were found to contain an allusion or to give a shade of meaning.

As much as I could, I have endeavoured in my commentary to disentangle the tribal and family relations which are the only guiding threads through the chaos of the later period of the Turcoman dominion.

2. Sulṭān Khalīl Aq-qoyunlu

For a better understanding of the text we shall have to give a brief survey of Prince Sulṭān-Khalīl's career.

The mother of Uzun-Ḥasan's eldest son Oghurlu-Muḥammad was

[1] In the plain crossed by the Kur river, a short distance to the south of the ruins of Persepolis.

[2] See Minorsky, *Uzun Ḥasan* in *EI.*, and *La Perse au XVe siècle entre l'Empire Ottoman et Venise*, Paris, 1933 ; Hinz, *Irans Aufstieg zum Nationalstaate*, Berlin, 1936.

[3] *Lubb al-tavārīkh*, Br. Mus. Or. 140, f. 63v : *tā ghāyat* (i.e. down to the time of Shāh Tahmāsp) *'amal-i ū* (i.e. U.-Ḥasan) *dar istīfā-yi māl va ḥuqūq-i dīvānī qānūn-ast. Sharaf-nāma*, ii, 120 : *dar akhdh-i māl-i ra'āyā qānūnī nihāda ki bil-fi'l dar 'Irāq-va-Fārs-va-Āzarbayjān salāṭīn ba-ān qānūn-nāma 'amal mīkunand.* See also *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, f. 101r.

[4] Of particular importance for our purpose is the *Tārīkh-i Amīnī*, Paris, Bib. Nat., ancien fonds persan, No. 101, which is the special history of the reigns of Sulṭān-Khalīl and Ya'qūb (quoted : *T.A.*). In his *Irans Aufstieg* Hinz utilized the Leningrad copy of vol. ix of Ḥasan-i Rūmlū's *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh* which seems to contain many new facts on the Aq-qoyunlu. Mīr Yaḥyā's *Lubb al-tavārīkh*, Br. Mus. Or. 140, and Ghaffārī's *Jahān-ārā*, Br. Mus. Or. 141, seem to epitomize the same source (Rūmlū, vol. ix ?). Their accounts are very valuable for the period after Ya'qūb's death. Other references will be found in the text.

a Kurdish *umm-walad*.[1] Sulṭān-Khalīl, slightly younger than O.-Muḥammad, was born from the principal wife, the energetic Saljūq-shāh begum who enjoyed the prestige of Turkish origin.[2]

In 1474–5, Contarini (p. 173) was told that Sulṭān-Khalīl was about 35 years old. As according to the *Jahān-ārā*, Uzun-Ḥasan's birth date is 828/1425,[3] S.-Khalīl must have been born to him when he was about sixteen years old (towards A.D. 1441). In itself the fact is not impossible, but much more of a puzzle is the difference of age of Saljūq-shāh's children. At the time to which Contarini (ibid.) refers, her second son Ya'qūb was "about fifteen", and her third son only "about seven". A twenty years' gap between the births of the elder sons is difficult to admit, especially in the East.[4] Davānī says that S.-Khalīl was born in the beginning of his father's career,[5] and further speaks of "the tender youth" of the Prince, p. [280]. Even if this last definition refers to the time when S.-Khalīl's sons were born, this would be hardly compatible with Contarini's statement, for at least Sulṭān-'Alī would have been born at a time when S.-Khalīl was over twenty-seven, an age of maturity in the East.[6] There is no means yet of getting over this difficulty, but as a mere surmise one might wonder whether in Contarini's text "thirty-five" has not been wrongly put in instead of, say, "twenty-five"?

After the destruction of his enemies, the Qara-qoyunlu Jahān-shāh (1467) and the Tīmūrid Abū Sa'īd (1469), Uzun-Ḥasan sent his eldest son to repel Abū Yūsuf b. Jahān-shāh who was raiding Fārs. Oghurlu-Muḥammad killed the offender on 22nd October, 1469. When, however, the moment for the distribution of governorships came,[7] O.-Muḥammad was sent to Isfahān, while Fārs, a more important province, was entrusted to his brother Sulṭān-Khalīl.[8] This was

[1] Ibn Iyās, Cairo, 1311, ii, 160; C. Zeno, 36; Contarini, 173. [Venetian travellers are here quoted in English translation, Hakluyt Society, 1873.]

[2] Perhaps even over the princess of Trebizond Despina Caterina who in later years (after 1471) lived separated from her husband in Kharput, cf. C. Zeno (Ramusio), 42, Angiolello (Ramusio ?), 73–4.

[3] Contarini, 133, 173, gives only his personal impressions when he says (towards 879/1474) that U.-Ḥasan "appeared to me to be about 70 years of age".

[4] Chardin, vi, 29: Les femmes cessent aussi fort vite d'enfanter en Orient, savoir [illegible]le vingt-sept ou de trente ans.

[illegible] Ḥasan's exploits began towards 1451!

[illegible] *Khlāq-i Jalālī* Davānī also speaks of S.-Khalīl's "being in the flower of [illegible] *supra*, p. 141, and *vide infra*, pp. 149 and 171.

[illegible] fol. 192r., note in the margin.

[illegible] or of Fārs on behalf of U.-Ḥasan was 'Omar-beg Mausillu. [illegible]n, *Lubb al-tavārīkh*, f. 63v. down. More details on the earlier [illegible]d are found in Ferīdūn-bey's Collection of state papers.

surely the origin of O.-Muḥammad's estrangement and he waited for an opportunity of redress.[1] During the summer of A.D. 1474, having had a false report of his father's death, he occupied Shīrāz.[2] From his camp near Sulṭāniya, Uzun-Ḥasan by forced marches dashed to Fārs,[3] and on hearing of his father's approach, O.-Muḥammad fled to Baghdad and to Turkey.[4] On 30th October, 1474, A. Contarini coming from Tabrīz met the royal party and his colleague Barbaro in Isfahān, on their way back from the south. Sulṭān Khalīl kept his governorship, but, when his father was lying on his death-bed, Saljūq-shāh begum sent him "categoric orders" (*qadaghan-i tamām*) to come to Tabrīz. Uzun-Ḥasan died on 6th January, 1478. Khalīl sent executioners to kill his half-brother Maqṣūd [5] who was kept in chains on a charge of having conspired with O.-Muḥammad (Contarini, p. 173). After this fratricide, the new king, fearing that his mother

In a letter to the Sulṭān, i, 267, U. Ḥasan writes that his beloved (*a'azz*) son Khalīl Sulṭān, at the head of 3,000 men, had a skirmish with the Qaraqoyunlu amir Qāsim-parvānachi previously to Jahān-shāh's defeat. He further writes, ibid., i, 267, that his eldest (*arshad*) son [O.]-Muḥammad captured Jahān-shāh's son Ḥasan 'Ali near Hamadān and was sent to Shīrāz. In a subsequent letter, ibid., i, 279–281, it is announced that 'Adud al-salṭana Abul-Fath Sulṭān Khalīl had accompanied to Herat Muḥammad Yādigār appointed to succeed Ḥusayn Bayqarā; that Shams al-salṭana val-dīn [Oghurlu]-Muḥammad had been appointed to Māzandarān and that the amīr-i a'zam Nāṣir al-dīn 'Omar-beg had been sent to Shīrāz in order to organize the administration (*yasāmīshī*) of Fars. This letter must have been written before the final distribution of the fiefs.

[1] Most probably Saljūq-shāh begum's intrigues in favour of her progeny were responsible for the split in U.-Ḥasan's family. This would be the explanation of a *rapprochement* between O.-Muḥammad and Maqṣūd.

[2] He appears to have made certain appointments in Fārs. The author of the *T.A.*, f. 59r., says that, at the suggestion of his uncle, Jalāl al-dīn Ismā'īl Ṣā'idī, O.-Muḥammad nominated in Shīrāz Amīr Mas'ūd-shāh to the *imārat-i dīvān-i Oghūrī*, *vide infra*, p. 163.

[3] G. Barbaro, 64; A. Contarini, 126, says that a partisan of O.-Muḥammad, named Zagarli (**Jāgīrli ?*), was ravaging the countryside of Tabrīz; C. Zeno (retold by Ramusio), 36, Angiolello (compiled from Barbaro and others), 95.

[4] O.-Muḥammad was killed while trying to recapture the kingdom by force of arms (from the direction of Arzinjān ?). The news of his death was brought to Tabrīz immediately before Uzun-Ḥasan's death, *Jahān-ārā*, f. 192r. However, according to the *Sharaf-nāma*, ii, 120, a great battle was fought in 879/1474–5 in Bayburt between the Ottomans and the Aq-qoyunlu. The latter were defeated but O. Muḥamma[illegible] who was in the Ottoman army, was killed.

[5] He and Shāh Ismā'īl's mother were children of the Princess of Trebi[illegible] Caterina. Under the tutorship of Amīr Khalīl Dānā (*vide infra*, p. 17[illegible] governor of Baghdād, in which city the author of the *T.A.* saw [illegible] Both he and his tutor were accused of collusion with O.-Muḥ[illegible] f. 192*a*). Yet in August, 1474, Contarini, p. 126, speaks of the [illegible] in Tabrīz, where he was to take the government "on acco[illegible] by Zagarli"! Perhaps Maqṣūd's guilt was proved only lat[illegible]

would interfere in affairs as during his father's life-time, sent her away to Diyārbakr, in company with his younger brother Ya'qūb. He appointed his son ALVAND to be his successor in Fārs, and the young prince, with a large staff, arrived in Shīrāz on the day of 'Arafa (9 Dhul-Ḥijja 882/14 March 1478).[1]

Among the other appointments made, Khalīl sent to Sāva his cousin Murād b. Jahāngīr-mīrza,[2] who soon revolted against him and was supported by some disbanded Qara-qoyunlu clansmen. Near Sulṭāniya Murād defeated the troops which Khalīl dispatched against him under the command of Manṣūr beg Pornāk. Finally Khalīl dispersed Murād's levies and had him beheaded (at Fīrūzkūh). Murād's brother Ibrāhīm, who had moved from Kuhbinān and Sirjān (Kermān) with the intention of seizing Fārs, was first beaten off and then captured near Gulpāyagān.[3]

Ya'qūb had arrived in Diyārbakr while the passes were still covered with snow and at the beginning of the hot season set out for the summer quarters. Meanwhile Saljūq-shāh begum, who had stayed behind, put in her appearance in the region of Diyārbakr and, being incensed at her ostracism, started intriguing against Khalīl. She held conferences (*kāngāsh*) with the amīrs and sounded the dispositions of the tribesmen, under the pretext that her eldest son had not secured the sympathies of his subjects.[4] Finally the false news was brought that Khalīl had been done away with by Murād b. Jahāngīr, and Ya'qūb with his staff rapidly moved to Mūsh, travelling over the difficult mountain paths (*it-yolī* " dog-path "). In spite of the further and more exact news about the situation, Ya'qūb's partisans resumed the march towards Tabrīz. Khalīl, who had just triumphed over Ibrāhīm, hurriedly returned to his capital. Although no reasonable pretext existed for a clash between the brothers, whose mother was on the spot, the two armies came to blows on 15th July, 1478, in the neighbourhood of Khoy and in the affray Khalīl was hacked to pieces.

Khalīl's son 'ALĀ AL-DĪN 'ALĪ, though still a child, fled from Khoy to Shīrāz, but his small party[5] was defeated by the governor

[1] Read 882, instead of 883 in *T.A.*, f. 55r. This prince is not to be confused with Alvand b. Yūsuf, who reigned A.D. 1499–1504.

[2] Brother of Qāsim, on whom see my previous article, *A soyūrghāl*, *BSOS.*, IX, 4.

[3] *T.A.*, f. 62r.

[4] *T.A.*, f. 64. It is possible that Khalīl's attempt to reorganize the provincial taxation, ibid., 55r., had provoked some dissatisfaction. At all events, the insurgent prince Ibrāhīm b. Jahāngīr was said to be a partisan of Ya'qūb, ibid., f. 60r.

[5] *T.A.*, f. 79v, states that, when Prince 'Alī heard of his father's death, " in spite of the terror and bewilderment, he set his mind on the thought of domination; he

of Isfahān Ḥājjī-beg: the prince fled to Qazvīn, while his mother[1] fell into the enemies' hands. The other son of Khalīl, ALVAND, submitted to his uncle, who confirmed his governorship in Fārs, but before the winter of 1478 news came of his demise.[2] 'Alī-beg finally joined Ya'qūb and in 894/1489 was appointed amīr-i kabīr of the Supreme Dīvān. He was commissioned to restore the castle of Ghazan-khan in Ūjān.[3] In the autumn of 1490, 'Alī-beg went to Tabrīz to ascertain whether cholera was still raging there.[4] This was on the eve of his uncle's death which took place on 24th December of the same year. Ya'qūb's infant son Bāysunghur was put on the throne by his tutor Ṣūfī Khalīl Mūsilū, and this amīr, known for his brutal manners, hastened to murder 'Alī, evidently as a potential rival to his pupil.[5]

Davānī's text contains no indication of the year in which the review took place. Happily Prince 'Alī's inscription at Persepolis, made, as Davānī certifies, a few days before the review, is still extant and bears the date of 881/1476 (*vide infra*, p. 178), which is supported by the following considerations. At the time of the review the royal calligrapher was nine years old, and when his father was killed in 883, the Prince, according to the *T.A.*, was still an "unreasonable child" (*tiflī ghāfil*). Consequently the review could have taken place only a short time before 883. It is absolutely certain that the troops paraded in the autumn when the leaves of the trees were "jaundice-stricken" (*yaraqān*), but Davānī adds that it was "in the blessed month", which epithet is usually given to Ramaḍān. However, in 881 Ramaḍān fell on 18th December, 1476–17th January, 1477, which season, even in the south of Persia, would hardly be reckoned to autumn, to say nothing of the fact that the month of fasting is ill suited for any such display as musters.[6]

We learn from Davānī that the prince had just returned from the summer quarters at Ming-bulaq. Neither this Turkish name, meaning

collected the most valuable treasures and with his mother and a few grown-ups and infants (*buzurg and kūchikī chand*) lacking in agreement, set out for 'Irāq." At the time the Prince was eleven years old.

[1] She was a Kurdish lady of Chamishgazak, *vide infra*, p. 172.

[2] The *Jahān-ārā* says that Ya'qūb *Alvand-rā ārām sākht*, which sounds ominous!

[3] *T.A.*, fols. 79v., 80r., 82r., 175v., 177v.

[4] His approaching end is hinted at in the *T.A.*, f. 197r.: *Amīr-zāda 'Alī, ki ajal ū-rā garībān-va-baghal girifta ba maqtal mīrasānīd.*

[5] *Lubb al-tavārīkh*, f. 65r.

[6] Cf. also what Barbaro says about the season of reviews, *vide infra*, p. 167. In Sulṭān Muḥammad II's letter, see Feridunbey, i, 272, the month of Sha'bān is called *mubārak* but in our case Sha'bān would make still more difficulty.

"A Thousand Springs", nor its possible Persian equivalent *Hazār Chashma*, are otherwise known.[1] Davānī says that the troops had not been reviewed for a long time and that they had travelled much. Oghurlu-Muḥammad's revolt happened in the summer of 1474 and we do not know of any movements of the Fārs troops between 1474 and 1476. In the beginning of A.H. 881 U.-Ḥasan led an expedition to Georgia from which he returned in the course of the same year.[2] Any considerable participation in it of the troops of Fārs is improbable, for the author of the *Jahān-ārā* says with pride that his grandfather, who had accompanied U.-Ḥasan, was the first to recite the *khuṭba* in Tiflis on the day of the Islamic festival (*'īd*, i.e. on 17th January, 1477), and we know that at about the same time a review of the Fārs troops was held at the Band-i Mīr. After his return from Georgia U.-Ḥasan fell ill and died on 6th January, 1478. The *T.A.*, f. 42v., says that at the time of his father's illness S.-Khalīl was quietly living in Shīrāz (*dar Shīrāz fārigh nishasta būd*). However, S.-Khalīl was the only grown up prince and it would have been quite natural if, during his father's absence, he had to maintain order in the rear of the expeditionary force. This may be the explanation of the movements of the army to which Davānī refers.

3. Abridged Translation of the *'Arḍ-nāma*

(a) *Introduction*

[273] ولذكره اعلى وبالتقديم اولى ذكر القديم اولى بالتقديم

The discourse opens with a long-winded commentary on Qor'ān, xxi, 105: "And We have written in the Psalms, after reminder: 'Inherit the earth shall My servants the Righteous,'" to prove that the prerequisite of Kingship is Worthiness. [274] The sapling of a lance (*nihāl-i rimḥ*) bears fruit only when it is watered by the Sharī'at [3]; the throne of Caliphate [*sic*] is occupied (only) by a king who seeks

[1] Ming-bulaq must have lain outside Fārs. It does not figure in the Index of the excellent *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī*. One would look for it in the north-west of Persia, perhaps in the region of Qaraghān (between Qazvīn and Hamadān), where there is a Qirkh-bulakh "Forty springs". The numbers 1,000 and 40 are equally sacramental. Davānī calls Persepolis *Hazār Sutūn*, while in Lārī, f. 229r., it goes by the name of *Chihil-manār* (in Niebuhr, *Chihil-sutūn*). A mountain *Chihil-chashma*, known for its excellent pastures, lies in Kurdistan to the north-west of Senne, but too far from Fārs!

[2] *Lubb al-tavārīkh*, f. 64*a*. The year 881 corresponds to the period from 20th June, 1476, to 14th April, 1477.

[3] In Arabic *sharī'a* means "a road to the watering place".

the favour of beggars. [275] This rule finds its confirmation in the history of the ancient house (*dūdmān-i qadīm*) of SULṬĀN-ABUL-NAṢR ḤASAN-BEG BAHĀDUR KHĀN, the Envoy of the Ninth Century [1] :—

حضرت خلافت دستکاه پادشاه دین پناه خسرو جمشید اشباه
المؤید من السماء المظفر علی الاعداء الغازی فی سبیل الله المجاهد
لإعلاء کلمة الله مبعوث المائة التاسعة المنعوت بالمکارم النبیلة
الواسعة اعظم اکاسرهٔ زمان افخم قیاصرهٔ دوران *ملاذ خواقین
آوان خلیفة الرحمن صاحب الزمان السلطان ابو النصر حسن
بیك بهادر خان خلّد الله تعالی *ظلال خلافته علی مفارق اهل
ایمان ما تجدّد الملَوان

A long praise follows in which the sovereign's attention to the desires of poor "dervishes" is particularly stressed: in this way the power of his house has finally reached its hypsoma (*burj-i sharaf*). [276] Every unfortunate (*mudbir*) who, like a bat (*khuffāsh-vār*), opposed this dynasty had to creep into his hole before the rays of its sword.[2] Every one whose fortune was growing senile (*kuhna-daulat*)

[1] The author refers to the theory according to which each hundred years of Hijra produces a special "Restorer of Religion". It is based on the ḥadīth supposed to emanate from the Prophet: ان الله تعالی یبعث لهذه الامة علی رأس کل مائة سنة من یجدّد لها دینها. Cf. al-Suyūṭī, *al-Jāmi' al-saghīr*, Cairo, i, 182. My learned friend M. Qazvīnī has drawn my attention to a passage in Khwānsārī, *Rauḍāt al-jannāt*, Tehran, p. 551 (Brit. Mus. pagination, p. 276), where the theory is explained with reference to the shī'a theologian Kulīnī. Khwānsārī says that the doctors applied it "each to the pillar (*al-qā'im*) of his own sect", while he suggests a more general application to rulers (*ūlu'l-amr*), collectors of ḥadīths, preachers, etc. The title of "Restorer of the religion of the beginning of the century (*ra's al-mi'a*)" ill suited U.-Ḥasan, born in 828 and dead in 873. Consequently Davānī uses a more neutral term, "The Envoy of the ninth century." The author of the *T.A.* is more astute in finding an allusion to the Aq-qoyunlu "advent" in 872/1467 in the Qor'ān, xxx, 3 (*sūrat al-Rūm*), where the numerical value of the word [بضع [سنین is 872.

[2] This is an allusion to the defeat of the Qara-qoyunlu king Jahān-shāh (12 Rabī' 872/10 November 1467), of whom Mūnejjim-bashī, iii, 153, writes that he "passed his nights until dawn in straying, and during the day slept like the dogs; therefore he was surnamed 'the Bat' (Pers. *shabpara*, Turk. *yarasa*)".

reached his sunset as soon as he rose against the king.[1] Whoever freed his head from the collar of obedience to this Caliph of God (*ān khalīfa-yi khudā*) was cursed like Iblīs.[2] As the duration of an ancestral kingdom is secured by descendants, a dutiful son (*khalaf-i ṣidq*) was born to the king in the beginning of his career (*dar baḍ'-i tabāshīr-i ṭalī'a-yi kāmrānī*).[3] The Prince's pedigree goes back to Jamshīd[4] [**277**]. Follows a long panegyric of ABUL-FATḤ[5] SULṬĀN-KHALĪL, of his valour, justice, etc. Under his rule the dread of punishments is such that wine is the only waylayer, while it attacks Men's Intellect, and no one bends the bow of mischief except the brow of moon-like beauties.[6] [**278–9**] Continuation of bombastic epithets and similes. [**280**] Since Solomon, no one has ruled over Solomon's kingdom[7] with such glory as Sulṭān-Khalīl.[8] In spite of the tender youth of the royal scion (*tarāvat-i nihāl-i javānī*) God granted him two noble and scholarly sons, [**281**] called respectively 'ALĪ and ALVAND, as indicated by the following circumlocution:

یکی به برکت سمی خود از مناقب علیه علویه واصل بمقامی بلند

. . . ودیگری درعالم علوّ قدر ورفعت مرتبهٔ علم چون کوه الوند

After these praises the author, in compliance with Sulṭān-Khalīl's order, passes on to his main object, namely the description of the wonders which he personally witnessed on the day of the army's review [**282**].

[1] The author hints at the capture of the Tīmūrid Abū-Sa'īd (16 Rajab 873/30 January 1469).

[2] Too vague for identification. As the author does not speak clearly of the destruction of his opponent, he may have in view the clash between the Ottoman Sulṭān Muḥammad II and Uzun-Ḥasan, but the result was inglorious for the Aq-qoyunlu (12 August, 1473).

[3] *Vide supra*, p. 143.

[4] This evidently means that as a pure Turk, both on his father's and his mother's side, he was a descendant of Tūr, son of Farīdūn. In popular opinion these princes were connected with the Pīshdādiyans (Jamshīd, etc.).

[5] See p. [**278**], paenultima: *fatḥ-i Abul-Fatḥ*, cf. p. 144.

[6] A long series of similar hyperboles may be a hint at the prince's propensity to a merry existence, among beauties, singers, and musicians, but *vide infra*, p. 171.

[7] i.e. Fārs, as the province where Jamshīd's throne (*takht-i J.*) stood, Jamshīd being identified with Solomon, *vide infra*, p. 150. M. Qazvīnī in his recent work, *Mamdūḥīn-i Shaykh Sa'dī* in *Sa'dī-nāma*, Tehran, 1317, pp. 77–9, has quoted a number of passages showing that "Heir to Solomon's kingdom" (*wāriṯh-i mulk-i Sulaymān*) was an official title of the Salghurid atabeks of Fārs (A.D. 1148–1287). Similarly in our text S.-Khalīl is usually called *Ḥaḍrat-i Sulṭānī-yi Sulaymān-makānī* "H.H. the locum tenens of Solomon".

[8] *Daulat-i Khalīlī, Khwān-i Khalīlī.*

[283] (*b*) *On Autumn, Season of the Reviews* (*'arḍ*) *of the Victorious Army*

A long praise of Autumn which has transformed the tattered garments of the trees into (bright) peacocks' feathers. [284] The trees, pleased that the heat is over, have taken off their garments and given them as a present for good tidings[1] to the harbinger of Winter.

When the King of the Fourth Clime (i.e. the Sun) moved from the North to the winter quarter (*qishlāq*) of the South, Sulṭān-Khalīl moved from the summer quarters of Ming-bulaq (" Thousand springs ") towards Solomon's Kingdom. [285] As for a long time no review had been held of the troops, which measured the longitude and the latitude of the Earth, the Prince decided that at this occasion the army should be summoned to a parade (*isti'rāḍ*). The august yarlīq was sent to all parts that the amīrs of the qoshun[2] and the boy-nokars (امراء قوشون و بوی نوکران),[3] with the whole of the troops, should return from the provinces (*az ulkā-i mamālik*) and with all their paraphernalia and arms (*asbāb-va-aslaḥa*) appear at the place called Band-i Amīr, on a specially fixed day, similar to the Day of Judgment (*dar yaum-i mau'ūd ki numūdār-i yaum-i mashhūd būd*, cf. Qor'ān, xi, 105).

By virtue of the saying that RELIGION AND KINGSHIP ARE TWINS, it occurred to the king that the spiritual army of inmates of colleges and khānagāhs and wearers of turbans should appear on the muster ground, namely the great sayyids, great doctors (*'ulamā*), shaykhs, and zealots (*arbāb-i qulūb*) proud of their poverty, so that their blessings should reach the army. The Venerable ṢADR MAULĀNĀ 'ALĀ AL-DĪN 'ALĪ BAYHAQĪ was directed to act as their convener and to summon them from all parts. [286] They were to come with the symbols (*āthār*) of the imāms and great shaykhs, such as standards, drums, etc.

When the august parasol reached Iṣṭakhr of Fārs, Sulṭān Khalīl spent one day at that place of astonishing vestiges admiring the wonderful images (*tamāthīl*). Some chronicles say that in the times of Iranian kings (*mulūk-i 'ajam*) this place was called " Thousand Columns ". It was built in the time of Jamshīd, who, according to some historians, is Solomon.[4] It is reported that, having completed

[1] *Mushtuluq* < Persian *muzhda* + Turk. suffix *-līq*.

[2] Rather " of the qoshuns ", *vide infra*, p. 164.

[3] From Turkish *boy* " sept, family ", *vide infra*, p. 165.

[4] Already Iṣṭakhrī, *BGA.*, i, 123_6, records this identification which he attributes to " commoners who do not verify (facts) ".

the construction, Jamshīd ordered his subjects to gather at the foot of the mountain on New Year's Day. He had caused a golden throne, studded with shining jewels, to be placed on the columns (*bar ān sutūnhā*), and sat on it in state. At sunrise he ordered the throne to be turned towards the Sun, and the eyes of the onlookers were dazzled by the brilliancy. Saying that they beheld two suns, one in the sky and the other on earth, they knelt down. Jamshīd blessed them and said that God had pardoned them. He told them to purify themselves on that day, and thenceforth he was surnamed Jamshīd, his name being *Jam* and *shīd* meaning "Sun".

Briefly, when this place became lit up with the light of the Sun of the victorious banner and with the Little Moon (*māhcha* "silver knob")[1] of the felicitous standard (*sanjaq*), the memory of Jamshīd became eclipsed. The figures (on the rocks) [287] stood bewildered, perhaps even vanished from their places, and the images (*nuqūsh*), overcome in the presence of such company, entered the walls, perhaps disappeared from them altogether. No (*ney, ney*), on the contrary, the images must have recovered a new life from the advent of the king!

The king considered some poetry which the late martyr Prince SULṬĀN IBRĀHĪM[2] had written in his own writing on some parts of the ruins (*dar ba'ḍī* [*sic*] *aqṭār-i ān mauḍi'*) and gave orders to the "light of the pupil of Sultanate and Caliphate" Prince ABUL-MA'ĀLĪ SULṬĀN 'ALĪ-MĪRZĀ [288], great expert at calligraphy, to write a few lines of appropriate poetry opposite that writing (of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm), and the Prince wrote the following verses of 'Alī[3] b. Abī Ṭālib :—

أين الملوك التى كانت مسلّطةً
حتى سقاها بكأس الموت ساقيها
كم من مدائن فى الافاق قد فنيت
أمسَت خرابا ودار الموت اهليها[4]

[1] A knob in the shape of the full moon, at the top of the shaft.

[2] *Pādshāh-zāda-yi sa'īd-i shahīd-i maghfūr-i mabrūr.* I fail to understand why the Tīmūrid Ibrāhīm was a "martyr", *vide infra*, p. 177.

[3] The author gives 'Alī a long series of epithets such as *vālī-yi abrār valiyy-i mukhtār qasīm al-jannat-wal-nār amīr al-mu'minīn ya'sūb al-muslimīn*, etc.

(For note 4 see p. 152.)

and a quotation from Niẓāmī [289] [1] beginning :

صحبت دنیا که تمنّا کند با که وفا کرد که با ما کند

To this was added the writer's august name (*ism-i humāyūn*), the date, and a verse improvised by the ṢADR and indicating the age of the (young) Prince :

یکی از عنایات حقّست این که نه ساله ام مینویسم چنین

" It is one of the manifestations of God's grace that, being (only) nine years old, I write like this."

(c) *Description of the Band-i Mīr*

On the following day, when the king of Eastern Race (i.e. the Sun) moved towards the wide plain of the Green Vault, and the rays, like chā'ūshes, cleared the stars on the king's passage, the march was resumed towards the weir (*qantara* " bridge ") of Band-i Mīr, which is one of the wonders of the world. Its construction is reported to be by 'ADUD AL-DAULA DAYLAMĪ,[2] who in his time fortified the religion of the Master of the Prophets, protected sayyids and scholars, built numerous monuments and [290] left many praiseworthy institutions (*rusūm*). Historians wrote about him that a mountain amid a sea and a sea amid mountains testify to his power, meaning by this the Castle of Sar-band and the Lake of Iṣṭakhr.

On reaching this stage Sulṭān Khalīl came down to the western side (of the weir). Meanwhile a party of 4,000 sayyids, qāḍīs, imāms, mollas (*mavālī*), shaykhs, distinguished persons, darvishes, etc., also arrived there.

The Sulṭan ordered the supreme amīr AMĪR ḤUSAYN-BEG TAVĀJĪ (*vide infra*, 10.), great expert in military organization (*lashkar-dārī*) and in the profession of ṭavājī (*tavājīgarī*), to bring down the army into the plain beyond the Band-i Mīr in the direction of the town (of Shīrāz) and told the Ṣadr to quarter in his *yurt* (" allotment, camp ") the noble visitors from the provinces, according to their rank. Their camp was pitched on the fringe of the plain near the mountains

[4] Niebuhr, *vide infra*, p. 177, gives the following variants : instead of *funiyat*, *buniyat*, and instead of *dāra*, *dāna* (not very clearly written). Both are right and correspond to the printed text of the *Dīwān*, Būlāq, 1251, p. 70. The poem begins :

النفس تبکی علی الدنیا و قد علمت انّ السلامة فیها ترك ما فیها

Our quotation corresponds to verses 4 and 6.

[1] *Makhzan al-asrār*, Maqāla iii : *dar ḥavādith-i dunyā*.

[2] The famous Būyid king who ruled A.D. 943–983.

and, on account of the thronging of so many saintly persons, looked like the mansion of 'Arafāt and the plain of Resurrection (*'arṣa-yi 'arasāt*), while the ears of the heavenly dwellers were filled with the rolling of kettle drums (*kūs*) and the roars of calls: *Allāhu-akbar* and *Lā ilāha illā'llāh*. As the Sulṭan was ever striving to elevate the sayyids and 'ulamā, he gave orders that, being privileged in honour, they should occupy a privileged position on the parade ground and that no one should mix with them.

(d) Beginning of the Review

At sunrise of Thursday of the Blessed month (*yaum-i khamīs-i māh-i mubārak*) [291] the Sulṭān sat on the gem-studded throne, on the southern balcony (*manẓar-i qiblī*) of the Sar-band castle, while the courtiers (*khavāṣṣ-i khadam*), such as īnāqs and chā'ūshes, surrounded him. Before them were placed gold and silver bowls and ewers (*akvāb-va-abārīq*) and the servants stood, each at his place, in an attitude of submission.

The Supreme Amīr MUHRDĀR-BEG (*vide infra*, 23.), keeper of the Solomonian signet ring, and His Excellency Amīr HIDĀYAT-ULLĀH (*vide infra*, 24.), who enjoys the king's favour, stood on duty before the King like two twins, girt with the sashes of their golden swords (*kamar-i shemshīr-i ṭalā ḥamā'il karda*); as to the other companions and musicians, some were standing and some moving about (*nudamā va ahl-i ṭarab, ba'ḍī vāqif va ba'ḍī 'ākif*). On the eastern balcony (*manẓar*) sat in proper order the musicians with their musical instruments.

The ṢADR (*vide supra*, p. 150, *vide infra*, 36.), mounted on a horse, remained below, so as to introduce (*'ard*) the dignitaries according to their rank. He ordered his staff (*mulāzimān*) to call them all (*īn ṭā'ifa*) and their multitude appeared in wonderful array. The sayyids, 'ulamā, and imāms, with banners and drums of the sacred Imām-zāda Sayyid Aḥmad b. Imām Mūsā al-Riḍā,[1] issued from Muḥammad and 'Ali,

با اعلام وطبول حضرت مقدسهٔ امام زاده معصوم غرهٔ بیت المصطفی والمرتضی السید احمد ابن الامام موسی الرضا علی ابائه الکرام و علیه التحنیة و السلام

[1] Read: Aḥmad b. Mūsā al-Kāẓim (d. A.H. 183), brother of 'Ali al-Riḍā (d. A.H. 203). On the discovery of Sayyid Aḥmad's intact body in the seventh/thirteenth century see *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī*, ii, 154. His tomb is situated in the ward of Bāgh-i Murgh.

marched at the head of a corps of dignitaries, local inhabitants, notables, and nobles (*a'yān va ahālī va amāthil va a'ālī*) and were followed by the khalīfas (*khulafā*) of the Kabīriya and Murshidiya orders wearing, as is their habit, motley head-dress (*mulamma' bar sar*) and torn khirqas. With them went a multitude of memorizers and readers of the Qor'ān, mu'adhdhins, banner-bearers, and trumpeters (*naqqārachī*). [292] Behind them came the Aḥmadī dervishes known by the name of *muvallihān*, with tūqs ("yak tails"), the Aḥmadī banner, tambourines (*daff*), and flutes, as is their custom. As they crossed the bridge, they stood on the other side of the weir, so (closely) that their rear ranks joined the front ranks (*chandān-ki avākhir-i ṭavā'if bā avā'ilashān mulḥaqq gasht*),[1] and in the same order they returned. On coming in front (*muvājaha*) of the Sulṭān, they recited prayers and offered thanks to him, while the Sulṭān, with smiles, addressed to each one appropriate acknowledgments. I, says the author, was overawed (*dihshat*) with the sight of royal splendour and, in my poetical vein, compared the parade to the Day of Judgment; God having bestowed on our Sulṭān signs of His mercy, this bridge must be *al-Sirāṭ al-mustaqīm* thrown over the water symbolizing Mercy and Kindness.

(*e*) *Second Day of Review*

[293] On the morning of Friday, S. Khalīl sat as before on the balcony and the order was given for the troops to pass in detachments (*qoshūn-qoshūn*) before the Sovereign's eye. The tavājīs shouted (*ṣadā dar-dādand*) in the royal camp and delivered the call (*jār rasānīdand*). The amīrs and the troops, in perfect array and equipment, marched to the parade ground, in the formation of the right and left wings and the centre (*sāgh-va-sōl-va-manqalāy*).

(A) On the right wing was the royal prince (1) SULṬĀN 'ALĪ MĪRZĀ, the Pearl of the Shell of the Imperial Power (*aṣdāf-i jahānbānī*), young in years but old in knowledge. He led an army of young lions, all plated in iron (*gharq-i āhan*), from the tops of the riders down to the hooves of their steeds, with the white banner (*ra'yat-i bayḍā*) ahead, which is the distinctive sign (*shi'ār*) of the Bāyanduri family (*khānadān*).[2]

[1] i.e. they were lined up very closely.

[2] The author does not say whether there were any figures on the banner. The detail of the white banner is very interesting but still insufficient for deciding whether the White Sheep tribe was called after their banner, or the latter was white as an echo of the tribal name.

Having come in sight of the Sulṭān, he dismounted from his piebald (*ablaq*) charger, knelt down on a rug (*zīlūcha*) spread for him on the roadside, recited prayers and praises and, following the custom of parades, presented (*pīshkash*) to S. Khalīl an excellent horse with gem-studded saddle. The Prince praised God and bestowed upon the young prince all kinds of royal favours.

[294] After them came the cavalcade (*kaukaba*) of the Supreme (*a'ẓam*) Amīr and honoured No'īn (2) AMĪR MANṢŪR PORNĀK who rendered victorious (*manṣūr*) every army at whose head he stood, and was celebrated for his valour. He led a gorgeous force (*lashkar*) more numerous than the stars. He dismounted, kissed the ground, and having advanced slowly and humbly presented an excellent horse (*bāra*).

After him came, with his regiment, the Supreme Amīr (3) MANṢŪR SUHRĀB-BEG, who with his high birth combines a special relationship (*qarābat*) with the Sulṭān who has married his sister (*farīda'ī-ki dar vishāḥ-i nasab tau'am-i ū-st dar 'iqd-i 'aqd-i nikāḥ-i haḍrat-ast*).[1] He also presented a white (?) [2] horse and prayed for the king. The Sulṭān praised him and displayed to him his kingly favour.

Then (4) AMĪR NŪR 'ALĪ-BEG, at the head of a large army (*sipāhī garān*).

Then (5) SULṬĀN AḤMAD JAVALĀN who, while spinning round (*javalān*) on the battle-field, keeps to himself the polo-ball of valour.

Then (6) SĪDĪ 'ALĪ-BEG and (7) SHĀH-'ALĪ-BEG PORNĀK.

Then the other noble (*'ālī-miqdār*) amīrs came in detachments, and so the review of the right wing was completed, its total strength as registered in the tavājī book (*daftar-i tavājī*) being 9,154 men, of whom 2,392 were *pūshan-dār* ("men in armour"),[3] 3,752 *tirkash-band* ("wearers of quivers", i.e. archers), and 3,900 qullughchi ("servants").

(B) After them came up those of the left wing, under the leadership of [291] His Highness (*ḥaḍrat-i buland-martabat*) the Supreme No'īn, the Supreme Amīr, scion of the Bāyanduri tree (8) AMĪR MAḤMŪD-BEG, paternal uncle of His Majesty the Refuge of the Caliphate, Second Alexander, Lord of the Time (i.e. Uzun-Ḥasan) (*dar shajara sharaf-i 'umūmat-i haḍrat-i khilāfat-panāhī-yi raf'at-dastagāhī-yi Iskandar-i thānī-yi ṣāḥib-zamānī dārad*). He came with his son

[1] But *vide infra*, p. 172.
[2] Because compared with the *khing-i charkh*, i.e. the sun.
[3] *Vide infra*, p. 164.

(9) MĪR SHĀH-'ALĪ-BEG, scion of the race of Sultanate and Caliphate, and was accompanied by numerous troops. When they had approached, Amīr Shāh-'Alī-beg knelt down and performed the ceremonies of parade.

Then came the scion of the royal house (10) AMĪR ḤUSAYN-BEG BĀYANDUR with his detachment. At the indicated place he put the forehead of sincerity on the ground of attachment and presented a horse.

Then came the Supreme Amīr, the Senior (*aqdam*) No'īn (11) ABĀ BAKR-BEG, who owing to the protection [1] of his patron [the Caliph Abū Bakr-i] Siddīq (*az mashrab-i 'adhb-i Siddīq-i ṣāḥib-taufīq*) was appointed amīr-dīvān, which amounts to vice-royalty (*khilāfat-i salṭanat*) and was exalted over the other amīrs. This Rustam-like warrior led a detachment of Turkish horsemen.

Then the illustrious Amīr and felicitous (*kāmkār*) No'īn (12) AMĪR BAHLŪL-BEG came like a (live) mountain, with a large force [297].

After him came the felicitous No'īn (13) AMĪR SĪDĪ-QĀSIM-BEG leading, in an incomparable order (*āyīn*), a regiment (*fauj*) of heroes (*bahādur*), clad in armour, like fishes in scales.

Then came the illustrious Amīr (14) 'ALI-BEG A'MĀLŪ (**Aghmalu* ?) [2] with his warriors wearing a perfect equipment (*yarāq*).

Then came the Supreme Amīr (15) SHĀH-QULI 'AYN AL-MULK with a great army and, after him, the other amīrs of the left wing.

Their number, as registered in the august day-book (*rūznāmcha-yi humāyūn*), was 7,370, and the nokars [among them] were 5,802. Out of this number, 1,931 wore armour (*pūshan-dār*), the rest being archers and 1,718 servants.

(C) After this the troops of the centre (*manqalāy*) marched to the parade ground. They were led by "the Opening Chapter of the Scripture of Victory, Blossom of the Rose-garden of Grandeur" (16) SULṬĀN NŪR AL-DĪN ALVAND-MĪRZĀ [298], who looked like a mountain of iron, at the head of his men similar to fire concealed under iron, and had before him the white Bāyandur banner. He knelt down and presented his father with a swift-as-a-thunderbolt horse and with regard to him S. Khalīl displayed all kinds of favours.

After him came the illustrious Amīr (17) MANṢŪR-BEG AFSHĀR with a numerous detachment of daring lion-fighters, kissed the ground and was kindly greeted by the king.

[1] Literally "owing to the pleasant fountain head of the Siddīq".

[2] Cf. a family name (of Turcoman origin) in Transcaucasia: Aghamalu, Aghamalov

Then came the two high Amīrs (18) ḤAMZA-BEK and (19) MANṢŪR-BEG AFSHĀR (?).[1]

[299] Then the felicitous Amīr (20) AMĪR SUHRĀB-BEG whose renown has eclipsed that of Rustam.

Then the illustrious amīrs: (21) AMĪR AHMAD-BEG and (22) PĪR MIHMĀD (مهماد), and the other amīrs, each in his turn.

The total of the centre was 5,662 men, out of which 3,944 nokars, namely 932 men in armour and 3,014 archers, and 1,716 servants.

(D) After this came the īnāqs and courtiers led by the great Amīr (23) ISMĀ'ĪL MUHRDĀR ("the Keeper of the Seal") who was accompanied by a numberless force (*lashkar*) of warriors and heroes (*bahādur*). He presented a horse the likes of which have not been seen since they tied Pegasus (star) in the stables of the Milky Way (*tā janāḥ al-faras dar āsmān bar ākhur-i Majarra basta-and*).[2]

Then the two great Amīrs (*amīrayn-i kabīrayn*) (24) AMĪR HIDĀYATULLAH-BEG and (25) AMĪR 'INĀYATULLAH-BEG; since the two Farqadān stars have occupied the place in the sky no such brothers have sat on the throne of glory (*jāh va ḥishmat*), and since the Gemini have begun to take lessons from the wise Mercury, no couple of youths possessing such parts and literary gifts (*isti'dād va sukhan-dānī*) has been seen.

[300] Then came the Supreme Amīr and Shahriyār (?), Refuge of the men of the Sword and of the Pen (26) AKHĪ SHIHĀB AL-DĪN SHAHRIYĀR, known down to the far horizons by his cleverness and generosity, followed by a numerous escort (*jam'ī kathīr va jammī ghafīr*): 110[3] horsemen, of whom men in armour were 30, archers 50, and servants 40.

Then (27) AMĪR SHAYKH AḤMAD MĀMĀSH-BEG, (28) 'ALĪ-ĀQĀ-BEG, (29) MUḤAMMAD (?), (30) VALAD (?), (31) PĪR 'AZĪZ-BEG SHĪRACHĪ, (32) QARA MUḤAMMAD SHĪRACHĪ, (33) ḤAMZA JĀLIGH[4]-OGHLĪ-BEG, (34) ḤUSAYN, (35) children of NIẒĀM-BEG,[5] and the other īnāqs and courtiers (*makhṣūṣan*) came with the usual ceremony (*dastūr-i ma'hūd*). Their number, as

[1] The name of the second amīr may be a false repetition of the preceding item.

[2] The Milky Way (*majarra*) in Persian is called *kāh-kashān* "the Straw-carriers". *Janāḥ al-faras* is properly speaking only one (γ) of the four bright stars in Pegasus, see Lane, *Arabic Dictionary*, i, 469.

[3] The total is 120.

[4] This surname is apparently Turkish *chalīq* "agile, wayward, restive" (Budagov). The word is used in Persian, Vullers, i, 557: *chāligh* "equus refractarius".

[5] There is surely some disorder in this enumeration of the lesser nobles.

registered in the tavājī book, was 6,714. The warriors (*dilīrān-i jangī*) were 3,716, of whom 583 wore armour, 2,928 were archers, and 3,098 servants [1] [**301**].

(E) After them came the venerable (36) ṢADR (*ṣadr-i 'alī-qadr*), with some of whose titles the beginning (*ṣadr*) of the present report has been adorned. He was accompanied by the dignitaries (*a'yān*) of the state and presented his staff (*mulāzimān*): 100 sipāhī archers and 100 servants. As the custom was, he offered a steed such that a glance would be unable to overtake the dust raised by its hooves when it was galloping (*jahān-navardī-ki ba-vaqt-i pūya ba-yak naẓar ba-gird-i gard-i ān natavān rasīd*).

After him came the Supreme Maulānā, impersonation of various sciences and virtues (*jāmi'-i fanūn-i faḍā'il va makārim*) (37) MAULĀNĀ KAMĀL AL-DĪN 'ABD AL-RAZZĀQ ṬABĪB, who in the restoring of health possessed the (miraculous) breath of Jesus and enjoyed the happiness of the King's confidence (*yumn-i qabūl*). He brought to the parade ground fifty archers and servants.

(F) Then came the vazīrs and ṣāḥibs (*ṣavāḥib*) with their nokars and troops (*navākir-va-'asākir*).

First came the Āṣaf of the Time, scion of heroes and dignitaries (38) SHĀH 'IMĀD AL-DĪN SALMĀN, who, on account of his nobility, held an exceptional position among the amīrs and possessed a mind like unto the Sun whose rays dispel the darkness of the Night (كالشمس تميط غياهب الديجور بلوامع النور): He was accompanied by a retinue (*mulāzimān*) of 180, of whom 140 were archers, and the rest servants. He presented the customary offering (*pīshkash*).

After him came the (39) Ṣāḥib-dīvān KHWĀJA KAMĀL AL-DĪN 'ALĪ who showed the "luminous hand [of Moses]" in the collecting of revenues and in the handling of various financial matters (*taḥṣīl-i madākhil va-ḍabṭ-i abvāb al-māl*), and was placed in charge of the most important affairs. He was accompanied by 44 archers and 58 servants.

Then came the Supreme Ṣāḥib (40) KHWĀJA MU'IZZ AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD FAṢĪḤ, a marvel in exactitude of accounts (*rāst-qalamī*) and absence of greed, [**302**] accompanied by 68 archers and 22 servants.

After him came the scion of the tree of nobility (41) SHĀH SHARAF AL-DĪN MAḤMŪD JĀN, who adorned the robe of honour

[1] The remaining 105 were probably civil servants ?

of his birth with the embroidery (*ṭirāz*) of knowledge, in his youth studied the minutiæ of sciences, and especially put up his tent in the garden of mathematics (*riyāḍ-i riyāḍiyāt*) which is the plaisaunce of the sages. He was accompanied by 68 men, of whom 50 were archers and 18 servants.

After him came the Supreme Ṣāḥib, issued from the greatest vazīrs among the nations, (42) MĪR 'ALĀ AL-DĪN MUṬAHHAR, in whose hands are the keys of the state interests (*maqālīd-i maṣāliḥ-i mamlakat*). He was accompanied by 60 men, of whom 20 were archers and 40 servants.

Then came (43) CḤALABI SAYF AL-DĪN MANTASHĀ who had risen from the hearth (*dūdmān*) of science and learning and, at the time, was the darūgha of Kāzarūn, with 240 men, of whom 38 men in armour, 40 archers, and 156 servants.

Then came the Supreme and Noblest (*ansab*) Amīr and Ṣāḥib (44) AMĪR KAMĀL AL-DĪN YAḤYĀ, with 48 men, of whom 26 archers and 22 servants. He was followed by the scribes and secretaries (*nivīsandagān va ahl-i qalam*), 360 men.

(G) After this the Sulṭān considered the nokars of the private household (*naukarān-i khāṣṣa* "life-guards").

Of bōy-nokars (و از بوی نوکران)[1] 3,230 appeared before S. Khalīl, namely 810 clad in armour and the rest archers :—

of yasāvuls	188
of bukāvuls	244
falconers (*qūshchī*)	86
panther keepers (*pārschī*)	28
footmen (*piyādagān* ?)	378
messengers (*'azab*)	184
musicians (*naqqārachī*)	50
stirrup holders (*rikābdār*)	34
postmen (*yāmchī*)	38
torchbearers (*mash'aldār*)	26
runners (*fuyūj*)[2]	28
kitchen staff	82
farrāshes	110
stable attendants	168
herdsmen (*shabān* ?) and keepers of lions	46

[1] *Vide supra*, p. 150.

[2] Under the Qājārs (and probably earlier), recruited among Gipsies.

library staff (*'amala-yi kutubkhāna-yi humāyūn*)	58
[**303**] entertainers (*ahl-i ṭarab*) . . .	98
announcers (*jārchī*) and quruqchīs [1] . .	56
artificers (*ṣannā'*)	86
cup bearers (*ayāqchī*)	36
(H) Also appeared on the parade ground :—	
Kurdish amīrs	340
Shūl [2] chiefs (*qā'idān-i Shūl*) . . .	350
Guards (*mustaḥfiẓ*) of fortresses and highways	494
	1,184

Briefly, from the moment when the Midday King, from the eastern border set forth towards the parade ground of the plain stretching over the Earth, down to the time when of the luminous army there remained on the horizon only the kaftā'ūl of the afterglow's rear (از آثار عساکر انوار جز کفتاؤل بقایاء شفق بر سطح افق نماند), regiment after regiment, like the flight of days and nights, were following each other in order, and yet even one-half of them had not passed.

The Prince decided on that night to keep company with his wakeful fortune and not to go to sleep until the remaining (*baqāyā*) troops had been reviewed. He ordered torches and candles to be lit, in order that their glow and the glitter of arms and armour should make the earth brighter than the Heavens, and so the army came in detachments to the parade ground and performed the customary ceremonies. When finally vestiges of sleep appeared in the eyes of the heavenly bodies and the Sentinel of Time struck the drum of the celestial vault, the parade was over, and then the sentry of the Sulṭān flung the roll of the royal kettle-drum towards the firmament and the Sulṭān, having performed his morning prayer, weighed his eyes down with the koḥl of sleep :

Khud andar khwāb-u pās-i mamlakat-u-takht
Ḥavāla karda bar bīdārī-yi bakht.

(*f*) *The Army draws a Yāsāl along the Sulṭān's Path*

On the following day when the Sun put on its bright armour [**304**] and the White-Sheep (Aq-qoyunlu) [3] army of luminous rays (*anvār-i*

[1] *Jārchī* is not so much a herald as a messenger transmitting orders to the army ; the *quruqchīs* are the attendants responsible for the privacy of the king and the harem.

[2] *Vide infra*, p. 166.

[3] Spelt *Aq-qoylu*, which is also a possible form.

havā) gathered round it, S. Khalīl gave the order that all those who had taken part in the muster, namely the sayyids, qāḍīs, shaykhs, mullās, noblemen, commoners (*ahālī*), and the rest of the army should mount in full order and form a yāsāl [1] (*yāsāl kashīda*), each detachment occupying the place indicated by the tavājī to enable the king to see them once more.

The staff of the Ṣadr's dīvān (*mulāzimān-i dīvān-i ṣadārat*) gave intelligence to the wearers of turbans and the tavājīs shouted (*jār*) the order to the army. Every one rose from his place and mounted. The knobs (*munjuq*) of the banners were raised to the highest stars and the roar of kettle-drums (*kūs*) and small drums (*kövärgā*) deafened the ear of the dwellers in the skies.

The Prince put on a Davidian coat of mail (*dir'-i Dāvūdī*) [2]; his polished helmet eclipsed the daylight; he raised to the stars his fiery spear and mounted on his swift-footed sorrel (*yigrān*).[3] With some of the highest nobles (*khullaṣ-i a'yān*) he moved round (*javalān*) inside the open space (*maydān*), while the whole of the army formed a circle (*dā'ira*) round the royal centre.[4]

The moon-like knob of the parasol was lifted up to Saturn and the royal standard (*sanjaq*) fluttered higher than the Heaven. Clouds of dust stopped the sun rays and, were it not for the flashing of spears and swords, the sight of the sharpest eyes would have been obscured.

[**305**] The Kayānian banner (*dirafsh-i kayānī*), which poisons the sight of the enemies, was shining in the darkness like the Water of Life. On the day when the marvels of the Earth eclipsed those of Heaven the dwellers of the skies (i.e. stars), thronging as spectators at the windows of the celestial sphere, formed conjunctions with one another (*sākinān-i aflāk az darīchahā-yi darajāt-i falakī ba-rasm-i naẓāragī izdiḥām numūda ba yak-dīgar muqārin shuda-and*). This metaphor, adds the author, must have been inspired by the angel Surūsh, for, truly, such subtlety has never been found in the odes of the Poets.

[1] In the verses which follow it is explained that the army *hama ṣaff kashīda* "formed a row", or more exactly a circle, as explained lower down. Such is also the description of *yāsāl* by Barbaro, *vide infra*, p. 167.

[2] *Qor'ān*, xxi, 80: David is said to have invented coats of mail to replace plate armour. Cf. xxxiv, 10.

[3] The word must be Turkish, see Radloff, iii, 338: *yārān, yāgrān, yigrān* "fuchsfarben". In Russian игрень.

[4] *Vide supra*, note 1.

(g) *Prayer for the King*

[In Arabic]: O God, render eternal the shade of his justice and peace over the face of the two hemispheres and make immortal the lights of his Sulṭanate and Caliphate [*sic*] over all the Muslims. Let his banners be raised above the Green Tent of the Heavens, let his orders run in all the lands of the Grey Earth,—for the sake of Muḥammad, the best of the best of men, of his family and of his companions, whose eyes witness and directly contemplate [the Real Truth].

بحق محمد عين اعيان الانسان وآله و صحبه صحاب الشهود والعِيان

4. S.-Khalīl's Provincial Army

We shall now see what general conclusions Davānī's text enables us to form with regard to the military and civil organization of the Aq-qoyunlu.

Among the military officials, royal princes [1] naturally occupied a privileged position in the parade.

The generals (*amīrs*) may have been divided into several classes: Davānī calls some of them "supreme amirs" (*amīr-i a'ẓam*), some others "great amirs" (*amīr-i kabīr*), and some others simply *amīrs*. In some cases the title of *no'īn* [2] is appended to the amīrs' names.[3] Further qualificatives, "illustrious (*nāmdār*), felicitous (*kāmkār*)," etc., must be Davānī's own embellishments, except one, viz. "senior amīr" (11), belonging to a dignitary called Amīr-dīvān. His position is compared to viceroyalty, or maybe to the lieutenancy of the Sulṭān, i.e. of the Prince Khalīl. It is noteworthy that the Amīr-dīvān appeared on the parade ground as a member of the military administration. His dīvān had nothing to do with the Ṣadr's dīvān, *vide* p. [**304**], or with the dīvān presided over by the financial controller (32). From the *T.A.*, f. 177r., we learn that Prince 'Alī became amīr-i kabīr-i dīvān under his uncle Ya'qūb, though it is quite possible that in this latter case a central dīvān is meant,[4] while Amīr Abā-Bakr was

[1] (1), (8), (16), but not (10).

[2] From Mong. *noyan* "master, lord"; in this form the term *amīr-nūyān* "a full general" survived in Persia till 1920. In a letter addressed by Qāsim b. Jahāngīr to Sulṭān Bāyazīd (A.D. 1481–1512), among the latter's titles figures *nū'īn-i buzurgvār*, cf. Feridun-bey, i, 209.

[3] (8), (12), (13).

[4] *Lubb al-tavārīkh*, f. 65*a*, top: *Mīrzā 'Alī . . . amīr-i dīvān-i pādishāh būd.*

the head of the provincial dīvān of Fārs.[1] The office of Amīr-dīvān, of which we know nothing else, may have been a creation of Turcoman times (?).

The officers called *tavājī* [2] formed a kind of G.H.Q. Their chief was the "scion of the royal house" Amīr Ḥusayn-beg Bāyandur (10), an expert in military organization and in *tavājīgarī*. We hear (p. [**290**]) that he was ordered to quarter the army on the plain of Band-i Mīr. Whenever a command was given, the tavājīs had to shout (*jār*) it to the troops (text, pp. [**294**], [**304**]), and they also indicated the places to be occupied by each detachment. The strength and composition of the troops were registered in a special register kept by the tavājīs (*daftar-i tavājī*). The author of the *T.A.*, f. 177v., calls the rank of tavājī "a high station" (*manṣab-i rafī'*) and mentions a special *dīvān-i tavājī* ("General Staff" ?). When in the winter of 1478 Sulṭān Ya'qūb was crossing the mountains south of Bitlīs, the tavājīs made arrangements for the clearing of snow-drifts (ibid., 53r.).

In one of his similes Davānī, *vide supra*, p. 160, makes use of the term *kaftāvul* (read *kefte'ül*), which he applies to the afterglow closing the passage of the Ṣun's luminous cavalcade. The author purposely introduces "Turanian" words into his panegyric of the Aq-qoyunlu,[3] but it is curious that a Mongol term, which did not survive in literary Mongolian, was still understood, if not used in Persia as late as 1476. At Ḉhengiz-khan's headquarters, day-guards were called *turghaq* (plur. *turgha'ut*) and the night-guards *kebte'ül* (plur. *kebte'üt*). The latter term is a derivation of Mongol *kebte-* "to lie down". A purely Turkish parallel of *kebte'ül* is *yatagh* "a lying, reclining guard".[4]

[1] The author of the *T.A.*, f. 59v., refers to the *imārat-i dīvān-i Oghūrī* to which Amīr Mas'ūd-shāh Lirāvī was appointed in Shīrāz by Prince Oghūrlū-Muḥammad b. Uzun-Ḥasan. [The reading *Oghuzi* does not seem possible in this case, for the author, fol. 5r., spells Oghuz اوغوز, as also does Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Bérézine, i, 4.]

[2] As lengths in Turkish words are only matres lectionis, it is possible to read the word *tāvāji*, and even *tōvāji*. The word seems to have had two parallel forms, a hard one and a soft one, *tavajī/tāvāji*. The upshot of the long discussion concerning the meaning of this term is found in J. Deny's notice in *J.As.*, July, 1932, pp. 160–1. The author compares it with Mong. *daġudakči* "a public crier". As a further illustration of this interpretation, may be quoted Mīrkhond's *Raudat al-ṣafā* on Chengiz-khan's *yasa*, see *Notices et Extraits*, v, 223. The importance of the office in Timurid times appears from the *Ẓafar-nāma*, i, 216: *tavājīgarī ki tālī-yi manṣab-i salṭanat-ast.*

[3] *Mushtuluq, munjuq, sanjaq, kōvārgā, yarlīq, tūq.* Many words of this description are collected in a poem of Pūr-bahā Jāmī, cf. Hammer, *Gesch. d. Goldenen Horde*, 480–2 (quite inadequate translation). Pūr-bahā lived under il-Khan Arghun.

[4] Barthold, *Turkestan*, 383, and Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, 1930, p. 31.

The army was divided into *qoshuns*, *vide supra*, p. 150. This Mongolian word (*khoshun*) in later times became a synonym of "army", but under the Timurids (fourteenth to fifteenth centuries) *qoshun* was a small subdivision of troops, comprising from 50 to 100 men.[1] In our text the numeric value of a *qoshun* cannot be defined. Apparently the *qoshuns* comprised various elements and were distinguished from the purely clannish organization of *boy-s* (بوی), *vide infra*, p. 165.

The rank and file in Sulṭān Khalīl's army were of three classes :—

(1) *pūshan-dār* or *pūshan-pūsh*, i.e. "clad in armour, men in armour".[2] The word *pūshan* does not seem to be otherwise known. Some misspelling of *jaushan* جوشن "coat of mail" as پوشن is possible, but perhaps the term *pūshan* (from *pūshīdan* "to put on") had a wider meaning and comprised all kinds of armour and also quilted garments such as C. Zeno describes, *vide infra*, p. 167. This traveller's report is particularly interesting as a confirmation of the multifarious equipment of Aq-qoyunlu troops.

(2) The archers (*tirkash-band*)[3] formed the majority of the army.

(3) It is difficult to say whether the servants (*qullughchī*) were on foot or mounted. C. Zeno, *vide infra*, p. 167, speaks of mounted "attendants", but this may refer to the troops specially mobilized for a remote expedition to Asia Minor. On a famous dish of Seljuk times, representing operations against a fortress, men on foot are running among the horsemen.

The first two categories of fighters were called *nokar*,[4] as opposed to the *qullughchis*. A special class of nokars were the *boy-nokars*. As in this compound word *boy* is the Turkish term for "a branch, sept, family",[5] we may suppose that these fighters belonged to the Bāyandur division, Uzun-Ḥasan's own clan. In our text, p. [285], the *boy-nokars* are mentioned apart from the *qoshūn* commanded by the amīrs, and on the parade ground they formed a separate group.

The provincial army, divided, after the Turkish custom, into a

[1] Barthold, *Ulughbek i yego vremia*, 1918, p. 24.

[2] I avoid the term "man at arms" on account of its European associations.

[3] "Those binding quivers," cf. Mongol *qorchi* ("archer"), also derived from *qor* "a quiver".

[4] From Mong. *nōkōr*, plur. *nōkōd* "friends, companions", see Vladimirtsov, *Dokladī Akad. Nauk*, 1929, pp. 287–8. The true Persian pronunciation is *nou̯kar*.

[5] Cf. the well-known Turkish term *boy-begi* "chief of a *boy*".

centre and two wings,[1] was 23,076 strong, of whom 15,742 were fighters, namely :—

	Men in armour	*Archers*	*Servants*	*Totals*
Right wing .	2,392	3,752	3,900	*10,044
Left wing .	1,931	3,721 (?)	1,718	7,370
Centre . .	932	3,014	1,716	5,662
	5,255	10,487	7,334	23,076

In this table the total of the right wing has been corrected from Davānī's 9,154 to *10,044 ; in the left wing, the number of archers has been obtained by deducting the number of the two other categories from the total. Finally, our text adds that, out of the totals of the centre and left wing, respectively, 3,944 and 5,802 were nokars. In fact, the men in armour and archers of the centre were 932 + 3,014 = 3946 ; and for the left wing the total (1,931 + 3,721 = 5,632) but slightly differs from the author's total (5,802). Consequently, we may take the number of the nokars of the right wing as being 2,392 + 3,752 = 6,144.

To the contingent of the standing army must be added the fighters quoted under the *īnāqs* and the *bōy-nokars*. The īnāqs were the Prince's companions and with their men must have taken part in battles. Probably their comparative nobility accounts for a larger proportion of servants in their detachments (slightly under 50 per cent, as against slightly over 30 per cent in the bulk of the army).[2] The boy-nokars, as it seems, formed a kind of Prince's body-guard.

īnāqs . . .	583	2,928	3,098	*6,609 [3]
boy-nokars . .	810	2,420	blank [4]	3,230
	1,393	5,348	3,098	9,839

All told, the total of the army would rise to 32,915, the number of the fighters being 22,482, or even 23,660 if we include the categories mentioned under (G).

It is difficult to decide the ethnical composition of the army. The *boy-nokars* undoubtedly were Turcomans. So probably was the

[1] Respectively called *manqalay* (Mong. "forehead, front"), *sagh*, and *sol* (Turk. "right" and "left").

[2] In the army mobilized in 1472 (*vide infra*, C. Zeno) the "masters" formed 40 per cent and the "servants" 60 per cent.

[3] Instead of Davānī's 6,714.

[4] It is only logical that, being nokars, they had no "servants" among them.

bulk of the fighters, although the presence among them of other elements is certain. Sulṭān Khalīl's father-in-law, Amīr Suhrāb, who was the ruler of the Chamishgazak Kurds, most probably led his own tribesmen. Especially the servants must have been recruited among the *ra'iyat*. Davānī mentions separately 340 Kurdish amīrs and 350 Shūl chiefs. The latter were an Iranian tribe which in the tenth century A.D. was living in Luristān.[1] In the beginning of the twelfth century the Kurdish and other tribes coming from Syria pushed the Shūls eastwards to the region of Fahliyān (north-west of Shīrāz). Finally the Shūls became scattered or assimilated and at present their territory is occupied by the Mamasseni Lurs. The reference to Shūls as late as 1476 is very curious. Possibly, the Kurdish amīrs, mentioned jointly with them, belonged also to some tribes established in Kūh-Gīlū, i.e. the territory situated to the south of the Bakhtiyarī country and belonging to Fārs.

We must exclude from the army the attendants (*mulāzimān*) of the civil dignitaries, enumerated under (E) and (F). These 1,152 men (68 men in armour, 563 archers, and 521 servants) were probably guards whose function was to enhance the prestige of the departments and to reinforce the Law at such occasions as the levying of taxes, etc.

5. The Aq-qoyunlu Forces

Can Davānī's statistics be taken as accurate? As he says, they are based on the official tavājī rolls. Davānī omits the strength of separate units led by the amīrs, and under his poetical pen anything approaching a thousand is qualified as "numberless like the stars". Some exaggeration is possible even in the official source. Juvaynī, i, 23–4, speaking of pre-Mongol armies, says: "when the moment comes for paying salary and fees (*rusūm*) their numbers exceed hundreds and thousands, and when one has got to fight an enemy, their ranks are depleted from side to side and no one enters the arena of championship. . . . Every chief in order to increase the allowances says: 'I have so many men by name,' and when the review comes, substitutes one for the other, that the number should be correct." Such practices existed down to the twentieth century and we must bear them in mind in studying our text.[2]

[1] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 88, calls them "an Iranian tribe (*min al-a'ājim*) living in the desert", see Minorsky, *Shūlistān*, in *EI*. In 661/1263 the Salghurid princess Tarkān-khātūn, with the help of the Shūl and Turcoman amīrs, deposed the atabek of Fārs, Muẓaffar al-dīn, cf. Rashīd al-dīn and Vaṣṣāf quoted by M. Qazvīnī, op. cit., 24, 28.

[2] Chardin, v, 315: in 1666 'Abbās II held a general review of his troops "mais il reconnut que les mêmes armes, les mêmes chevaux, et les mêmes hommes aussi repassaient dix à douze fois devant lui".

Anyway, for the purpose of comparison we are fortunate in possessing the data collected by such shrewd observers as the Venetian ambassadors who visited the Aq-qoyunlu court.

In the first place we shall mention the passage in C. Zeno which refers to the army collected by U.-Ḥasan in 1472 (?) at the moment when a raiding party was about to set out for Asia Minor. The "king's warriors" were 100,000 horse. "Some were covered with strong, thick hides, able to save the wearer from any heavy blow. Others were clothed in fine silk with doublets quilted [1] so thickly that they could not be pierced by arrows. Others had gilt cuirasses and coats of mail with so many weapons of offence and defence that it was a marvel to behold how well and skilfully they bore themselves in arms. Their servants [2] also were excellently mounted with cuirasses of polished iron and in place of bucklers which our people use, they have round shields . . . and make use of the keenest scimitars in battle; the masters made a total of 40,000 men, all brave soldiers, and their servants 60,000, and finer cavalry were never seen in any army."

Barbaro, who in the early summer of 1474 accompanied Uzun-Ḥasan to the summer quarters near Sulṭāniya, writes [3]: "At this time were the musters taken, as well of the people as of the cattle, in this wise. There was a very great plain (campagna) environed with horses, so ordered that each of them touched the other's head, and the men upon them were partly armed, and partly unarmed, comprehending about thirty miles in circuit, within which order they all stood from the morning until sunset.[4] Then passed one surveying and making a reckoning of them, not taking any man's name or the marks of the horse in writing, as we use in these parts, but [he] only called for the captains' names, and considered the number whether it were in order, and then passed on. Wherefore I took my servant with me, and passed through them apace reckoning with beans what numbers I found, using for every fifty to let a bean fall into my pocket. And when the musters were past, I made my reckoning and found the numbers and qualities of those things to be, after the order that I shall describe unto you :—

of pavilions [tents] .	6,000
of camels . . .	30,000
of carriage [pack] mules	5,000
of carriage [pack] horses	5,000
of asses . . .	2,000
and horses of service .	20,000

of which there were 2,000 covered with certain armure of iron made in little squares and wrought with gold and silver, tacked together with small mail which hanged down in manner to the ground, and

[1] In Persian *qazh-āgand*, see *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 371.

[2] Called قلنجى *qullughchi* in Davānī's text.

[3] Hakluyt Society, vol. 49, 1873, pp. 65–8. I have modernized the spelling of the sixteenth century translation.

[4] This is the ceremony of *yasal*, see Davānī's text p. [304].

under the gold it had a fringe. The rest were covered with some leather after our manner, some with silk and some with quilted work so thick that an arrow could not have passed through it. The horsemen's armour is of the same sort before rehearsed.[1] Those armours of iron that I first mentioned are made in Besthene, which in our tongue signifies 'the five towns'.[2]

"After this I numbered—

good mules	2,000
small cattle in herds	20,000
great cattle in herds	2,000
leopards to hunt withall	100
falcons gentle and bastard	200
greyhounds	3,000
hounds	1,000
goshawks	50
soldiers for the sword	15,000
slaves, herdsmen, carriers, etc., with swords	2,000
archers	1,000

"So that in all there might be about—

good horsemen	25,000
footmen of villains and bows	3,000
women of the best and middle class	10,000
women servants	5,000
children of both kinds of 12 years and under	6,000
other children about that age	5,000

"Among the horsemen, there were about 1,000 spears, targettes (shields) 5,000, archers 10,000. The rest, some with one weapon, and some with another."

The army was accompanied by numerous shoemakers, smiths, saddlers, fletchers, victuallers, and even apothecaries! Barbaro gives a most picturesque description of the *ordu* "army, horde" on march by daytime and at night.

On 2nd June, 1475, Uzun-Ḥasan with the two Venetian ambassadors returned to Tabrīz from his expedition to the south, and soon left for the neighbouring summer quarters. On 26th June Contarini, who was about to return to Europe, was invited to see the parade of "a great many foot-soldiers". These men who "had come with the Shah" (i.e. from Fārs) "might have amounted to 10,000", but it was said that "great numbers also remained behind".[3] Contarini adds: "inquiring of various persons and, among others, of Messer Giosafà Barbaro, to ascertain the number of horse-soldiers there

[1] *Vide supra*, C. Zeno.

[2] *Besh-kand*? According to Barbaro it is "of 2 miles in compass and stands on a hill where no man dwells but the craftsmen of that science". Does he refer to the famous village in Daghestan called in Turkish *Kubechi* and in Persian *Zirihgarān*, both meaning "makers of mail", cf. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 39. This isolated group of people inhabits four villages: Kubachi, Sulel-qal'a, Amūzgā, and Shīra, cf. Dorn, *Mélanges asiatiques*, vi, 1873, pp. 717–740. However, the important Kubachi could easily have been taken for a double village ("upper" and "lower" K.?).

[3] Contarini, 137. Uzun-Ḥasan was probably making some preparations for the expedition he was to lead to Georgia in the following year (A.D. 1476, *vide supra*, p. 147).

may have been with His Majesty, I heard that there were upwards of 20,000, or taking the good and bad together, upwards of 25,000," ibid., 137.

Barbaro, who accompanied Uzun-Ḥasan to Georgia, repeats, ibid., p. 90: "He had in all as far as I could esteem between 20,000 and 24,000 good horsemen; and the rest that came for the furniture of the camp were about 6,000 men."

In spite of some reservations and obscure points,[1] the total of Uzun-Ḥasan's army may be taken as 25,000 horse and 10,000 foot. But this may have been the "standing army . . . which he always kept as a guard about his person", and to which C. Zeno, p. 37, gives the curious name of "porta".[2]

The local troops of Fārs, as enumerated in Davānī, nearly equalled the king's (own ?) army. The other Governors, those of Baghdād and Diyārbakr, to say nothing of Kermān, Isfahān, Qazvīn, etc., certainly had much more reduced contingents, but we may easily assume that the whole of the Aq-qoyunlu force comprising both cavalry (Turkish and Kurdish ?) and infantry (local elements) considerably exceeded 100,000, as attested by C. Zeno.

From what Zeno further says, p. 20, it appears that the raiding party sent to Anatolia consisted of 40,000 men and to defeat it the Ottomans had to dispatch 60,000. In 1473 Sulṭān Mehmed II started against Uzun-Ḥasan, at the head of an army 100,000 strong. In the first battle on the Upper Euphrates, the Ottoman losses were 12,000, but in the subsequent battle the Ottoman artillery put to flight the Aq-qoyunlu, of whom 3,000 were captured and executed, in lots of forty at each of the stages on the return journey to Constantinople. The main body of Uzun-Ḥasan's forces escaped practically unscathed and no alteration of frontiers resulted from the clash.[3] Although we do not know the exact numbers opposed by the Aq-qoyunlu to the Ottomans on that occasion, the impression is that, even after the unsuccessful raid into Anatolia, the mobile character of the Turcoman cavalry enabled Uzun-Ḥasan to concentrate in the west very considerable forces, hardly less than 100,000.

6. Civil Organization in Fārs

The civil dignitaries who paraded before S.-Khalīl held the following ranks:—

[1] How many foot-soldiers on 2nd June, 1475, stayed behind? Were the foot-soldiers the same as the *qullughchi* in Davānī's document? What exactly was the "porta" of Uzun-Ḥasan's army: the whole *ordu*, or only some special body-guard? *vide infra*.

[2] Evidently translated from some such Oriental term, as Persian *dar-i khāna*, Turkish *qapu*, or even Mongol *qahulgha*. Zeno says that U.-Ḥasan took his "porta" against Oghurlu-Muḥammad.

[3] Minorsky, *La Perse au XVe siècle*, Paris, 1932, pp. 13–14.

(*a*) The ṢADR (36), as the accredited representative of Islamic law, stood at the top of the provincial organization. His title *maulānā* points to his religious qualifications. He was the convener of the shaykhs, sayyids, and other saintly persons who appeared on the parade ground, and he officially introduced them to his master. On the second day of the review he himself, accompanied by his staff, led a deputation of dignitaries.

(*b*) The VAZĪR (38), who is likened to Solomon's minister Āṣaf, most probably directed the whole of the civil administration and provincial policy. The holder of the office (as also 41.) is curiously enough given the title of *shāh* (also in *T.A.*, f. 80r.),[1] which in this case has hardly anything to do with the ṣūfī usage (" Shāh Ni'matullāh Valī "; etc.). Here it may stand for something like " His Excellency ". As the Turcoman rulers called themselves *sulṭān* (in imitation of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznavī, the Seljuks, etc.) or *padshāh*,[2] the more simple *shāh* may have been degraded so as to be applied to the principal official who had to do with the local Iranian population.[3]

(*c*) The ṢĀḤIB-DĪVĀN (39) was in charge of revenue, and the holder of the office has the old Iranian title " khwāja ", which since Seljuk times (*khwājagān*) was a high title of respect for the Iranian members of the administration.[4] The other ṣāḥibs (41–44) were probably under the orders of the Sāḥib-dīvān, and references to their mastery in mathematics, etc., must hint at their special occupation with accountancy (40), secretarial work (44), etc.

(*d*) The Prince's DOCTOR, though not belonging to the administrative staff, occupied a high position immediately after the Ṣadr. His title maulānā points to his religious qualifications as well.

(*e*) The MUHRDĀR, Keeper of the Private Seal, belonged to the inner circle of the Prince's surrounding, as shown by his place in front of the latter, *vide* text, p. [291]. He also led a deputation of courtiers.

(*f*) The Turkish term ĪNĀQ varied in meaning locally, but in Davānī's text it is used in its original connotation corresponding to Arabic *nadīm* " a companion ". Niẓām al-Mulk's *Siyāsat-nāma*, ed. Schefer, i, 82, has a chapter on the requirements of candidates for

[1] On the contrary, under 7, *Shāh-'Alī* is merely a name.

[2] On the restoration of the ancient title *shāhinshāh* by the Iranian Būyids see my *Domination des Daïlamites*, 1932.

[3] On the Safavid use of *sulṭān* for " a captain " see my " A Soyūrghāl ", etc., in *BSOS*, ix/4.

[4] It is characteristic that the only non-Iranian (?) member of the civil staff (43) called *chālābī* and not *khwāja*.

this high distinction. Among the īnāqs is specially mentioned Amīr Hidāyatullāh (24) whose place was equal to that of the Muhrdār. His position was due to the special favour of the Prince, for which Davānī uses the word *qabūl* ("acceptance"), cf. also under (37).

(*g*) Among the lower ranks are mentioned the YASĀVULS and BUKĀ'ŪLS. The former functioned as "ushers",[1] the latter were supposed to be the "tasters" (Persian *chāshnīgīr*),[2] but, as "confidential servants", they were probably used for all kinds of missions. When Sulṭān Ya'qūb decided on such a momentous measure as the repeal of soyūrghāls, bukā'ūls carrying the august orders were sent to all the provices of 'Irāq and Fārs, see *T.A.*, 65v. and 165. Apart from these two categories, CHĀ'ŪSHES are also mentioned as stationed near the īnāqs (text, p. [**291**]). From a hint (ibid., p. [**289**]) it is to be gathered that their duty was to clear the way for their master.

(*h*) The business of all kinds of servants is evident from their designations. The magnificence of the provincial court of the Governor, nay Viceroy, of Fārs appears from the large staff of scribes (300) and a still more amazing variety of twenty classes of officers, entertainers, and servants, down to herdsmen and keepers of lions. Of great interest is the fact that intellectual interests were not neglected at the court of Shīrāz, which possessed a library staff of fifty.[3]

Although the provincial court obviously imitated the institutions and titles of Uzun-Ḥasan's own court, the latter must have included numerous additional officers. According to the author of a general history called *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh* written in 1212/1797 (Br. Mus., Or. 1649, Rieu, iii, 886), his ancestor Shams al-dīn 'Abdullāh Khākī Shīrāzī (d. in Tabriz in A.H. 902/1496–7) had served under the Aq-qoyunlus in the capacity of a *bakhshī*. According to his origin, the Shīrāzī in question would have been expected to belong to the civil administration. However, it is possible that the author uses this term in its Indian sense to explain some less known Persian rank (*tavājī* ?).[4]

[1] The title is connected with Mongolian *yāsā* "statute, law".

[2] See Budagov, *A Comp. Dict. of Turco-Tatar Dialects* (in Russian), *SPb.*, 1869, i, 262.

[3] Davānī, in his *Akhlāq-i Jalālī*, p. 15, says in praise of S.-Khalīl that in spite of being in the flower of his youth (*'unfuvān-i javānī*) he is "absorbed" (*maṣrūf*) in the books containing "scientific truths, philological rarities . . . and stories of righteous kings".

[4] In India the bakhshis were chiefly concerned with appointments and promotions in the army, see W. Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, 1903, p. 37. At the time of the composition of his work, the author of Or. 1649 was living in India.

7. Who's Who

Except for the princes, we still know very little about the *dramatis personae* in the turbulent days of the Aq-qoyunlu. We shall now try to disclose the identity of some of the dignitaries who paraded before Sulṭān Khalīl in 1476. This analysis will enable us to discuss some unusual names and titles, and in the last instance, to ascertain the respective positions of the various ethnical elements in the Aq-qoyunlu administration. The latter was clearly divided into a military caste, consisting of Turcomans, with an admixture of Iranian tribesmen, and a civil staff recruited among the old families of Persian officials.

The numbers refer to the running numeration introduced in paragraph (*e*) of the *'Arḍ-nāma*.

(1) On the Prince SULṬĀN 'ALĪ-MĪRZĀ see Introduction, p. 145.

(2) AMĪR MANṢŪR PORNĀK. The Turcoman tribe Pornāk[1] is very often mentioned in the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries. The pronunciation of the name is attested by the village of Pornāk existing on the right bank of the Araxes in the former khanate of Mākū. After S.-Khalīl's accession to the throne, Amīr Manṣūr lost a battle to Prince Murād b. Jahāngīr of Sāva. When Prince Alvand, son of S.-Khalīl, died at Shīrāz, Sulṭān Ya'qūb appointed as darūgha of Fārs Ṣūfī-Khalīl beg Mauṣillu (?).[2] As the latter oppressed the population and conceived a plan "to conquer India", he had to be recalled and Muẓaffar al-dīn Manṣūr Pornāk was sent to Shīrāz as vālī and governor, *vide T.A.*, f. 106r. Amīr Manṣūr appears to have been succeeded by his son Qāsim, who, according to Lārī's *M.A.*, f. 229*b*, caused the death of Sayyid Ṣadr al-dīn Shīrāzī by sending his myrmidons to his house. This event took place on 4th April, 1498, see *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī*, ii, 135, cf. *A soyūrghāl*, p. 953. Qāsim was destituted by Sulṭān Murād on 7 Ṣafar 907/23 July, 1501.

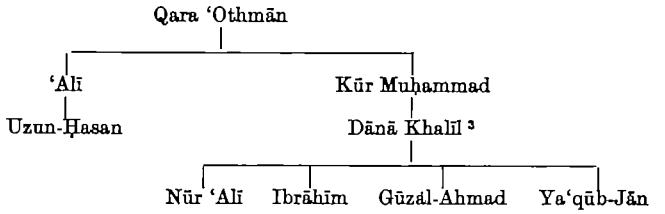
(3) AMĪR MANṢŪR SUHRĀB-BEG was the chief of the Chamishgazak Kurds. The circumlocution in our text would suggest that he was the brother of S.-Khalīl's wife, but the *T.A.*, f. 74v., calls him her father. In the battle in which S.-Khalīl lost his life, Suhrāb happened to be in Ya'qūb's army but, on account of his family connections, tried to commit treason. The rulers of Chamishgazak belonged to the Malkīshī family, which was said to be either of 'Abbāsid

[1] The name may have been derived from Persian پرناك "young man". In Turkish *pörnāk, būrnāk*, etc., does not seem to have a meaning.

[2] The name of this tribe is differently spelt موصلو (Mauṣil-lu), موسی‌لو. Cf. *T.A.*, fol. 64r., etc., unless there is some confusion between several tribes of similar names.

or of Seljuk origin.[1] Our Suhrāb-beg must be identical with Suhrāb-beg b. Shaykh Ḥasan referred to in the Chamishgazak pedigree of the *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 164.

(4) NŪR 'ALI-BEG[2] in question is apparently the descendant of a side branch of the royal clan of Bāyandur :—



Both Nūr 'Alī and his adventurous brother Ibrāhīm, better known under the name of AYBA-SULṬĀN,[4] took an active part in the troubles which followed Sulṭān Ya'qūb's death (896/1490). When in 897/1492 Ayba-Sulṭān put on the throne Rustam b. Maqṣūd b. Uzun-Ḥasan, Nūr 'Alī killed Sulaymān-Bīzhan, the best of the Aq-qoyunlu generals who had supported Bāysunqur b. Sulṭān Ya'qūb,[5] but immediately after Nūr 'Alī revolted against Rustam. After the accession of Gāvdā-Aḥmad b. Oghurlu Muḥammad (902/1496), Ayba first joined him and then took up arms against him and killed him on 18 Rabī' II 903/ 4 December 1497, after which Nūr 'Ali put on the throne Muḥammadī b. Yūsuf, whereas Ayba proclaimed Murād b. Ya'qūb, but quarrelled with the latter's supporters and locked his master up in the castle of Rūyin-diz. Meanwhile Alvand b. Yūsuf arrived from Diyārbakr and Ayba joined him, cf. *Jahān-ārā*, f. 66v. Ayba was finally killed in the battle which Alvand fought with his brother Muḥammadī (Shavvāl 904/May 1499). Ayba's brothers freed Murād and supported him against Muḥammadī, who was killed in 905/1499. By the peace treaty concluded in 906/1500, the kingdom was divided: Alvand got Diyārbakr and Āzarbayjān, and Murād Fārs and 'Irāq. The family of Dānā-Khalil still continued to occupy the chronicles: in

[1] Issued from the Erzerum branch of the Seljuks ?

[2] His personal name was Budāq, cf. Lārī, f. 230v.

[3] The *Ḥabīb al-siyar* spells *Dāna-Khalīl*, and the surname may be derived from Turkish *dana* "a calf". Such names are frequent in Turkish. On D.-Khalīl *vide supra*, p. 144.

[4] The *Lubb al-tavārīkh*, f. 66v., speaks in high terms of his valour and calls him *ṣāḥib-shān pādshāh-nishān* "marked with the seal of royalty". On Ayba-Sulṭān's campaign in Gīlān in 898/1493 *vide ibidem*, f. 65*b*.

[5] Amīr Sulaymān had previously executed an uncle of Nūr 'Alī, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, iv, 333.

907/1501 Murād killed Yār 'Alī b. Nūr 'Ali and appointed Ya'qūb-Jān b. Dānā Khalīl governor of Fārs, whence he was soon ousted by a rival, *Jahān-ārā*, f. 196r.

(8) AMĪR MAḤMŪD BEG is perhaps identical with Uzun-Ḥasan's uncle, of whose previous career we know that having separated from Uzun-Ḥasan, he liberated Ḥasan-'Alī Qara-qoyunlu from the fortress where he was imprisoned by his father Jahān-shāh ; see Hinz, *Irans Aufstieg*, 134. As this event had happened *circa* 861/1457, Maḥmūd must have been old in 881. It is noteworthy that our text mentions the " kneeling down " only of his son Shāh-'Alī-beg.

(10) It is not clear whether the head tavājī ḤUSAYN-BEG BĀYANDUR is identical with Jalāl al-dīn Ḥusayn-'Ali-beg who, under Sulṭān Ya'qūb, became parvānachi and finally amīr of the *dīvān-i tavājī*, *T.A.*, f. 177v.

(11) ABĀ-BAKR BEG (a usual form of Abū-Bakr in post-Mongol time), perhaps the same as Bakr-beg Mūsīlu (Mauṣillū ?), who after S.-Khalīl's accession was governor of Rayy and conquered the fortress of Fīrūzkūh.

(16) On ALVAND-MĪRZĀ *vide supra*, p. 146.

(17–19) The AFSHĀR tribe, as we see, was established in Fārs long before the Ṣafavids. MANṢŪR BEG AFSHĀR had his quarters in Kūh-Gīlū. In 903/1498 he helped Muḥammadī b. Yūsuf to the throne and, as a compensation, was given the governorship of Fārs.

(22) The strange name *Mihmād* is attested several times. Among the amīrs whom Sulṭān-Khalīl sent to Fārs in the suite of his son Alvand-mīrzā the *T.A.*, f. 56r., mentions Mihmād (?)-beg Khāzin (" Treasurer ") Ḥamza-Ḥājjīlū, and Mihmād [1] b. Alpā'ūt. The latter was one of the Qara-qoyunlu tribe but remained faithful to his master, for after S.-Khalīl's death Sulṭān Ya'qūb had him executed, ibid., f. 79r. The name *Mihmād* looks like an Arabic form of intensive adjectives, such as *mifrāḥ* " cheerful ", *miqwāl* " talkative ", etc., cf. Wright, *Grammar*, 1933, i, 138B. It is possible that مهماد is a vulgar spelling for Arabic *حماد which would be considered as an intensive equivalent of *ḥāmid, ḥammād* (rather than *muḥammad*). Such a form, if ever attested, would be useful for the explanation of the still enigmatic Ottoman form *Mehmed* (< *Miḥmād ?), for *Muḥammad*, known even in Byzantine sources. Phrantzes calls the Conqueror of

[1] In both cases *M.mt.mad* must be a misspelling ; on f. 61v. *Mihmād* is clearly read, as in the *'Arḍ-nāma*.

Constantinople *Μεεμέτης* (reserving *Μωάμεθ* to the Prophet), cf. *Der Islam*, vii, 1917, p. 345; viii, 1918, p. 108.

(26) The term *akhī*, applied to (the) Shahriyār Shihāb al-dīn Shahriyār and usually connected with futuvva associations, seldom occurs at the Turcoman epoch. J. Deny derives it from Turkish *aqi* "strong" (and not from Arabic *akhī* "my brother").[1] The surname *Shahriyār*, repeated as a kind of title, is mysterious. It is true that in Sa'dī's well-known ode dedicated to the Mongol governor of Fārs Anḳiyānū (towards 667/1269) the latter is addressed as *nū'īn-i a'ẓam shahriyār*, with hardly any other sense but "ruler of the country", but such an interpretation does not apply to our Shihāb al-dīn. This amīr, apparently interested in letters, might have been of Persian origin and even descended from some local dynasty.[2]

(27) The name AḤMAD MĀMĀSH is uncommon. One of the main divisions of the Kurdish Bilbās tribe, to the south-west of the lake of Urmiya, is called Mamāsh.[3]

(29–31) Though printed in this way, the name may be restored as "Muḥammad, son (*valad*) of Pīr-'Azīz-beg Shīrachī". This title is derived from *shīra* which (*a*) in Persian means "a juice, a syrup, and more usually a special intoxicating preparation", while (*b*) in Eastern Turkish it means "a square table" or "table cloth", cf. *Babur-nāma*, ed. Ilminsky, p. 235. It is very probable that in the present case *shīrachī* was the dignitary looking after the king's refreshment table. At the Ṣafavid court there was a special department called *shīra-khāna*, distinct from the *sharbat-khāna* ("department of light drinks").

With the civil staff we at once come back "from Tūrān to Īrān". The line is very clearly drawn.

(36) MAULĀNĀ 'ALĀ AL-DĪN BAYHAQĪ, as his *nisba* shows, was an originary of Bayhaq,[1] well known in the annals of Persian

[1] *JAs*, xvi, 1920, p. 183; cf. Taeschner, *Futuwwa Studien* in *Islamica*, v, 294, where *akhī* is quoted with a secondary (?) meaning of "generous".

[2] The name Shahriyār was particularly popular in Māzandarān, cf. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 174–5. A Shahriyār district irrigated by the Karaj-rud belongs to Tehran (Rayy), *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 220. Khondamīr, *Ḥabīl al-siyar*, ii, 124, calls the contemporary ruler of Sīstān *shahriyār*. Chardin, vi, 79, says that in common parlance *shahriyār* was used for *kalāntar* "mayor of a town".

[3] See Minorsky, *Sawdj-bulaḳ* (i.e. Sā'uj-bulaq) in *EI*.

[4] i.e. the district of Sabzavār. Cf. *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, fol. 19*b*, "Sabzavār, a small borough on the road to Rayy and the chief place of the district Bēh (= *Bēhak* > *Beyhaq*)." I am obliged for this shrewd correction to my friend 'Abbās Eghbāl. For the long lists of statesmen, native of Bayhaq, see the *Tārīkh-i Bayhaq*, recently printed in Tehran, 1317 (1938).

letters. After his accession S.-Khalīl sent him as his ambassador to Constantinople, *T.A.*, f. 56r.

(38) SHĀH 'IMĀD AL-DĪN SALMĀN DAYLAMĪ became vazīr in S.-Khalīl's dīvān. He was sent to Isfahān to put the affairs in order and eclipsed the local governor Ḥājjī-beg. b. Shaykh Ḥasan-beg (a cousin of Uzun-Ḥasan). The latter took offence at this procedure and, after S.-Khalīl's death, executed Salmān, *T.A.*, 56r., 80v.

(41) After S.-Khalīl's accession, SHĀH SHARAF AL-DĪN MAḤMŪD-JĀN DAYLAMĪ was entrusted with the collection of taxes and arrears (*ḍabt-i amvāl-va-jihāt-i bāqiya*) of Fārs, *T.A.*, f. 56r. Under Ya'qūb he became vazīr and mushrif of the dīvān, ibid., f. 163r. In 894/1489 he, accompanied by his brother Imām al-dīn Shaykh 'Alī, was sent by the omnipotent QĀḌĪ 'ĪSĀ ṢADR on a mission to Isfahān and Fārs, in order to prepare a reform in taxation. The intention was to return to the early Islamic institutions and to abrogate any traces of Chengizid imposts and innovations, such as tamghā and soyūrghāl, ibid., 159r.–171r. The action taken by the envoys of Qāḍī 'Īsā provoked great indignation among the interested circles and resulted in the arrest of Shaykh 'Alī by the governor of Fārs, Manṣūr Pornak (*vide supra*, p. 172), and finally his execution.[1]

(43) The name of the governor of Kāzarūn, CHALABĪ SAYF AL-DĪN MANTASHĀ, strikes the ear by its peculiarity. Mantashā (Māntäshä) was the name of a Kurdish amīr who, after the fall of the Seljuks, founded a principality in Asia Minor.[2] Whatever the number of Kurds who accompanied him to Caria, they must have been submerged in the Turcoman element. The principality known under the name of Menteshe was incorporated in the Ottoman Empire A.D. 1424, Wittek, p. 99, and it is quite possible that our amīr was a descendant of some member of the ruling house who had to emigrate. This would also account for the title *chālābi* unknown in Persia,[3] but, in Asia Minor, applied to princes, spiritual leaders, etc.

[1] Qāḍī 'Īsā himself was hanged by the brutal Ṣūfī-Khalīl on 13 Rabī' I/24 Jan. 1491, at Ordūbād, see *Jahān-ārā*.

[2] See Babinger, *Mentesche*, in *EI.*, and P. Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Mentesche* Istanbul, 1934, pp. 50–1. To the examples quoted in the latter work may be added, the name of Bār-beg Shād Mantash whose fortress (lying in Transcaucasia, perhaps in the region of Erivan) was besieged by Shāh Ismā'īl, see *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, iv, 337. Cf. also *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 221 on the amīrs of Killīs issued from Mantashā (this passage may give a clue to the origin of the princes of Caria !).

[3] Qāsim al-anvār uses it in one of his odes, but the latter is in Turkish : *Chālābi, bizi unutma*. In the *T.A.*, fol. 61v. and 73r., Chālābi is used as a personal name. In spite of a long discussion by Russian Orientalists, the origin of the term *chālābi* is

8. Later Islamic Inscriptions at Persepolis

The inscriptions mentioned by Davānī, *vide supra*, p. 151, have survived down to our time. They were copied and reproduced by Carsten Niebuhr[1] and translated, with many improvements, by Silvestre de Sacy.[2] Since then, no one seems to have taken any notice of these inscriptions, overshadowed as they are by the Achaemenid and Sasanian records. On the other hand, Niebuhr may have obtained his copies through some local scholars and a further confusion may have resulted in the process of redrawing.[3]

Davānī says that Sulṭān Khalīl's attention was first drawn to the inscriptions of the "late martyr Ibrāhīm-mīrzā". The Tīmūrid in question is Shāhrukh's son, born on 26 Shavvāl 796/25 May 1397.[4] In 817/1414 Ibrāhīm was appointed governor of Fārs and died of illness (*'āriḍa* ?) on 4 Shavvāl 838/3 May 1438, after which the governorship regularly passed to his son 'Abdullāh.[5]

His first inscription (Niebuhr *D*) is a quotation from Sa'dī: *Ki-rā dānī az Khusruvān-i 'Ajam*, etc.,[6] and is signed by the Prince himself (dated 826/1423). Inscription *E*, dated Shavvāl 826/September 1423, records the arrival of Ibrāhīm-mīrzā's camp "at this spot" (i.e. Persepolis) and is signed by Kamāl al-dīn Īnāq, one of the Prince's "companions", *vide supra*, p. 170. A third inscription by Ibrāhīm-mīrzā has crept into Niebuhr's *B*.

This latter begins with the formula *Allāh bāqī*. The verses quoted by Davānī are introduced by the words attributing them to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, *karrama 'llāhu vajhahu* (a typically sunnite formula). The verses are followed by the signature: "written by 'Alī b. Sulṭān Khalīl b. Sulṭān Ḥasan in the year *tis'-wa-sittīn-wa-thamānī-mi'a*," i.e. 869/1464–5, a date entirely impossible, antedating the occupation of Fārs by Uzun-Ḥasan.

Follows another: *Huwa al-bāqī wa kullu shay'in hālik*, accompanied by a mutilated statement in Persian: "This is the writing (*khaṭṭ-ast* ?) of the smallest beggar ibn-Ḥusayn, slave (*ghulām*) of His Highness Prince of the World Mīrzā 'Alī, A.H. 881." The date (A.D. 1476) must be correct but the object of the endorsement is not clear.

still obscure: some connect it with Semitic *ṣalam* (Arab. *ṣanam* "idol"), some with Turkish *chalab* "God". Cf. Barthold, *Čelebi*, in *EI*. Already Chardin, viii, 70, knew the derivation from *chalap*.

[1] *Reisebeschreibung*, Kopenhagen, 1778, ii, table xxvii.

[2] In his celebrated *Mémoires sur diverses antiquités de la Perse*, Paris, 1793, pp. 125–165.

[3] Muḥammad Naṣīr Furṣat's *Āthār-i 'ajam*, Bombay, 1314, pp. 166–7, is disappointing: his copy is incomplete and seems to follow Niebuhr. With regard to 'Aḍud al-daula's Kufic inscription Furṣat writes: *faqīr dar kitābī dīgar ki faransavī būd va mutarjimī barāyam tarjuma numūd . . . dīdam*, etc. The book referred to may have been a French translation of Niebuhr's work or S. de Sacy's *Mémoires*.

[4] *Ẓafar-nāma*, i, 710.

[5] *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, iii, 191, 202.

[6] *Būstān*, Bāb I: *Pādshāh-i Rūm va dānishmand*.

After this comes an Arabic verse (by Mutanabbī)[1]:

أين الاكاسرة الجبابرة الاولى كنزوا الكنوز فما بقين و باقوا

signed by Ibrāhīm Sulṭān and dated 826/1423, which evidently continues *D*.

Inscription *C* has two distorted lines in Persian, after which come the quotation from Niẓāmī's *Makhzan al-asrār* as given in Davānī. The signature is: "written by 'Alī b. Sulṭān Khalīl b. Sulṭān Ḥasan, God exalt his dignity, in 881." At the end stands the verse which, according to Davānī, was improvised by the Ṣadr 'Alā al-dīn Bayhaqī, but the second hemistich is altered:

که بر سنك حرفی نوشتم چنین

Taking stock of these facts we must conclude that:—

(1) The date 881/1476 twice repeated must be the real date of 'Alī-mīrzā's inscription and consequently of the parade described by Davānī.

(2) The date A.H. 869 is a mere misreading. Niebuhr himself could not possibly have made such a mistake in copying Arabic words fully spelt, and we have to suppose that the inscription was tampered with by some copyist who quoted it from memory. This impression is corroborated by the alteration in the Ṣadr's verse, probably due to a Persian, for the metre has not been disturbed. Probably the sense of the original hint ("I am nine years old") had been lost before Niebuhr's time (1764), whereas the verse, as quoted by Davānī, is confirmed by the latter's contemporary Muṣliḥ al-dīn Lārī, who particularly insists on the young Prince's proficiency in calligraphy: *Dar sighr-i sinn nau'ī mīnivisht ki laṭāfat-i ān munavvir-i anẓār va mūjib-i ḥayrat-i ūlu'l-abṣār būd.*[2]

(3) The addition made by Prince 'Alī's ghulām in 881 is perhaps a mere sgraffito. Or it may be the signature of the engraver who carved out the Prince's tracing.[3]

P.S.—Professor Herzfeld writes to me (8th March, 1939) that he possesses a whole set of the later inscriptions at Persepolis (squeezes, drawings, or photographs), and hopes to publish them some day. He explains to me that the inscriptions referred to in Niebuhr are found in the *tačara*: *B*, *C*, and *D* in the southern hall; *E* in the central hall.

[1] *Sharḥ tibyān dīwān al-Mutanabbī*, Cairo, 1287, i, 496.

[2] *Mir'āt al-adwār*, Br. Mus. Add. 7650, f. 229r. A similar flattering record of the young Prince's skill is found in the *Tadhkira* of Qāḍī Aḥmad Qumī (end of the sixteenth century), who quotes the distich (*nuh sāla-am*) as in Davānī, and confirms the date 881. I owe this reference to Mrs. C. Edwards, the owner of a copy of this very rare *Tadhkira*. (On a second copy found in Hyderabad, Deccan, see now *Armaghān*, 1318, Nos. 5–6, p. 344.)

[3] Niebuhr distinguishes between the ancient inscriptions which are cut in the stone (*gehauen*) and the modern ones which are in relief (*erhoben*).

A Jewish Source on Damascus just after the Ottoman Conquest

By Bernard Lewis

IN the year 5282 (A.D. 1521–2) an Italian Jew made a pilgrimage to Palestine, of which he left a brief record in Hebrew. Until the present year, no manuscript of this work was known, and even the author's name had not come down to us. The text was preserved in an old Italian collection of Palestine Itineraries, published in Leghorn in 1785, under the name of *Shibhhē Yĕrūshālāyim*, by one Jacob Bārūkh b. Mōshe Ḥayyīm, and several times reprinted since. The editor informs us that he found the work in an old manuscript, and that though the author's name was not marked, he was obviously a man of great learning. Nothing beyond this was known of the anonymous traveller. It had been suggested, without much evidence, that the traveller's name was Bārūkh, and that he was the Rabbi Bārūkh with whom the theologian R. Tām b. Yaḥyā corresponded.[1] The latest reprint of this text is that of Mr. J. Eisenstein, in his Corpus of Jewish Travellers.[2]

In the present year a new edition [3] of this work has been published by Mr. Isaac Ben-Zevi, who has had the good fortune to find an early —probably an autograph—manuscript.

Mr. Ben-Zevi's text is in every way fuller and better than the Leghorn edition, and is presumably the original and correct one. Although the manuscript does not bear the author's name, there is no reason to doubt Mr. Ben-Zevi's attribution of the work to Rabbi Moses Bassola of Ancona, by a line of reasoning which cannot be reproduced here, and for which I refer the reader to Mr. Ben-Zevi's introduction. By kind permission of Mr. Ben-Zevi, I am basing my translation on his text, marking in the notes the principal divergencies of the earlier edition (E).

Rabbi Moses Bassola (d. 1560) was a well-known Italian Rabbi and Kabbalist, who officiated in the communities of Pesaro and Ancona, and made two journeys to Palestine, of which the first is described in our text. It was during the second that his death occurred. Although he was a Rabbi and a scholar of some reputation, he seems

[1] *Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela.* Ed. Asher. New York, 11, pp. 270–1.

[2] *Ozar Massaoth.* New York, 1926, p. 130.

[3] *A pilgrimage to Palestine by Rabbi Moshe Bassola of Ancona.* Transcribed and published by Isaac Ben-Zevi. Jerusalem, 1938. (*Library of Palestinology*, xi.) On the English title-page the year is wrongly given as 1542.

to have had a great interest in commercial matters, and makes acute observations on the commercial and financial situation in the various places he visited. Although he stayed in Safed at a moment when that town was the centre of a veritable efflorescence of Jewish learning, he makes no mention of this, but gives instead an interesting description of the economic life of the place.

The author went from Venice to Sidon by boat, via Corfu, Tripoli, and Beirut, and then proceeded by land to Palestine. After touring the country, and visiting Damascus, he returned via Safed to Beirut, and there took ship once more for Venice.

I have thought it worth while to translate the passage dealing with Damascus, which offers a good deal of information on commercial conditions which is not to be found in the other sources, and which might otherwise remain inaccessible to many students. Rabbi Moses visited Damascus very soon after the Ottoman conquest, when the economic advantages of inclusion in a great and fairly stable empire were beginning to make themselves felt.

There are no other Jewish travel-records of this period available. We have, however, two descriptions of the city during the last years of the fifteenth century in two Jewish itineraries. The first, that of an Meshullam de Volterra, has been translated by E. Adler, and need not be reproduced here.[1] The other, that of an anonymous Venetian Rabbi who toured Palestine in 1495, may be quoted briefly, as it is not included in Adler's collection. He says :—

"Damascus is a great city, and its streets are wide. There are many houses and courtyards with fountains. There are three (Jewish) communities, for the country is great and vast. Between them there are some 500 families, some of them dealers in clothes and other things, some of them artisans. Some also lend on good security at 24 per cent, others discount notes at 18 per cent. In short there is much profit there according to what I heard. . . ."[2]

There are also a number of French itineraries, of which the following are referred to in the notes.

Affagart, G., *Relation de Terre Sainte* (*1533–4*), ed. J. Chavanon. Paris, 1902.

D'Arvieux, Laurent, *Mémoires*, vol. ii. Paris, 1735.

Belon, P., *Les Observations*. Paris, 1588.

Thévenot, *Relation d'un Voyage fait en Levant*. Paris, 1665.

[1] *Jewish Travellers*. London, 1930, pp. 198–9.
[2] *Eisenstein*, p. 126.

From the Jordan to Damascus is level land, a plain [1] of great length and breadth. There are four Khans,[2] i.e. places where caravans pass the night. They are like closed-in courtyards and are at intervals of six miles.[3] A toll [4] of 15 dirhams is collected on three bridges, and of 10 dirhams per person on two others.

On Friday, 19th Shĕbhaṭ (= 17.1.1522), after midday I arrived safely in Damascus. Damascus is a great town, twice the size of Bologna.[5] It is surrounded by walls and fortifications of great strength and by a moat.[6] There is also a very strong citadel. There are many beautiful markets, those where trade [7] is carried on being covered on top. Damascus has a large population and much commerce. In it are to be found all kinds of trades and crafts, to an even greater extent than in Venice. In particular silk manufacture and trade are on a large scale.

Women also earn a lot, and in general whoever wishes to exert himself in trade can keep his family in plenty, even if he has but little capital, for there is profit in everything.[8] Some set up clothes' shops with only 100 ducats.[9] The Venetian merchants give them clothes to sell at a fixed price, any excess being for themselves. Some set up with their assistance a haberdashery [10] or a perfumery. Others take things from shops [11] and peddle them in the town, for every day the traffic and the crowd are greater than at the great fair of Italy. And so whoever has a little capital and is a respectable person can get credit [12] from the Muslims and the Venetians, and earn money in what-

[1] "*Campagna.*" Here and elsewhere Italian words are used in Hebrew transcription.

[2] חאני.

[3] From Safed to Damascus is roughly 60 English miles.

[4] קפ"ר. A Hebrew transcription of an Arabic word I have not been able to identify. In an earlier passage (p. 38 of Ben-Zevi's edition) Rabbi Moses says: "There (on the bridge of Nahr-al-Kalb) they collect 10 dirhams from every Jew. They call this duty קפ"ר and it is collected on roads in many places in Palestine." This would appear to be one of the many Mukūs, or uncanonical taxes levied by Muslim authorities. It is perhaps connected with the Arabic root *kafara*, to be an infidel.

[5] "Damas est bien aussi grand comme Rouen ou Thoulouse" (*Affagart*, p. 218).

[6] *Fossa.*

[7] *Traffico.*

[8] This tallies with other accounts of the prosperity of Damascus at this period. For a detailed survey of Damascus agriculture and industry some years before the Ottoman conquest see *Nuzhat al-Ānām fī Maḥāsin ash-Shām*, by 'Abdallah b. Muḥammad al-Badrī. Cairo, 1341.

[9] Venetian ducats were in general circulation in Ottoman Asia at that date. (*E. Combe. L'Egypte Ottomane.* Cairo, 1933, p. 83.)

[10] "*Merceria.*" E. reads *Medicinia.*

[11] "*Botteghe.*"

[12] "*Credito.*"

ever he applies himself to. The wealthy acquire large stocks when things are cheap, and put them in storage [1] until prices rise. There are some who lend to the Venetians, and collect at least 2 per cent per month, and in times of scarcity rather more. Some give securities, and to some money may be lent without security, as to the Samaritans. One can lend also at a fixed rate of 18 per cent or at least 15 per cent through the Karaite known as Mu'allim Ṣĕdāqā [2] and through other reliable persons. The wise man has eyes in his head.

The land is blessed with an abundance of food and fruits and all kinds of royal dishes, and a man may find every kind of pleasure in it. The cost of living is roughly as in Venice. The houses are beautiful inside, with gardens and fountains and in the market also there are fountains in plenty. There are two rivers, side by side, outside the town. They are Amana and Pharpar. At a certain place outside the town there is a house in which is buried Gehazi.[3] Lepers are kept there, and they are regarded by the Muslims as holy, as are also madmen. Near this house, on the river-bank, is a long tomb, which some say is that of Naaman. In the middle of the town, near the place for merchandise,[4] there is a mosque [5] which is a marvellous building. The inner court is twice as wide as San Marco. The paving blocks are all of shining marble, and around it are colonnades with huge pillars, some of them gilded.[4] Only Muslims may enter, but there are four gates through which one can see.

The Jews [6] there consist of about 500 families. They have three synagogues, well built and beautiful, one of Sefardim,[7] one of native

[1] "*Maggazini.*"

[2] This person is mentioned earlier by R. Moses as having built a house in Safed, p. 45. *Mu'allim* is a title frequently used with reference to Jews and Christians.

[3] Kings ii, 5.

[4] Presumably the *Qaiṣarīya.*

[5] "House of Rimmon" (Kings ii, 5, 18).

[6] Apart from the curious community of Jawbar (v. infra), the Jews of Damascus do not receive very much attention from the western travellers. Thévenot (p. 434) notes that "quinze pas plus outre (la citadelle) est le lieu où l'on bat la monnoye dans lequel les Juifs travaillent". Belon (p. 334) observes that "Il y a grand nombre de Juifs en Damas, et sont enfermez à part, comme en Avigon". Neither of these facts is mentioned by our traveller, though both are probably true. The existence of a separate Jewish quarter in Damascus at that date is obviously unquestionable. Belon also tells (p. 335) a curious story of a rebellious Pasha who oppressed the Jews, and whose defeat by the Turks is commemorated by a Jewish festival. This must be a reference to the episode of Aḥmad Pasha in Cairo, mistakenly applied by Belon to Damascus. Affagart (p. 217) was provided by the Venetians with a Jewish guide in Damascus—"et jaczoyt ce qu'il fust juif, toutesfoiz il les nous monstra fidelement."

[7] Spanish Jews.

Jews,[1] and one of Sicilians.[2] In each there is a Ḥākhām, who reads a little Maimonides to them every morning after prayers. Rabbi Isaac Ḥabhēr is the Ḥākhām of the Sicilians, and he is a well-known physician. Rabbi Isaac Mas'ūd is Ḥākhām of the Sefardim, and Rabbi Shēm-Ṭōbh Al-Furanī of the native Jews. There is no study of the Talmud there, but only primary teaching, each teacher taking thirty or forty pupils.

There is also another synagogue at the end of the town called 'Unb.[3] A mile from Damascus there is also a place called Jawbar, where there is a community of native Jews, about sixty families. There is a very beautiful synagogue, the like of which I have never seen. It is built in colonnades, with six columns on the right and seven on the left. Above the synagogue there is a beautiful cave in which they say Elijah the Prophet hid. They say that the synagogue dates from the time of Elisha. There is a stone upon which they say he anointed Hazael.[4] Later Rabbi Eliezer b. 'Ārākh[5] renovated it. It is indeed a fearful place. According to what many people told me, no enemy has ever dominated it, and many miracles were performed there. In times of stress Jews always gather in it and nobody harms them.[6]

[1] "*Moreschi.*" Sometimes טסתערבים *Mozarabes*, Jews of Arabic language and culture. For a long time there were grave conflicts between the Spanish and the native Jews (*Rozanes. S. Yisrāēl bē Thōgarmā.* I, Tel-Aviv, 1930, p. 182):

[2] At this period colonies of Italian Jews were formed in many places in Syria and Egypt.

[3] Ben-Zevi identifies this with the synagogue called *'Anbīya*, in *Hawsh al-Bāshā.*

[4] Kings ii, 7.

[5] A celebrated Rabbi of the first century A.D. A pupil of R. Yōḥānān b. Zakkai.

[6] The village of Jawbar is about a mile north-east of Damascus. There is still a synagogue there which is held in peculiar reverence by the Damascene Jews, although it is considered dangerous to visit it owing to the fanaticism of the Muslim inhabitants. A synagogue of Gōbār is mentioned in the Talmud (*Bērākhōth*, III) כנישתא דבי גובאר and is identified by Sambari (Neubauer I, 152–3) with that under consideration. Sambari corroborates our traveller's remarks regarding the Synagogue and its founders and gives a list of Jewish scholars and notables, who were natives of Jawbar. On other Jewish sources see Zunz in *Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela.* Ed. Asher. N.Y., II, p. 118. It is interesting to compare our traveller's account with those of two French visitors, whose remarks are here reproduced in full.

Thévenot, p. 437. Il faut encor aller à un village appellé Iobar, distant de la ville de demy lieuë & qui n'est habité que de Iuifs, il-y-a une Synagogue, au bout de laquelle se voit une grotte à costé droit de quatre pas en quarré, pour y entrer il faut descendre par un trou sept degrez taillez sur le roc, on dit que c'est le lieu où se cacha le Prophète Helie, fuyant le poursuite de la Reyne Iesabel, on y voit encor le trou par où les corbeaux luy porterent des vivres durant quarante jours. Il y a dans cette grotte trois petites armoires servans à mettre trois lampes entretenues.

D'Arvieux, II, 461–2. Le village appellé Jubar est à une demie lieue de Damas, il n'est habité que par des Juifs sans mélange d'aucune autre Nation. Ils y font voir une Grotte où ils disent que le Prophete Elie se cacha, lorsqu'il fuyoit la persecution de Jezebel. L'entrée de cette Grotte est un trou médiocre, par lequel on descend sept

Now a governor [1] has come again to Damascus, and he rules the country justly. The same is the case in Jerusalem and Safed, and the previous functionaries have been removed because of their evil deeds.

I stayed in Damascus for half of Shĕbhaṭ, and for the whole of Ādār 1 and 11, until Wednesday, 5th Nīsan, 5282 (2.4.1522), waiting for the ship *Castatia*.[2] It did not come, however, nor was any news received of the ship *Delamora*.[3] In view of this, I would have chosen to go through Turkey, had not most of my Jewish friends advised me not to do so, as the journey was dangerous and would take a long time and the expense was great. They all told me to wait until the galley [4] was due, for it was better to wait in peace and quiet until the coming of the galley, and then to travel safely. So I took their advice, and agreed to celebrate Passover in Palestine. I left Damascus on the above mentioned date, and kept Sabbath by the Jordan fords, as the muleteers [5] wished to halt there on Friday.

marches taillés dans le roc, qui conduisent dans une Grotte d'environ quatre ou dix pieds en quarré. Il y a trois petits enforcemens comme des armoires ouvertes, ou les Juifs entretiennent trois lampes allumées. Il y a un autre trou, par où les corbeaux lui apportèrent à manger pendant quarante jours qu'il y demeura. Les Juifs ont leur synagogue auprès de cette Grotte. Ils ont eu assez d'esprit pour persuader aux Turcs superstitieux qu'ils mourroient s'ils entreprenoient de s'établir dans ce Village, et par ce mensonge ils ont privé leur Grotte de l'honneur qu'ils n'auroient pas manqué de lui rendre.

Seetzen, U. J. (*Reisen, Berlin*, 1854, i, p. 314), writing in 1806, says that Jawbar was originally inhabited by Jews, who subsequently converted to Islam.

Both Yāqūṭ (*Wüst.*, ii, p. 139) and the *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ* (i, p. 269) speak of Jawbar, and the former gives a list of Muslim scholars and traditionists born there. Neither, it is to be noted, makes any mention of Jews. A Muslim author, writing at about the same time as our traveller, mentions the existence of a mosque in Jawbar (*Sauvaire J. A.*, 1895, vol. vi, p. 473). It would thus seem to be untrue that Jawbar was inhabited exclusively by Jews.

[1] "*Naippo*," Italianized form of Arabic *Nāʾib*. Our traveller expresses the general satisfaction with the new broom of Ottoman administration.

[2] קשטאטיה. E. reads קושטנדינה—the boat from Constantinople.

[3] דלמורה (?).

[4] "Galera."

[5] מוקייר"י = Arabic *Mukāri*, one who leads animals (not *Makkār* as Ben-Zevi says). Our traveller, it will be noticed, does not distinguish in sound between ק and כ and renders Arabic ك by Hebrew ק.

Muḥammad's Bond with the Women

By Gertrude H. Stern

THE acceptance by the early women converts of Islam and of Muḥammad as the Apostle of the new monotheistic religion is expressed usually by a stereotyped phrase, which takes the form of "so-and-so became resigned to God and made a bond with the Apostle of God".[1] At a later date a convert was merely required to repeat the *shahādah*, but Wensinck has shown that probably this creed was only evolved after Muḥammad's death.[2] In the very early days the mere fact that a woman attended the prayer meetings held by Muḥammad was no doubt sufficient for her to be considered as a member of his community. This being so, what then was the significance of the bond made between the women converts and Muḥammad? It was possibly made in order to give a more formal aspect to their conversion and to make solemn confession of their belief in one God and their allegiance to Muḥammad as his Apostle, as also to include their acceptance of his ordinances.

The form of what is known as the women's bond is found in Sūra 60/12: "Oh Prophet, when the believing women come to thee and make with thee a bond that they will not associate anything with God, that they will not steal, that they will not commit adultery, that they will not kill their children and that they will not come with a calumny which they have forged between their hands and feet and that they will not disobey thee in that which is correct practice, then accept their bond and ask pardon for them from God, for God is forgiving and merciful." The commentators do not agree as to the time when this verse was revealed. Aṭ-Ṭabarī thinks it was revealed after Hudaibiyah, while al-Baiḍāwī places it after the fall of Makkah. Nöldeke does not mention this particular verse. Certain traditions show that this form of the bond was used at a very much earlier date. Traditions, referring to this bond or any other bond that Muḥammad may have made with the women of his community, are to be found in the first chapter of the eighth volume of the Ṭabaqāt of Ibn Sa'd.[3]

[1] "aslamat fulānah bint fulān wa bāya'at rasūl allahi."
[2] A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, Cambridge, 1932, p. 6.
[3] b. S., p. 1. Dhikr ma bāya'a alaihi rasūl allahi an-nisa':

The first date given for this particular bond is immediately after the arrival of Muḥammad at al-Madīnah, when 'Umar is said to have made it on behalf of Muḥammad with the Madīnian women.[1] The versions in Ibn Sa'd and Ibn Ḥanbal are similar except that the former omits the last phrase of the bond and the *isnāds* are fairly satisfactory, originating in each case with Umm 'Aṭiyah of the 'Anṣār. Another tradition is found in both works referring to this bond; it is given on the authority of Umaimah bint Ruqaiqah and transmitted in each case through Muḥammad b. al-Munkadar to well-known traditionists.[2] Umaimah, however, is somewhat of an enigma. She is named after her mother Ruqaiqah, who was said to be a sister of Khadījah, Muḥammad's wife, while her father's name is given as 'Abdallah b. Bijāḍ of Taim; she married a man of Thaqīf and apparently went to Ṭā'if. The biographical notice then continues that she and her daughters became Muslim in the early days at Makkah and that they suffered in the cause of God and that Abū Bakr bought them and freed them, which suggests that at some time they must have been slaves. Following this an account is introduced of the miraculous recovery of her daughter Zunnirah's sight. All this information is given without *isnād* and one can hardly rely on it, as it seems highly improbable that a niece of Khadījah or her daughters should have been sold as slaves.[3] There appears also to be no connection between her and Umaimah, sister of Makhramah b. Naufal, whose mother was Ruqaiqah bint Ṣaifī, or bint Abī Ṣaifī.[4] Under these circumstances it is difficult to say with any degree of certainty to what period Umaimah refers. It is just possible that she was an early convert at Makkah, being the niece of Khadījah, specially as there is no indication of her being present in al-Madīnah. There are, however, appended at the end of the tradition the following words, "I have made the bond with you and verily my words for a hundred women are as for one woman." This would point to a fairly large community provided it was not an addition to the original *matn*. The period referred to in this tradition, therefore, must be left an open question. The chapter also contains a tradition concerning Hind bint 'Utbah which states that she made the bond

[1] b. S., p. 2, 22; b. H., p. 408, 23. All references are to the sixth volume of the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal.

[2] b. S., pp. 1, 10; 17; b. H., pp. 357, 5; 10; 14.

[3] b. S., p. 186, 2. In the *Iṣābah* there is no reference to Abū Bakr buying Umaimah and her daughters and freeing them (iv/456, Nos. 97, 98).

[4] b. S., pp. 35, 161.

with Muḥammad.[1] In one version it is mentioned that this occurred on the day of the conquest of Makkah [2] and, while the supporting *isnād* is very weak, this information must be accurate as her husband Abū Sufyān only acknowledged his allegiance to Muḥammad at this time.

In this chapter there are traditions related by Asmā' bint Yazīd and also one referring to her. She was a member of the 'Abdal-Ashal clan of 'Aus and her biographical notice in Ibn Sa'd is given under the name of Umm 'Āmir, her *kunyā*, and by which she is sometimes referred to in the *isnāds*. She was apparently a keen supporter of Muḥammad and an important member of his community at al-Madīnah.[3] There is a tradition from Asmā' in which she states that she and others made the bond with Muḥammad, the articles of the bond being mentioned.[4] Opinions differ on the soundness of Shahr b. Ḥushab, the traditionist who transmitted the tradition from Asmā'.[5] There is a second tradition from her in which she relates that she, Lailā bint Khaṭīm and Ḥawwā' bint Yazīd made the bond; in this case the articles are omitted, but there is an addition that she was the first woman to make the bond with Muḥammad.[6] Two links of the *isnād* are criticized, namely, Usāmah b. Zaid (probably b. Aslam) and Dā'ūd b. al-Ḥuṣain.[7] A third tradition with a *mursal isnād*, originating with 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah, contains the names of ten women of the 'Anṣār, including that of Asmā' bint Yazīd, who were said to be the first women to make the bond with Muḥammad.[8] In this case al-Wāqidī's informant, Ibn Abī Ḥabībah, was considered weak and some authorities said his traditions should be rejected.[9] If aṭ-Ṭabarī or al-Baiḍāwī are correct, these traditions would refer to events that occurred after the Treaty of Hudaibiyah or the capture of Makkah.[10] This completes the traditions in which the bond of Sūra 60/12 is specifically mentioned.

Two women are reported to have been present on the night of

[1] b. S., pp. 4, 13; 172, 12; 21.

[2] b. S., p. 171, 25.

[3] b. S., p. 233. The traditions referring to the bond are not included in the biographical notice and in Ibn Ḥanbal only indirect reference is made to Asmā' making the bond (b. Ḥ., pp. 453, 6; 454, 14). It must be pointed out that many traditions, originating with her name, are also related on the authority of others. It is apparent that there was considerable confusion between her and Asmā' bint 'Umais, the well-known Shi'ite traditionist.

[4] b. S., p. 6, 5. [5] *Khul.*, p. 143. [6] b. S., p. 6, 9 *sq.*

[7] *Khul.*, pp. 22, 93. [8] b. S., p. 6, 17.

[9] *Khul.*, p. 13. Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl b. Abī Ḥabībah.

[10] See *supra*, p. 185.

'Aqabah with their husbands and are said to have made a bond with Muḥammad.[1] These two women were Umm 'Umārah and Umm Manī' who both belonged to Khazraj.[2] The tradition was transmitted by members of Umm 'Umārah's clan, but comparison with other *isnāds* [3] show that the names, not one of which appears in the various books of reference, have been confused.[4] This tradition refers to the second meeting at 'Aqabah, at which the bond made with Muḥammad was said to have been an undertaking to defend and protect him against his foes.[5] It must be pointed out that at the first meeting at 'Aqabah the Madīnians are said to have made a bond with Muḥammad which is referred to as the "Bond of the Women" on account of the fact that it comprised certain undertakings similar to those mentioned in Sūra 60/12.[6] Muir states that it was the latter bond that the aforementioned women made at the second meeting at 'Aqabah,[7] but he gives no reference to justify this statement, so that it must remain an open question as to the nature of the bond taken by Umm 'Umārah and her companion.

There is a singleton tradition in Ibn Sa'd to the effect that when 'Umar and 'Ā'ishah came to Makkah they stayed with the daughter of Thābit, who was one of the seven women who made the bond with Muḥammad at Makkah.[8] The tradition was transmitted to Ibn Sa'd by Muḥammad b. Faḍl who was considered reliable till his memory failed in the last few years of his life.[9] Unfortunately, there is no Makkan woman mentioned in Ibn Sa'd who was the daughter of a man called Thābit and it is, therefore, not possible as far as this material is concerned to trace any information as to what occasion the tradition refers to or who were the seven women.

[1] b. S., p. 5, 15.

[2] b. S., pp. 298, 301–4.

[3] Cf. b. S., pp. 153, 9; 301, 13; 303, 4.

[4] Ya'qūb b. Muḥammad (b. Abī Ṣa'ṣa'ah). His name is to be found in the index Wellhausen, Muhammed in Medīna.

[5] Buhl., Das Leben Muhammeds, Leipzig, 1930, p. 187. Muir, *The Life of Mohammad*, p. 130.

[6] Buhl., p. 187. Muir, op. cit., p. 118.

[7] Muir, op. cit., p. 187, Note 1. In the first edition of this work Muir gives a reference to Hishāmī, p. 157. I think this must refer to Ibn Hishām, but I can find no basis for this statement in the chapters dealing with the meetings at 'Aqabah in Wustenfeld's edition of his work.

[8] b. S., p. 5, 5.

[9] He received the *laqab* of *'āram* on account of this (*Khul.*, p. 304) and Ibn Sa'd frequently refers to him as 'Āram b. al-Faḍl. The correct name of the preceding traditionist is al-Walīd b. 'Abdallah b. Jamī' (*Khul.*, p. 357).

In Ibn Ḥanbal Umm Qais b. Muḥṣan is named as one of the first emigrant women who made the bond with Muḥammad, the information being found in the *isnād*.[1] Ibn Sa'd does not mention this in her biographical notice, but merely states that she became a Muslim in the early times at Makkah and that she emigrated with her family.[2] Her brother 'Ukāshah, an early convert, was present at Badr, so they must have emigrated at an early date.[3] Many other Makkan women are said to have become Muslim and to have made the bond. It is quite frequently stated in the biographical notices that they became Muslim in the early times at Makkah and made the bond and emigrated to al-Madīnah. In one case this occurred even previous to the emigration to Abyssinia.[4] Furthermore, nearly every Madīnian woman who figures as the subject of a biographical notice, is stated to have become Muslim and to have made the bond. There are certain exceptions in which a number of traditions have been appended which usually demonstrate indirectly that the woman in question was a staunch supporter of Muḥammad.

Then arises the question as to the nature of this bond to which such frequent reference is made. Buhl has expressed the view that some bond was taken by the new converts, but that it had no fixed formula and he repudiates the idea that the formula of Sūra 60/12 was used on all occasions.[5] He bases his idea that some kind of bond was made on the fact that one finds elsewhere in the Qur'ān references to the various ordinances mentioned in Sūra 60/12; but he argues that such ordinances as, for instance, an undertaking "not to kill one's children" could not possibly have applied to the Madīnians, who were so strongly influenced by Jewish law and custom. While this statement of Buhl's is possibly correct one might also state that this ordinance was not applicable to the Makkans, for there is not a single definite case of a daughter being buried alive at Makkah as far as the material at my disposal is concerned, though there is evidence that the custom did actually exist in and around the towns of Makkah and al-Madīnah. If Buhl's decision is to be accepted, the tradition referring to 'Umar making the bond on Muḥammad's behalf with the Madīnian women must be rejected as a forgery. Then Umaimah's tradition would refer to a period after the revelation of Sūra 60/12, which would also apply

[1] b. Ḥ., p. 356, 13.
[2] b. S., p. 176, 19.
[3] b. S., p. 176, 18.
[4] b. S., pp. 177, 2; 7, 24; 179, 10, 14; 182, 7.
[5] *Acta Orientalia*, vol. iii, 1924. *Zur Kuran exegesis*. F. Buhl, p. 102.

to the Madīnian women, who are said to have been the first to make the bond. Furthermore, it seems strange that if there is this number of references to the bond of Sūra 60/12 in various traditions, there should be a complete lack of information on the other bonds which were used according to Buhl's view. What, then, was the nature of the bond taken by the early Makkan converts and all the Madīnian women after the Hijrah? The bond certainly took the form of some verbal undertaking, for it is made a separate thing to the acceptance of Islam and it could not have been the mere striking of palms for the tradition states that Muḥammad never did this with the women. Nor is it likely that it was merely an undertaking to defend Muḥammad as given in the bond made by the men at the second meeting at 'Aqabah; this would hardly be applicable to the women of the community, except in the case of the two women who were present there.[1] It appears to me more likely that the form of the bond found in Sūra 60 was employed by Muḥammad even in the very early period of his mission at Makkah, the ordinances contained in the formula being most applicable to the various tribal women whose families were affiliated to the Makkan clans. After his arrival at al-Madīnah, Muḥammad possibly thought it wiser to continue to use for the women the same formula, which was already known to some of their men folk from its use at the first meeting at 'Aqabah. It might be suggested that just because the ordinances did not apply *in toto* to the Madīnian women, it was more likely to be a stereotyped formula. There does not seem to be any really definite reason why this formula should not have been used before the period ascribed to the revelation of this verse. It is even just possible that it was inserted in this *sūra* at the time of the compilation of the Qur'ān as being a suitable place for its introduction.

The meaning of the term *bai'ah* is a bond or contract. The form *bāya'a* with the preposition *bi* was used at a later date to signify the contract that existed between the Caliph and the Islamic community, in so far that one of the essential conditions of a candidate being accepted as Caliph was a fictitious election and acknowledgment by the people. At this time, that of the early conversions, the term was used to signify a commercial contract between the Makkans. Muḥammad, knowing the importance of the commercial bond to the Makkans, applied the same term to the covenant made by the women

[1] It is of interest to note that Umm 'Umārah, who may have made this bond, actually did accompany Muḥammad on his expeditions and is said to have personally defended him at the Battle of Uḥud (b. S., p. 301, 21 seq).

with himself, trusting that they would fulfil its conditions in the same manner as the men did those of their commercial contracts.

On several occasions one finds the participle attached to the names of certain Madīnian women, e.g. Jamīlah *mubāyi'ah*.[1] This was quite possibly an honorific title given to certain Madīnian women, probably those who made the bond with Muḥammad at an early date after the Hijrah, as, for instance, in Ibn Sa'd we find the following statement: "she bore to him Ramlah, who was given the *kunyā* of Umm Thābit *mubāyi'ah*."[2] It is also noticeable that this title is always applied to the daughter and granddaughter of the woman who is the subject of the biographical notice. In two cases they were the daughters of women who claimed to be amongst the first women who made the bond. The designation is given to Ḥabībah, daughter of 'Umairah bint Mas'ūd and granddaughter of Lailā bint Khaṭīm.[3] The latter was said to be the first, or amongst the first of the Madīnian women to make the bond and that with her were her two daughters and their daughters.[4] The other case is that of Jamīlah bint Thābit, whose mother, ash-Shamūs bint Abī 'Āmir ar-Rāhib, was also said to have been amongst the first ten women to make the bond at al-Madīnah.[5] In the biographical notice of Umm Jamīlah bint Quṭbah the designation is given to her mother and her grandmother.[6] Asmā' bint Yazīd is called "a maker of the bond", but it is difficult to say whether this meant that she merely performed the usual custom of making the covenant or whether she belonged to the class of women who bore the honorific title of *mubāyi'ah*.[7]

The commentators have very little information to give on the various articles of the bond. The first article is an undertaking not to associate anything with God. This was, of course, of primary importance on account of the polytheistic worship of the pre-Islamic period and when Manāt, al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā were considered as the daughters of Allah.[8] The absence of the *shahādah* in this article supplied further evidence for the accuracy of Wensinck's statement that at this time the creed did not exist in this form.[9] One would have expected to find the *shahādah* incorporated in this bond had it already existed.

The second article is an undertaking not to steal. Muḥammad refers in another place in the Qur'ān to stealing, in which he said that the

[1] b. S., pp. 247, 21; 251, 24; 299, 17; 306, 7; 321, 7; 329, 20.
[2] b. S., p. 329, 20. [3] b. S., p. 247, 21. [4] b. S., pp. 6, 19; 246, 17.
[5] b. S., pp. 251, 24; 6, 21. [6] b. S., p. 299, 17. [7] b. Ḥ., p. 373, 1.
[8] Qur'ān, 37/149. [9] See *supra*, p. 185.

penalty for both male and female thieves is that a hand shall be cut off.[1] Ibn Ḥanbal includes a tradition to the effect that Muḥammad cut off a hand for a theft valued at a quarter of a *dīnār* or upwards.[2] This may have been an authentic decision of Muḥammad's or it may have been an extract from the following tradition. A thief was brought to Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazam (who figures in the *isnād* of one version of the aforementioned tradition), whose maternal aunt Amrah bint 'Abdar-Raḥmān referred him to Muḥammad's decision and as the theft was for less than a quarter of a *dīnār*, the thief's hand was not cut off.[3] It must be pointed out that this is a singleton tradition and that there was a certain amount of criticism of Muḥammad Ibn Rāshid, who figures in the *isnād*, as a traditionist.[4]

On one occasion Muḥammad is said to have enforced the penalty of cutting off a hand in the case of a woman. Ibn Sa'd gives two versions of the tradition. The first, which, according to Ibn Sa'd is the Madīnian version, relates that Fāṭimah bint al-'Aswad of Makhzūm stole some ornaments. 'Usāmah b. Zaid and others sought to intercede on Fāṭimah's behalf with Muḥammad that he should not enforce the penalty. Muḥammad replied that he was merely carrying out the divine ordinances and that had it been his own daughter Fāṭimah he would have enforced the penalty in the same manner.[5] The *isnād* is *mursal* and there is some doubt as to the identity and reputation of the intermediary link al-'Ajlaḥ.[6] The second version is then introduced by Ibn Sa'd without any further *isnād*, but merely by the statement that the following was the version of the people of Makkah. In this case the culprit was said to be a woman called Umm 'Amr bint Sufyān b. 'Abdal-Asad who was also of Makhzūm and who, according to her genealogy, was a cousin of the woman mentioned in the Madīnian version. Umm 'Amr stole a leather bag from one of the pilgrims during the Farewell Pilgrimage. She was caught and brought before Muḥammad for judgment and in spite of her appeal to Umm Salamah, who was her aunt by marriage and of the same clan, to intercede on her behalf, she suffered the penalty of having her hand cut off. Usaid b. Huḍair of the Banī 'Abdal-'Ashhal, a Madīnian, gave her shelter,

[1] Qur'ān, 5/38. [2] b. Ḥ., pp. 36, 15; 17; 104, 5. [3] b. Ḥ., p. 80, 26.
[4] *Khul.*, p. 286. [5] b. S., p. 192, 11.
[6] He is mentioned in the *Khulāṣah* (p. 414) but there is no biographical notice of him, though in a note it states that his name was Yaḥyā b. 'Abdallah and that his name is to be found in the *Mīzān* of Ibn Ḥajar. In the *Mīzān* there is a traditionist Yaḥyā b. 'Abdallah b. 'Ubaidallah b. Abī Mulaikah who is said "to have judged a dream to fit his interpretation of dreams" (vi/764, No. 5221).

Muḥammad approving of the action. When Umm 'Amr returned to her father he sent her to her mother's family with the insulting remark that she resembled them.[1] There is an addition introduced by *qāla*, Ibn Sa'd evidently being the relator, that al-Ḥusain b. al-Walīd at-Tamīmī, wishing to insult Umm 'Amr's brother 'Abdallah, composed a verse in which he alluded to Umm 'Amr being a thief. A third version is given by Ibn Ḥanbal in which the woman is not named. She was accused of stealing a piece of cloth and Muḥammad decided that she should pay the prescribed penalty for theft. The woman is referred to as the "Makhzūmiyyah" and was said to have belonged to either the Banī 'Abdal-'Ashhal or the Banī 'Abdal-Asad.[2] If she belonged to the latter clan it would agree with the version in Ibn Sa'd, but the suggestion that she belonged to the Banī 'Abdal-'Ashhal was probably due to a certain confusion, arising from the fact that she was sheltered by a woman of this clan, for there is no branch of Makhzūm that bears this name. This would provide further evidence for the authenticity of the Makkan version in spite of there being no fresh *isnād*. It is probable that all three versions refer to but one occasion and that Muḥammad took this drastic action in this case as an example for the rest of the community.

The next undertaking was not to commit adultery, the term *az-zinā* being used. Muḥammad possibly used this term in a rather wide sense to refer to the prevalent loose type of marriage, which he attempted to replace by a more permanent type.

The next article was that the women should not kill their children. As previously mentioned, the custom of infanticide probably existed in and around the towns of Makkah and al-Madīnah, though there are no references to specific cases to the best of my knowledge and belief In the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (ix/122) the mountain of Abū Dulāma near Makkah is mentioned as being the place where the Quraish buried their daughters alive; but Lammens, however, refers to this statement and many others as inventions and asserts that Muḥammad wished to acquire for himself the merit of abolishing this custom, and that actually the custom was only practised by a few chiefs of Tamīm.[3] There appears to be no basis for this somewhat sweeping statement on the part of

[1] b. S., p. 192, 16.

[2] b. Ḥ., p. 329, 8.

[3] H. Lammens, *Études sur le règne du Calife Omaiyade Mo'awia Ier*, Beyrout, 1906–8, p. 77, note 3. References are found to various works in which the subject of female infanticide is introduced. See also W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, additional note c, p. 291.

Lammens. On the other hand, the fact that there are five references in the Qur'ān to the custom provides indirect evidence to its existence.[1] These Quranic references with the exception of Sūra 60/12 are confined to the Makkan period. At this period of his mission, Muḥammad's efforts were mostly confined to an attempt to convert the tribes of Makkah and its environs to his ideas of monotheism from their polytheistic and animistic religion. The undertaking of social reform belongs to the Madīnian period and yet one finds these references to what might rightly be termed a social abuse. It might, therefore, be assumed that in Makkah and its vicinity there occurred actual cases of infanticide which occasioned Muḥammad's allusions to this practice.

The fifth article that "they should not bring a calumny which they have forged between their hands and feet", was, according to the *tafsīr* of az-Zamakhsharī, an allusion to the women who attributed falsely their children to their husbands. This probably did not refer to adultery, but more likely to the pre-Islamic custom of a pregnant woman remarrying after the death of her husband, or after divorce, before she had given birth to her child, and that the child, when born, was considered the son of her second husband; in other words, that she remarried without fulfilling the conditions of her *'iddah*.

The final undertaking was that they would not disobey the Apostle of God in that which was correct practice. The traditions, which supply the exegesis for this passage, frequently refer to Muḥammad's prohibition of wailing, namely, *niyāḥah*. On investigation, however, several of the traditions, which contain this interpretation, prove not to be very satisfactory. Firstly, there is a tradition originating with a woman called Umm Salamah al-'Anṣāriyyah,[2] who has been identified as Asmā' bint Yazīd, Umm 'Āmir, by the biographers,[3] but there seems little evidence to support this hypothesis apart from the fact that the tradition was transmitted by her *maulā* Shahr b. Ḥushab.[4] Secondly, there is a short *mursal* tradition,[5] of which the original authority, 'Aṭā' al-Khurāsānī is somewhat severely criticized and the authenticity of the *matn* extremely doubtful.[6] Thirdly, there are two versions in

[1] *Qur'ān*, 6/137, 17/31, 16/58, 81/8 sq., 60/12. According to Nöldeke Schwally, Sūra 81 belongs to the first Makkan period, Sūra 17 to the second, Sūras 6 and 16 to the third period. In Sūra 81/9 the actual term used for the female infant buried alive is found, namely *al- mau'ūdah*.

[2] b. S., p. 3, 15.

[3] *Iṣābah*, iv/890, No. 1306. Usd v/590.

[4] See, *supra*, p. 187.

[5] b. S., p. 4, 25.

[6] al-Bukhārī rejected his traditions and he was said to have imagined a great deal (*Khul.*, p. 226).

which an unnamed woman is said to have inquired of Muḥammad the meaning of *ma'rūf*, and that she asked Muḥammad if she could go to mourn with a woman, who had previously mourned with her when she was bereaved. In the one version Muḥammad permitted her to do so, but in the other it states that he did not make an exception for her.[1] The *isnād* of the former contains the name of Muṣ'ab b. Nauḥ, who may have not been very dependable,[2] while the latter was transmitted to Ibn Sa'd by Sa'īd b. Manṣūr, who was thought unreliable when he referred to his book.[3] It is possible that this unnamed woman was Umm 'Atiyah, for, as mentioned previously, there is evidence that she and some other 'Anṣar women made the bond with Muḥammad, and, that when asked for an interpretation of this clause of the bond, Muḥammad did actually reply that it meant that they should not follow the practice of ceremonial wailing.[4] This tradition was transmitted to Ibn Sa'd by 'Āram b. al-Faḍl to whom reference has already been made [5]; and also to Ibn Ḥanbal by Yazīd b. Hārūn. The same information is to be found in what appears to be an addition to the tradition referring to 'Umar making the bond with the 'Anṣar women, including Umm 'Aṭiyah. Her grandson questioned her about the meaning of this clause, to which she replied that it was a prohibition against wailing.[6] Furthermore, there is a tradition in Ibn Ḥanbal originating with Umm 'Atiyah, which bears a close resemblance to that in Ibn Sa'd, in which the unnamed woman asked Muḥammad's permission to go and mourn with another woman.[7] It is of interest to note that Ibn Ḥanbal learned and handed down this tradition from Abū Mu'āwiyah aḍ-Ḍarīr, in spite of the fact that he considered him confused in his teachings.[8] It would, therefore, seem probable that Muḥammad only gave this interpretation on one occasion, and it is significant that only five women are said to have abided by his words.[9] Finally, there is a tradition, of which there are two versions, which states that, when the women

[1] b. S., pp. 3, 23; 4, 1.

[2] He is mentioned in the *Mīzān* of Ibn Ḥajar, but there is no information given about him (vi/45, No. 173).

[3] *Khul.*, p. 121.

[4] b. S., p. 3, 20; b. Ḥ., p. 408, 8.

[5] See, *supra*, p. 188, note 9.

[6] b. S., p. 3, 2; b. Ḥ., p. 409, 6.

[7] b. Ḥ., p. 407, 14.

[8] *Khul.*, p. 284.

[9] See note 4. It is apparent from other traditions that Muḥammad objected to an extravagant display of grief, though it is unlikely that he ever made a general statement prohibiting the practice of *niyāḥah*.

made the bond with Muḥammad, they undertook not to tear open the collars of their clothes and not to call out "Woe", nor to scratch their faces and to say vain and useless words.[1] The *isnād* of the first version is *mursal* but fairly satisfactory, while the *isnād* of the second cannot be regarded as reliable. In the latter there appears to be a link missing between the unnamed woman, with whom the tradition originates, and 'Asīd b. Abī 'Asīd, concerning whose identity there is some doubt,[2] and there is also criticism of al-Ḥajjāj b. Ṣafwān's reputation as a traditionist.[3] In any case it does not seem probable that the tradition is authentic, but is to be put in the category of supplemented traditions. It must be concluded, therefore, that the women, in undertaking not to disobey the Apostle of God in that which was correct practice, bound themselves to obey any ordinance that he might promulgate for the good of the community.

Muḥammad is said to have refused to clasp hands with the women who made the bond with him. This statement is contained in the tradition from Umaimah but not in that of Umm 'Atiyah.[4] It is also found as the main theme of a tradition given from 'Ā'ishah, Asmā' bint Yazīd, and others, and transmitted through az-Zuhrī and ash-Sha'bī.[5] There are, however, a number of other traditions to the effect that Muḥammad covered his hand before clasping the hands of the women. In this case they are mainly transmitted through ash-Sha'bī and Ibrāhīm an-Nakha'ī [6]; these latter traditions are not to be found in Ibn Ḥanbal.

It is difficult to offer a satisfactory explanation for this action on the part of Muḥammad. It can scarcely be ascribed to the fact that Muḥammad considered women to be unclean at certain periods, as several traditions, mainly originating with 'Ā'ishah, prove this not to have been the case.[7] His attitude appears to have been in contrast to the prevailing feeling that women did actually have a harmful influence especially when indisposed. It can only be suggested that it may

[1] b. S., pp. 4, 5; 3, 5.

[2] *Khul.*, p. 32, including note 8.

[3] *Khul.*, p. 61.

[4] See *supra*, p. 186. There is a curious tradition from Umm 'Atiyah, with a sound *isnād*, in Ibn Ḥanbal (p. 408, 21), which would appear to be a combination of the two other traditions related on her authority (see *supra*, p. 195). It states that a woman who came to Muḥammad clasped her own hand while he clasped his.

[5] b. S., pp. 1, 8; 2, 3; 2, 11; b. Ḥ., pp. 153, 15; 154, 1; etc.

[6] b. S., pp. 1, 3; 1, 4; 1, 6; 2, 4; 2, 6.

[7] b. Ḥ., pp. 193, 12; 329, 24; and many other similar traditions are to be found in the *Musnad*.

have been an idea that women were capable of withdrawing *barakah* by their touch, though the conception that he possessed of this quality was not very highly developed at this early period. This idea, however, may account for the tradition in which a woman called as-Saudā' said that, when she made the bond with Muḥammad, he ordered her to *hinnā'* her fingers [1]; *hinnā'* probably being used as a protective measure against evil influences. The identity of as-Saudā' is uncertain,[2] as also that of the other two women who transmitted her tradition. This may, therefore, have been a tradition circulated at a later date to justify the use of *hinnā'* for dyeing the finger-tips.

[1] b. S., pp. 5, 23; 25.

[2] There is no biographical notice of as-Saudā' in Ibn Sa'd, while in the *Iṣābah* there is a notice based entirely on this one tradition (iv/649, No. 600), but in the notice of Sawadah or Saudah bint 'Āsam b. Khālid . . . b. 'Adī b. Ka'b al-Qurashiyyah, who was also called Saudā', it is mentioned that the tradition referring to dyeing the fingers came from her (No. 598). Umm 'Āṣim, the next link, is mentioned in the *Khulaṣah* (p. 429), but there is no mention that she learned from Saudā' or that she transmitted to Nā'ilah al-Kufiyyah, concerning whom I can find no information except that she is mentioned in aṭ-Ṭabarī.

Calligraphers and Artists: A Persian Work of the late 16th Century

By C. C. Edwards

I POSSESS a Persian manuscript, possibly unique, on calligraphers and painters of Iran. It consists of eighty-four folios with twelve lines to a page.[1] The manuscript is unfortunately incomplete: the introduction is missing, as well as a leaf or leaves at the end. Moreover, each of the eight miniatures which it contains has had a section cut out. The script on the reverse of these miniatures is therefore mutilated.

The order of the folios has been greatly confused in the present binding. To establish their proper sequence is difficult, since many of the catch-words are missing and others have evidently been supplied at the time of rebinding. I have, however, been able to rearrange the sheets to my satisfaction. If my order is correct, there is only one small lacuna in the text. This occurs in the section on writers of the *ṣulṣ* script, immediately after the passage dealing with Yāqūt i-Musta'ṣimī.

Of the eighty-four folios, seventy are devoted to calligraphers, beginning with Ibn Muqla (d. 328/939–940). The first *faṣl* deals with the writers of *ṣulṣ*, the second with writers of *ta'līq*, the third with writers of *nasta'līq*. A *khātima* is devoted to painters, illuminators, and other craftsmen of the period. The author states that since the masters in this calling are too numerous to count, he will confine himself to a few of the most recent. After naming five of the "famous artists of Khurāsān", he begins his notes with a paragraph on Bihzād.

The space allotted to the different persons is very unequal: the author's idol, the ill-fated Prince Ibrāhīm, is given eight folios; and twelve folios are devoted to a poem by the great calligrapher Sulṭān 'Alī. This poem is in part a treatise on calligraphy and in part a simple and touching autobiography. I have not seen another copy,

[1] The writing is enclosed in a frame of gold and coloured lines, 17·5 by 9·8 cm., on a page 23·3 by 14·2 cm.

although a dozen lines from it are quoted in the Majālis al-Mū'minīn of Sayyid Nūr Allāh.[1]

The date of the work is indicated by a reference (f. 31*a*) to the affair (vāqi'a) of Parī Khān Khānum which occurred, the author states, about twenty years before the time at which he wrote. Parī Khān Khānum, the favourite daughter of Shāh Tahmāsp, had, after the death of her brother Isma'īl II, attempted to seize the royal power. She was put to death in Qazvīn on the 3rd of dhū'l Hijja, 985 (11th February, 1578), the day on which Muḥammad Khudābanda entered the city to ascend the throne.[2] This *tadhkira*, then, was composed in or about the year 1006/1597–8, when Shāh 'Abbās had been reigning for some ten years.[3]

Owing to the loss of the folios at the beginning and end of the manuscript, the title of the treatise and the name of the author do not appear. In the course of the work, however, the author gives many autobiographical details, including references to grandparents, father, and uncle. He mentions also two previous works from his hand: *Memoirs of the Poets* (Majma' al-shuarā va manāqib al-fuẓalā) and an *Epitome of History* (Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh). I have been unable to trace any copy of the first of these works. But from an article by Professor Walther Hinz [4] I learn that there is in the Staatsbibliothek, in Berlin, a fine copy of the fifth volume of the *Epitome of History*. In Professor Hinz's full and interesting account of this manuscript I find the name of my author: Qāẓī Aḥmad Ibrāhīmī b. Mīr Munshī.

Qāẓī Aḥmad, a native of Qum, came from a line of calligraphers. His great grandfather, an Abyssinian slave called Ḥāfiẓ Qanbar Sharafī, was a calligrapher and poet in the service of Qāẓī Sharaf al-Dīn, governor of Qum. Ḥāfiẓ Qanbar wrote *ṣuls* extremely well and was also a master of the *nasta'līq* script, which he wrote in the style of his great contemporary Sulṭān 'Alī (f. 6*a*, f. 6*b*).

The father of the author was Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥusayn, upon whom Shāh Ṭahmāsp bestowed the title of Mīr Munshī. His son writes with filial affection and enthusiasm of his learning and piety, his excellent

[1] Brit. Mus. Add. 23541, f. 486*b*.

[2] See *'Ālam-ārāyi 'Abbāsi*, Tihran lithograph, p. 162.

[3] The two treatises which have hitherto been the chief sources of information on Persian artists and calligraphers are earlier than this. Dūst Muḥammad wrote in 951/1544 and 'Alī, the Turkish commentator, in 995/1587.

[4] "Eine neuentdeckte Quelle zur Geschichte Irans im 16. Jahrhundert," *ZDMG.*, 14, Heft 3–4 (1935), pp. 315–328.

script, and his ability as a poet. He was successively *munshī* to Sām Mīrzā in Harāt, scribe to the secretariat under the vakīl Aḥmad Beg Nūr Kamāl, and vazīr at the court of the famous Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, when that prince was governor in Mashhad. He died at the age of 76 in the year 990/1582.

In his youth Qāẓī Aḥmad lived with his father in Mashhad at the court of Ibrāhīm Mīrzā. Their patron was a collector of books, paintings, and calligraphy, and had gathered about him in his library a large company of poets, scholars, calligraphers, and artists. An enthusiastic admirer of the calligrapher Mīr 'Alī, he collected every specimen of his script which he could find, and modelled his own writing on that of this master. According to our author, he possessed half of all the manuscripts written by Mīr 'Alī. He tried his hand at all the arts and excelled in them all, from poetry and music to medicine and cookery. He was a crack shot, too, with bow and musket, and an expert swimmer and polo player. To all about him he was gentle and kind. He was put to death by his cousin Isma'īl II in 984/1576.

Qāẓī Aḥmad studied under many masters: 'Alī Aṣghar, of Kāshān, father of the painter Āqā Riẓā, taught him the art of drawing arabesques (*pīchak*). He studied also under Muḥammad Jadval the illuminator, and practised writing under the supervision of Shāh Maḥmūd and Mīr Sayyid Aḥmad. His title of Qāẓī is proof that he was versed in the religious law. That later he travelled much in Irān is manifest from references in my manuscript, and is confirmed by the manuscript described by Professor Hinz. It is clear from his writing that he was well acquainted with the scholars and artists of his time. Of Iskandar Munshī, the historian of Shāh 'Abbās, he wrote: "I look upon him as my own son."

He lived in the reigns of four kings: Ṭahmāsp I, Isma'īl II, Muḥammad Khudā-banda, and 'Abbās I.

Two quotations will serve to show the author's direct and simple style and his treatment of his subject. The first concerns the great calligrapher Shāh Maḥmūd, of Nīshāpūr, the scribe of the famous manuscript of Nizāmī's *Khamsa*, illustrated by Bihzād, Mīrak, and other artists, which is now in the Library of the British Museum (Or. 2265). The note on Āqā Riẓā adds something to our knowledge of that much discussed painter.

Shāh Maḥmūd

[53b] مولانا شاه محمود زرین قلم خواهر زاده و شاگرد [مولا عبدی] است و از و نیز نقل کنند که بمولانا شاه محمود در حالت اعراض میگفته که ای بد بخت جهد کن که تا خوش نویس شوی اگر همچون من ننویسی مثل سلطان علیک و میر علیک باری نویسی . . . مولانا نظام الدین شاه محمود زرین قلم . . . [54a] از خطه نیشابور و در کتابت عدیم المثل بوده و نظیر خود ندارد و قطعهای جلی و خفی او بسیار است و خمسه بخط غبار جهت شاه جمجاه جنت بارگاه سید السلاطین و اعدل الخواقین نوشته که جمیع استادان انصاف داده اند که هیچ خوش نویسی بدان قاعده و پاکیزگی کتابت نکرده و آن خمسه بتصویر استاد بهزاد نقاش اتمام یافته مولانا در ایام ترقّی و جوانی و نشو و نما و خلاصهٔ حیات و زندگانی ملازم رکاب شاه علّیین آشیانی بوده و مدتی در دار السلطنه تبریز در مدرسهٔ نصریّه در بالاخانه جانب شمالی آنجا بسر می برد و در آخر کار که آن پادشاه کیوان وقار از وادی خط و نقاشی دلگیر گشته بمهمات ملک و مملکت و معموری بلاد و رفاه حال رعیّت مشغول گشته مولانارا رخصت کرده بمشهد مقدسهٔ عرش منزله آمد و در آنجا ساکن شد و در مدرسه

مشهور بقدمکاه حضرت امام همام علیه افضل الصلوة و السلم [54b]
که درجنب چهار باغ آنجا واقع است در بالاخانه بسر می برد و
بزیارت و عبادت مشغول بود و در ان مکان بکتابت مشغول
می بود و قطعه می نوشت و یاران اهل بخدمتش رسیده از
صحبتش فایز بودند و قریب به بیست سال آنچنان اوقات کذرانید
و مولانا هرکز کدبخدائی اختیار ننمود و [1]تاهل نکرده و بمقتضای
آیهٔ کریمه اِنَّ اَللّٰه یُبَشِّرُکَ بِیَحْیٰی مُصَدِّقاً بِکَلِمَةٍ مِنَ اللّٰهِ وَسَیِّداً
وَحَصوراً وَ نَبِیّاً مِنَ الصّالِحِینَ عملنموده حصور بود و خویش و
قومی هم نداشت و فرد و تنها بود اورا از هیچ ممر وظیفه و
سیورغالی نبود و از کسی رعایتی نمی یافت وی در شهور سنه اثنی
و سبعین و تسعمائه در مشهد مقدس مزکی معلی فوت شد و
درجنب مزار مرحومی مغفوری مولانا سلطان علی مدفون کشت
مولانا شاه محمود شعررا بسیارخوب میکفت از اقسام شعر
خواه قصیده و خواه غزل و خواه قطعه و رباعی همه‌را نیکو
میکفت و این اشعار از قصیده اوست که در مدح حضرت [55a]
امام همام علیه الصّلوه والسلام کفته و بقلم جلی نوشته و در راه رو
دار السّیاده روضه عرش منزله چسپانیده

[1] باهل in text.

من قصیدته

آلهی همه عُمر محمود کاتب اگرچه بعصیان سیه کرده دفتر
بحرف خطایش خط عفو در کش بحق علی ابن موسی ابن جعفر
ترحّم که هستم قلیل البضاعه بغفلت بسر برده اوقات یکسر
دمادم ز یاد گناهان ماضی باشک ندامت کنم چهره را زر
بفضل خود ای پادشاه خطابخش بخط خطایش بکش خط سراسر

. . . . این غزل از غزلیات اوست جهت تزیین این نسخه نوشته شد

دهان یار دلم جُست و خودشرا کم کرد
جو جستم از لب لعلش نشان تبسم کرد
[55b] شکفت غنچه دل جان حیات دیکر یافت
کشود بالب جان پرور و تکلّم کرد
مرا چو یار ز خیل سکان خویش شمرد
عزیز و محترمم در میان مردم کرد
کسی که دست ز دنیا کشید چون محمود
بکنج فقر و قناعت بسی تنعم کرد

. . . . [56a] فقیر حقیر در شهور سنه اربع و ستین و تسعمأیه در ایام صبی بمشهد مقدسه معلی مزکی رسیدم و مدت هشت سال در ان روضه خلد آسا بودم و مولانا بکتابت و قطعه نویسی

اشتغال داشت و مدت هشت سال دیگر در قید حیوة بود
فقیر گاهی مشق و تعلیم خط از مولانا میگرفتم

[53*b*] Maulānā Shāh Maḥmūd Zarrīn Qalam was a nephew (sister's son) and pupil of Maulānā 'Abdī. It is related that when Maulānā 'Abdī was annoyed with him, he would say: "O unfortunate one! Strive to become a calligrapher. If you do not write like me, then write for once like those fellows Sulṭān 'Alī and Mīr 'Alī." . . .

[54*a*] Maulānā Shāh Maḥmūd . . . was a native of Nīshāpūr. In the art of writing he was without a peer, and there are many calligraphs (*qit'a-hā*) by him in *jalī* (large writing) and *khafī* (small writing). He wrote for Shāh Ṭahmāsp in a minute script (*khaṭṭ-i ghubār*) a copy of the *Khamsa* which has been acknowledged by all the experts to be unique in its regularity and clarity. This *Khamsa* was completed with illustrations by Bihzād.

Shāh Maḥmūd . . . was in the service of Shāh Ṭahmāsp in the period of his youth and development and for the best part of his life. He was for a time in Tabrīz, where he lived in an upper room on the north side of the Nasrīya Madrasa.[1] At last, when the Shāh grew weary of calligraphy and painting and occupied himself with the government of the country and with improving the condition of his subjects,[2] Shāh Maḥmūd was released from service. He came to Mashhad and dwelt there. He lived in an upper room of the madrasa known as the *Qadamgāh* (Footprint) of the Holy Imām Rizā, which is situated near the *Chahār Bāgh*. [54*b*] His time was spent in pilgrimage to the shrine, and worship; in copying, making calligraphs, and in conversation with the friends who gathered about him. In this manner he passed nearly twenty years. He never married, but acted in accordance with the verse: "God announceth John to thee, who shall be a verifier of the word from God, and a great one, chaste, and a prophet of the number of the just."[3] He lived celibate (*ḥasūr*

[1] Built by Uzun Hasan (d. 882/1477–8). Cf. V. Minorsky, "Geographical Factors in Persian Art," *BSOS.*, ix, 3, p. 636.

[2] The author states (61*b*) that when Shāh Tahmāsp dismissed all the calligraphers who had been in his service, he made an exception in favour of Dūst Muḥammad, of Harāt, who was his favourite. This scribe must, I think, be the same who was previously librarian of Bahrām Mīrzā, and author of the treatise on calligraphers and artists which forms the preface to the album of Bahrām Mīrzā, now in the Topkapu Serai Library in Istanbul.

[3] Qur'ān, iii, 34.

būd), without kith or kin, single and alone. He was in receipt of no pension or stipend and none gave him help. He died in Mashhad in the year 972/1564–5 and was buried beside the tomb of Mīr 'Alī.

Maulānā Shāh Maḥmūd composed excellent poetry, whether in the form of *qasīda*, *ghazal*, *qit'a*, or *rubā'ī*. The following verses are from a *qasīda* of his in praise of [55*a*] the Imām Riẓā. He wrote the poem in a bold script (*jalī*) and hung it in the corridor of the Dār al-Siyāda of the shrine of Imām Riẓā.

O God, through all his life Maḥmūd the scribe
has with his sins made black his book.
Draw Thou a line of pardon through his faulty letters
for the sake of 'Alī ibn Mūsā ibn Ja'far.
Have pity upon him, for he is one of little worth,
his days have all been passed in negligence.
Constantly, remembering past sins,
his face is paled with tears of penitence.
By Thy grace, O forgiving King,
draw Thou a line from end to end through his faulty script.

He wrote altogether about 500 distiches, in the form of *qasīda*, *ghazal*, *rubā'ī*, and *qit'a*. I include here one of his *ghazals*, to adorn this work.

My heart sought the mouth of the Beloved and lost itself,
I sought a sign from His ruby lip—He smiled.
The bud of my heart burst, my soul found a new life,
when the Life-giver opened His lips and spoke.
What a benison when to-day His stern eye
looked once more with pity upon me, weary-hearted!
When the Beloved included me in the pack of his dogs
He made me honoured and respected among men.
One who like Maḥmūd has withdrawn from the world
finds sufficient happiness in the corner of poverty and contentment.

[56*a*] The author went to Mashhad in his youth (*dar aiyām-i ṣabī*) in the year 964,[1] and remained in that holy city for eight years. Maulānā Shāh Maḥmūd at that time was engaged in writing (*kitābat*) and in making calligraphs (*qit'a*). He lived for eight years longer [2] and I occasionally studied and practised penmanship under his direction.

[1] A.D. 1556–7.
[2] Eight years from the time of the arrival of the author in Mashhad.

Āqā Riẓā

[14a] مصور زیبا آقا رضا ولد مولانا[1] اصغر است که اگر زمانه بوجود او افتخار نماید می شاید چه در عنفوان شباب نزاکت قلم وچهره کشائی وشبیه کشی را بجائی رسانیده که اگر مانی و بهزاد زنده بودندی روزی صد آفرین بر دست و قلم او کردندی و درین عصر قرینه ندارد و استادان مصوّر و نقاشان قادر که درین حزو زمانند اورا مسلم میدارند و گوی سبقت از پیشینان ربوده و هنوز ایام ترقی دارد امید که موفق باشد [14b] وبسمت ملازمت پادشاه کامکار سلاله ایمّه اطهار موسوم است یکمرتبه صورتی پرداخته بود که آن پادشاه نامداربی اختیار جهت تحسین هزار آفرین برآن کار نموده اگرچه بنده بادراک ملاقات وی فایز نشده وایشان نیز معرفت فقیر ندارند امانسبت شاگردی واقع است دروقتی که والد ماجد او در مشهد مقدس در کتابخانه نواب میرزائی ام ابو الفتح سلطان ابراهیم میرزا می بود قرب ده سال وی در منزل والد فقیر که سمت وزارت نواب میرزائی داشتند می بود و فقیر در عنفوان خوردی مشق پیچکٔ در خدمت ایشان میکردم و بواسطهٔ قرب قم وکاشان یکانگی ملحوظ بود

[1] A separate notice of ʻAlī Aṣghar is given, 11b, as follows: مولانا علی اصغر استاد فقیر بود کاشانیست او نیز از نقاشان کتابخانه نواب میرزائی بود و ملازم و صاحب مواجب بود

[14*a*] The beautiful painter (muṣavvir-i zībā) Āqā Riẓā is the son of Maulānā Aṣghar. It is fitting that the present age should boast of his existence, for in the flower of his youth he brought the delicacy of his brushwork, painting and portraiture (*nazākat-i qalam va chihra gushāyī va shabīh kashī*) to such a point that if Mānī and Bihzād were living to-day they would call down daily upon his hand and brush a thousand benedictions. In this age he has no equal. Master portrait painters and able artists acclaim his talent (*ūrā musallam mīdārand*), and he has snatched from his forerunners the ball of precedence. He has yet time for [further] progress, and I hope that he will prosper. He has been appointed to the service of Shāh 'Abbās. On one occasion he finished a portrait which caused that famous monarch to utter in spite of himself a thousand benedictions on the work.

Although I have not had the honour of meeting him and he knows nothing of me, yet there is between us a bond of pupilship. His honoured father, when he was in Mashhad in the library of my Prince Abū'l Fatḥ Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, lived for nearly ten years in the house of my father, who held the office of vazīr to the prince. And I, as a child (*dar 'unfuvān-i khurdī*) used to practise drawing arabesques (*pīchak*) under him. Because of the proximity of Qum and Kāshān we felt a bond of union between us.

Calligraphers and Artists mentioned in the Treatise

Calligraphers

(*Navvāb Mīr*) 'Abd al-Bāqī of Yazd.
'Abd al-Hādī.
'Abd al-Ḥaqq of Sabzavār.
'Abd al-Ḥayy b. Shams al-Dīn Mashriqī.
(*Khwāja*) 'Abd al-Ḥayy Munshī of Astarābād.
'Abd al-Karīm "Pādishāh" b. 'Abd al-Raḥman.
(*Ḥāfiẓ*) 'Abd Allāh of Shīrāz.
(*Qāẓī*) 'Abd Allāh of Khoy b. Qāẓī Sa'd Allāh.
'Abd Allāh Hātifī.
'Abd Allāh Ṣayrafī.
'Abd Allāh Ṭabbākh.
(*Mīr*) 'Abd al-Qādir Ḥusaynī of Shīrāz.
'Abd al-Raḥīm "Anīsī" b. 'Abd al-Raḥman.
'Abd al-Raḥīm Khalvatī.
'Abd al-Raḥman of Khwārizm.
'Abdī of Nīshāpūr.
Adham Munshī of Abhar.
(*Malik*) Aḥmad of Qum.
(*Mīr Sayyid*) Aḥmad of Mashhad.

(*Mīrzā*) Aḥmad b. Mīrzā 'Aṭā Allāh of Iṣfahān.
'Alā Beg of Tabrīz.
(*Khwāja*) 'Alā al-Dīn Manṣūr of Garmarūd.
(*Khwāja Mīr*) 'Alī of Tabrīz.
(*Mīr*) 'Alī of Harāt.
(*Mīr*) 'Alī of Jām.
(*Mīrzā*) 'Alī of Sulṭāniyya.
(*Mīrzā Sulṭān*) 'Alī b. Khalīl b. Ḥasan.
(*Sulṭān*) 'Alī of Mashhad.
'Alī Riẓā of Mashhad.
'Alī Riẓā of Tabrīz.
(*Khwāja*) 'Atīq Munshī of Ordūbād.
'Ayshī of Harāt.
Aẕhar 'Abd al-Raḥman of Khwārizm.
(*Ḥāfiẓ*) Bābā Jān b. Ḥāfiẓ 'Abd al-'Alī of Turbat.
Bābā Shāh of Iṣfahān.
Bahā al-Dīn Ḥusayn.
(*Mīrzā*) Baysunghur b. Shāhrukh.
Darvīsh Munshī of Khurāsān.
Dūst Muḥammad of Harāt.
Ghiyāṡ al-Dīn Ghiyāṡā.
Ḥasan 'Alī of Mashhad.
Ḥasan Beg b. Maḥmūd Beg Sālim of Tabrīz.
Ḥaydar of Qum.
(*Mīr*) Ḥusayn "Sahvī" of Tabrīz.
(*Mīrzā*) Ḥusayn b. Khwāja 'Ināyat.
(*Sulṭān*) Ḥusayn of Tūn.
Ḥusayn 'Alī Beg 'Arabgīrlū b. Khwāja Shāh Qulī.
Ḥusayn Fakhkhār of Shīrāz.
Ibn Bavvāb.
Ibn Muqla.
Ibrāhīm of Astarābād.
(*Sulṭān*) Ibrāhīm Mīrzā b. Bahrām Mīrzā.
(*Mīrzā*) Ibrāhīm Sulṭān b. Shāhrukh.
Idrīs.
(*Khwāja*) Ikhtiyār Munshī of Harāt.
Mīr 'Imād of Qazvīn.
'Īsā Beg b. Muḥammad.
Iskandar Beg Munshī.
Isma'īl b. Ibrāhīm of Astarābād.
Ja'far of Tabrīz.
Jamshīd Mu'ammā'ī.
(*Khwāja Jān*) Jibra'īl "Tughrā'ī" of Khurāsān.
(*Mīrzā*) Kāfī Munshī.
(*Shaykh*) Kamāl of Sabzavār.
(*Ḥāfiẓ*) Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn of Harāt.
(*Mīr*) Khalīl Allāh Ḥusaynī.
(*Mīr*) Khalīl of Bākharz.
(*Sulṭān*) Maḥmūd b. Ibrāhīm "Najātī" of Astarābād.
(*Khwāja*) Maḥmūd b. Ishaq Shihābī of Harāt.
Maḥmūd "Majnūn" of Harāt.
Maḥmūd Siyāvush of Shīrāz.
(*Mīr Sayyid*) Muḥammad of Sabzavār.
(*Shāh*) Maḥmūd Zarrīn-qalam of Nīshāpūr.
Mālik of Qazvīn b. Shuhrā Mīr.
(*Mīr*) Manṣūr of Astarābād.
Maqṣūd of Tabrīz.
Ma'rūf Khaṭṭāt of Baghdād.
(*Khwāja*) Mīrak Munshī of Kirmān.
Mu'īn al-Dīn.
(*Khwāja Mīr*) Muḥammad.

(*Malik*) Muḥammad of Harāt.
(*Khwāja Mīr*) Muḥammad of Qum.
(Mīr) Muḥammad of Sabzavār.
(*Mīrzā*) Muḥammad b. 'Alī Beg Surkh.
(*Pīr*) Muḥammad of Shīrāz.
(*Pīr*) Muḥammad Ṣānī of Shīrāz.
(*Shāh*) Muḥammad "Vāqifī" of Mashhad.
(*Sulṭān*) Muḥammad "Najātī" b. Ibrāhīm of Astarābād.
Muḥammad Abrishumī.
Muḥammad Amīn of Mashhad.
Muḥammad Amīn Munshī.
Muḥammad Bāqir of Kāshān.
(*Qāẓī*) Muḥammad Bāqir of Ordūbād.
Muḥammad Ḥāfiẓ of Qum.
(*Mīr*) Muḥammad Ḥusayn of Bākharz.
(Mīrzā) Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. Mīrzā Shukr Allāh.
Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. 'Ināyat Allāh of Tabrīz.
Muḥammad Ḥusayn of Harāt.
(*Sulṭān*) Muḥammad Khandān.
(*Sulṭān*) Muḥammad Nūr.
Muḥammad Riẓā Charkhtāb of Mashhad.
Muḥammad Sharīf.
(*Shaykh*) Muḥammad Tamīmī of Qazvīn.
(*Hājjī*) Muḥammad Tīr.
Muḥammad Ẓahīr.
Muḥammad Zamān.
Muḥammadī Beg.
Muḥibb 'Alī b. Rustam 'Alī.
Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad of Kāshān.
Mūsā Beg, a Turk.
Ni'mat Allāh.
Ni'mat Allāh Bavvāb.
Niẓām of Bukhārā.
Niẓām al-Dīn of Ardabīl b. Shams al-Dīn.
Niẓām al-Dīn 'Alī of Tabrīz.
Niẓām al-Dīn Sharaf of Abarqūh.
(*Mīr*) Qāsim b. Mīr Manṣūr of Astarābād.
Qāsim Shādīshāh.
(*Ḥāfiẓ*) Qanbar Sharafī.
(*Mīr*) Rūḥ Allāh b. Sharaf Jahān.
Rukn al-Dīn Mas'ūd "Hakīm Ruknā".
Rustam 'Alī, nephew of Bihzād.
Rūzbihān of Shīrāz.
(*Mīr*) Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mīrzā Sharaf Jahān of Qazvīn.
Salīm of Astarābād.
(*Mīr*) Ṣana'ī of Nīshāpūr.
Shuhrā Mīr of Qazvīn.
Shams al-Baysunghurī.
Shams al-Dīn Mashriqī Quṭṭābī.
Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad of Bisṭām.
Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ẓahīr of Shīrāz.
Shams al-Dīn Ṣānī.
Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥusayn, Mīr Munshī, of Qum.
(*Mīrzā*) Sharaf Jahān b. Qāẓī Jahān Ḥasanī.
Sīmī of Nīshāpūr.
Tāj Salmānī of Iṣfahān.
(*Shāh*) Ṭahmāsp.
(*Khwāja*) 'Ubayd Allāh.
(*Qāẓī*) Ulugh Beg of Ordūbād.
'Umar Aqṭa'.
(Sayyid) Valī of Qum.
Yāqūt Must'aṣimī.
Yārī of Harāt.
Zayn al-Dīn Maḥmūd.

Artists

'Abd al-Azīz b. 'Abd al-Vahhāb.
'Abd Allāh Mudhahhib of Shīrāz.
'Abd al-Ṣamad of Mashhad.
'Abd al-Vahhāb.
Abul Ma'ṣūm Mīrzā Mausillū.
(*Mīr Sayyid*) 'Alī.
(*Mīrzā*) 'Alī.
'Alī Aṣghar of Kāshān.
Bahrām Mīrzā.
Bihzād.
Darvīsh.
Dūst Divāna.
(*Mīrzā*) Ghaffār.
Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn Muḥammad of Mashhad.
Habīb Allāh of Sāva.
(*Ustād*) Ḥasan of Baghdād.
(*Āqā*) Ḥasan of Harāt.
Ibrāhīm Mīrzā.
Kamāl of Kāshān.
Khalīfa.
(*Āqā*) Mīrak of Iṣfahān.
(*Khwāja*) Mīrak of Khurāsān.
(*Hājjī*) Muḥammad.
(*Shaykh*) Muḥammad of Sabzavār.
(*Sulṭān*) Muḥammad of Tabrīz.
Muḥammad Amīn Jadval of Mashhad.
Mīr Muṣavvir of Badakhshān.
Muẓaffar 'Alī.
Nadhr 'Alī Qāṭi' of Badakhshān.
Naẓarī of Qum.
Qadīmī.
Qāsim 'Alī of Khurāsān.
(*Āqā*) Riẓā b. Aṣghar.
Ṣādiqī Beg Afshār.
Siyāvush Beg.
(*Shāh*) Ṭahmāsp.
(*Mīr*) Yahyā of Tabrīz.
Yārī of Harāt.
Zayn al-Dīn of Tabrīz.

Note.—Since this brief account was written, I have learned of the existence of another copy of Qāẓī' Aḥmad's treatise. This is in the library of Āqā Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī in Hyderabad. His daughter, Miss Zuhra Dā'ī-zāda, states in a letter to the Persian journal *Armaghān* [1] that she intends to publish the treatise as her thesis for the M.A. degree at the University of Hyderabad. Her manuscript lacks a page or more of the introduction, but seems otherwise to be complete. Its publication will provide a welcome addition to the sources available for the study of the calligraphers and artists of Iran.

[1] xix, 6.

Aspects of Islam in Nineteenth-Century South Africa

By S. A. Rochlin

WRITING about life in Mecca in 1884–5 Professor C. Snouck Hurgronje made this observation: "A class of Jâwah who dwell outside the geographical boundaries but who in late years have made regular pilgrimages to Mekka are people from the Cape of Good Hope. They are derived from Malays, formerly brought to the Cape by the Dutch, with a small mixture of Dutch blood. Some words of their Malay speech have passed into the strange, clipped Dutch dialect of the Boers. On the other hand they have exchanged their mother tongue for Cape Dutch, of course retaining many Malay expressions. Taking into consideration the genuinely Dutch names of many of these *Ahl Kâf* (as they are called in Mekka) one is tempted to believe that degenerated Dutch have been drawn by them into their religion, and many types among them increase the probability of this suggestion. Separated from intercourse with other Moslims they would scarcely have had the moral strength to hold their religion had not eager co-religionists come to them from abroad. When and whence these came is not known to me; however this may be, the mosques in Cape Colony have been more fervently supported in the last twenty years than ever before, more trouble is taken in teaching religion and every year some of the *Ahl Kâf* fare on pilgrimage to the Holy City." [1]

Elsewhere I have endeavoured to trace some of the steps which led to the establishment of the first mosque[2] at the Cape, but my aim in this study is to discuss some other hitherto unknown factors in the growth of Islamic institutional existence in South Africa during the nineteenth century. It is the present writer's hope to answer several of the queries set by Professor Snouck Hurgronje and others.

At the outset it may be remarked that, long before the European authorities tolerated the first public opening of the Mosque at Capetown in the earlier part of the nineteenth century, Muslim slaves or political prisoners, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, wherever and whenever they could find the opportunity, attempted to

[1] *Mekka in the latter part of the Nineteenth Century.* Translated into English by J. H. Monahan (1931 edition), pp. 215–16.

[2] S. A. Rochlin, "The First Mosque at the Cape," *S.A. Journal of Science* (Johannesburg, March, 1937).

practice their Faith. Among these slaves were several divines who were exiled to the Cape from Eastern Asia.[1] The best known of them was Sheikh Yusuf, who, in 1694, together with his forty disciples, was exiled to the Cape by the command of the Dutch rulers in Batavia. A noteworthy participant in the last great struggle for Bantamese independence, Sheikh Yusuf—pioneer of Islam in this country—was a personality of some eminence among his co-religionists.[2] He died in 1699 on the farm Zandvliet, in the Stellenbosch district, and to-day, as in the past, many Cape Malays make a pilgrimage to his tomb.

George Foster records [3] that in the 1770's a few of these slaves "weekly meet in a private house belonging to a free Mahommedan in order to read, or rather chaunt, several prayers, and chapters of the Koran. As they have no priest among them, they cannot partake of any acts of worship".

Probably the first lengthy account of a Cape Muslim festival one has so far come across is that described by Thunberg [4]: "On the 28th of June (1772) the Javanese here celebrated their New Year. For this purpose they had decorated an apartment in a house with carpets that covered the ceiling, walls, and floor. At some distance from the farthest wall an altar was raised, from the middle of which a pillar rose up to the ceiling covered with narrow slips of gilt paper and silk alternately: from above, downwards, ran a kind of lace between the projecting edges. At the base of this pillar were placed bottles with nosegays stuck in them. Before that altar lay a cushion, and on this a large book. The women, who were all standing or sitting near the door, were neatly dressed, and the men wore nightgowns of silk or cotton. Frankincense was burned. The men sat cross-legged on the floor, dispersed all over the room. Several yellow wax candles were lighted up. Many of the assembly had fans, which they found very useful for cooling themselves in the great heat necessarily produced

[1] For instance, in 1773, Normare, a rebellious priest, was sent as a convict to the Cape. *Vide* Cape Archives, Leibbrandt's MS.: *Index to Annexures to Minutes of Council of Policy.*

[2] References to him are to be found in François Valentyn's *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën* (Dordrecht and Amsterdam, 1724–6), vol. 3, pp. 208–9; vol. 4, pp. 109, 123; vol. 5, p. 47. The first lengthy description of his tomb was given by Dr. Karl Scherzer, *Narrative of the Circumnavigation of the Globe by the Austrian frigate* Novara *in the Years 1857, 1858 and 1859* (London, 1861), vol. 1, pp. 245–8.

[3] George Foster, *A Voyage Round the World* (London, 1777), pp. 60–1.

[4] Charles Thunberg, *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia* (London, 1795), vol. 1, pp. 132–4.

by the assemblage of a great number of people in a small space. Two priests were distinguished by a small conical cap from the rest who wore handkerchiefs tied about their heads in the form of a turban. About eight in the evening the service commenced, when they began to sing, loud and soft alternately, sometimes the priests alone, at other times the whole congregation. After this a priest read aloud out of a great book that lay on the cushion before him. I observed them reading after the Oriental manner, from right to left, and imagined it to be Al Coran they were reading, the Javanese being mostly Mahometans. Between the singing and reading coffee was served up in cups, and the principal man of the congregation at intervals accompanied their singing on the violin. I understood afterwards that this was a prince from Java who had opposed the interests of the Dutch East India Company, and for that reason had been brought from his native country to the Cape, where he lives at the Company's expence."

Before the close of the eighteenth century local Muslim worship became more regular owing to the larger number of freed coloured folk as well as of persons who knew more of Islamic life and lore than before. In 1799, Mirza Abu Talib Khan was able to report[1] that "among them I met with many pious good Mussalmans, several of whom possessed considerable property. I had the pleasure of forming an acquaintance with Shaikh Abdulla, the son of Abd al Aziz, a native of Mecca, who having come to the Cape on some commercial adventure, married the daughter of one of the Malays and settled here."

But it was during the course of the next century that their communal organization further developed as a consequence of the change brought about by the Second British Occupation of the Cape.[2] Especially after the year 1838, when slavery had been abolished, public worship became more regular and so attracted attention.[3]

[1] *Vide* the English edition of his *Travels*, translated by Charles Stewart (London, 1814), vol. 1, pp. 87–8. Consult also the undated memorial of Prince Radien, who asked the authorities to allow him to proceed to Mecca from Capetown—Cape Archives, *B.O.* (1795–1803), No. 34.

[2] See *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, vol. 8, South Africa; chaps. x–xii.

[3] S. A. Rochlin, "Early Arabic Printing at the Cape of Good Hope," *BSOS.*, Vol. VII, p. 53. *South African Commercial Advertiser* (Capetown), 10th December, 1834, contains a report of an address presented by Cape Malay divines to Governor Sir Benjamin D'Urban respecting "the total abolition of Slavery at the expence of the Noble Britons—a deed of Mercy which has put an end for ever to Oppression, and removed every mark of subjection from our Race. We know not how to convey to your Excellency the sentiments which melt our hearts!"

Although they did not establish their first mosque at Capetown until the early part of the 1850's, yet on no occasion did they miss a chance of practising their religion.[1] One of the reasons that may have prompted them to adopt the latter line of activity is given by a contemporary [2] who opined that "the natural consequence of this neglect (of Christian education) is that vast numbers of slaves profess no religion whatever; the vast majority of those who do are followers of the doctrines of Mohammed; few, very few, make any profession of Christianity, or attend at any place of religious worship; still fewer have become catechumens; and the number of the baptized is extremely small and to be found chiefly among the rising generation. The proprietors do not in general discourage the embracing of Mohammedanism. They probably prefer to have slaves of this persuasion in their wine-cellars, from the sobriety which their religion inculcates; they at best seem to be perfectly indifferent on the subject." And yet, in another direction, too, their loyalty to the new rulers of the land following the year 1806 may have contributed somewhat to the esteem in which they were subsequently held by their European friends.[3]

As elsewhere, the overpowering influence of their divines in their daily lives can be traced back to an early period of their history in these parts. Ever since the day their communal structure was founded here the clerical element has dominated the scene.

Where did their divines originally come from? As in the previous century, most of them hailed from the Dutch East Indies but from

[1] S. A. Rochlin, *S.A. Journal of Science* (March, 1937), p. 1102; *Gleanings in Africa* (London, 1806), p. 246.

[2] Rev. William Wright, *Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope* (London, 1831), pp. 4–5; James Backhouse, *Narrative of a Visit to Mauritius and South Africa* (London, 1844), p. 82.

[3] For instance, "A Cape Colonist" in his *The Cape Malays* (Capetown, 1883), pp. 16–17, praises the efficiency of a Malay Artillery Corps during—and after—the Second British Occupation of the Cape; P. B. Borcherds, *An Auto-Biographical Memoir* (Capetown, 1861), pp. 255–6. Moreover, they, too, participated in the various Kafir Wars, especially the important one of 1846, when General Cloete, in dismissing them from active service, wrote thus: "His Excellency desires them to accept his thanks for the services which they have rendered, in arms, for the protection of the country, and the subjugation of our Kafir enemies. Many of them, besides encountering the peril of war, have been exposed to great fatigue and privations innumberable, under the peculiar features of the war in which they have been engaged."—"A Cape Colonist," op. cit., p. 12. They also stood by the Government of the day in regard to the Indian Mutiny, holding collections for the sufferers concerned. *S.A. Commercial Advertiser*, 8th September, 1858.

the year 1800 onwards several of their spiritual leaders came from other parts of Asia as well. Thus, in the period 1800–1850, one discovers these names mentioned frequently: Frans van Bengalen, Achmet van Arabia, and Achmet van Bengal.[1] A contemporary records [2] that "the Malays have a mosque in Capetown, with a regular priest, established and supported by themselves, and it is a curious circumstance that the ancestor of the present head priest was sent for from the Upper Provinces of Bengal in India, to take the post of spiritual guide and teacher to the Mahometan population of the Cape Colony. His son succeeded to the office, which is now held, or was so late as 1844, by some direct or lineal descendant." Further at that time, also, quite a number of local-born persons acted as religious leaders. The most popular of them appeared to be one Carel of the Cape, who usually styled himself "The first Pilgrim and Priest".[3] He seemed to have been well liked by the Europeans of his generation. Of him the Rev. Dr. Camilleri, an Anglican, wrote: "I was very much respected by Carel Pilgrim, who would have come over to the Christian Church were he not so old and impoverished. He reads the Bible at my instigation, and teaches out of it."[4]

Were all these men scholarly individuals? Did they know much about their Faith in general? Owing to the lack of material no definite answer can be given. On the one hand, the author of *The State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822* (London, p. 68) [5] states that "one of the Imams is said to be a learned man, well versed in the Hebrew and Arabic tongues, and in Al Coran which he chants with taste and devotion". The name of this particular divine is unknown to the present writer. On the other hand, later on in the century an intelligent

[1] *The African Almanac* for 1802; *The African Court Calendar* for 1807 seqq.; *The South African Almanac and Directory* for 1830 seqq.; *Kaapsche Almanak en Naamboek* voor het Jaar 1833 seqq.; and *The Cape of Good Hope Annual Register, Directory, and Almanac* for 1837. There are also to be found in the above volumes the names of people who were known as "Malay schoolmasters". Did they act as divines as well? While an Abdol Kamie designated himself as "Malay priest to the Supreme Court".

[2] The anonymous author of *Sketches of Some of the Various Classes and Tribes inhabiting the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope* (London, 1851), chap.: "Malays."

[3] *S.A. Commercial Advertiser*, 22nd January, 1841; *Sam Sly's African Journal* (Capetown), 17th October, 1844.

[4] J. S. Mayson, *The Malays of Capetown* (Manchester, 1861), p. 33.

[5] Although its author is believed to be W. W. Bird, it was edited by the famous Sanskritist, H. T. Colebrooke—*The Life of H. T. Colebrooke*, by his son, Sir T. E. Colebrooke (London, 1873), pp. 335–7.

Cape Malay [1] was compelled to write about the educational wants of his folk: "The great fault of our people is that however clever in their business, as a rule, they are wholly ignorant about their religion. Very few indeed know anything of the Arabic language, in which nearly all our holy books are written; and those Malays who know a few sentences by heart are generally quite ignorant of their meaning. Yet instead of doing as the Koran (Sura *Beni Israel*) warns them, 'Follow not that of which thou art ignorant,' they care not in the least to study it for themselves. What is still worse, our Imams, too, know very little of the Koran or its language. When they welcomed the present Governor on his arrival, and when his Excellency asked them whether any one among them really knew the Koran well, they were all silent for a while. At last they honestly confessed that there was only one priest in the Colony who knew the Koran well, and that he was at the Diamond Fields!

"Now this is surely a bad thing for us. What would the Christians in this Colony think if only one among their priests knew the Bible well?"

Yet one cannot accept fully the above statement. For example, in 1862 the leading divine at the Cape, Abdul Walia, greeting Governor Sir Philip Wodehouse, spoke in Arabic, which had to be translated into English by another of his co-religionists.[2]

Also, during the century under consideration the leaders in local Islam were not united as a rule in working for their people's welfare. Moreover they were much addicted to quarrelling among themselves, chiefly on personal issues. As far back as February, 1836, the leading journal in the Colony—the *South African Commercial Advertiser*—published lengthy correspondence from the pens of several divines on the merits or demerits of their respective congregations.[3] They were quite fond of fighting their claims in the magistrate's court.[4] And, occasionally, they were not agreed among themselves as to

[1] The anonymous *pamphleteer, Abdullah ben Yusuf; or the Story of a Malay, as told by Himself* (translated from the Dutch; second edition, Capetown, A.H. 1295). The present writer regards him as the first of Cape Malay authors who endeavoured to criticize justly or otherwise the local status of Islam.

[2] *King William's Town Gazette*, 1st February, 1862.

[3] See also the protest made by them to the Government in respect of one of their number charged with practising sorcery.—Cape Archives, *C.O. Memorials* (1853), No. 119.

[4] Case of Carel Pilgrim and others, *De Verzamelaar* (Capetown), 21st June, 1842; 22nd July, 1845; Mahmat vs. Danie, *The Cape Chronicle*, 6th June, 1861.

which party should present an address of welcome to a newly-arrived Governor at Capetown, as in the case of Sir Bartle Frere.[1]

All these factors had a powerful effect on the subsequent growth of Islam at the Cape. Did the mass learn much from their divines' teachings? Apparently, no. But they, especially the younger element, were receiving their inspiration from another source—Mecca. "They have of late years," notes an 1861 observer,[2] "been brought up to a higher standard of orthodoxy by more frequent and direct communication with the centre of authority at Mecca. Many young men now proceed thither for education and numerous 'hadjes' may be seen in the streets receiving marks of respect from their more humble brethren." Two decades later Professor C. Snouck Hurgronje testified to the fact that "the Mekkans have designed for them a 'Sheikh'[3] among the guides of the Jâwah, but their special history has given them a place rather *near* than *in* the Jâwah group. Most of the 'Cape Pilgrims' being fairly well off, they at once attracted sympathetic attention from many of the citizens. Some Turks and Mekkans actually travelled to the newly discovered province of Islam and did not fail in attempts to convert the *Ahl Kâf* from the Shafi'ites they originally were, to the Ḥanafi rite; the revival of their almost forgotten Muslim traditions being counted in some degree as a rebirth into Islam.

"In Constantinople the printing of a work on Moslim law in Cape Dutch with Arabic letters[4] was encouraged from high quarters;

[1] *The Cape Argus* (Capetown), 10–14th June, 1879.

[2] Ar. "Islam at the Cape," *Cape Monthly Magazine*, 1861, pp. 353 seqq. Regarding them, too, the Colonial Secretary of the day deemed it worth while to communicate the following despatch to the Cape authorities which he had originally received from the British Consul-General at Zanzibar: "Advantage is now being taken by the Malay Mahommedans of the Cape of the continuous steam communication established between the Colony and Aden to perform the Pilgrimage to Mecca—a thing before out of their power unless at a sacrifice of time and money that few could afford. This year (1877) 70 Malay Pilgrims have returned by Mail Steamer and each successive season will no doubt bring numbers through Zanzibar. . . . These people are a quiet and industrious race, contrasting most favourably with every other class of pilgrims. In conversation they told me the trip would on an average cost each of them £100, but this sum no doubt includes the price of the presents they take back with them to their friends. The principal effect on them of their journey appears to have been to increase their attachment to the British Government and to contrast the liberty and justice they enjoy under British rule with the treatment they everywhere else received."—Cape Archives, *G.H.*, 1/25 (1877), No. 48. Cf. J. S. Mayson, op. cit., pp. 16–18.

[3] Op. cit., p. 216.

[4] S. A. Rochlin, *BSOS.*, vol. VII, p. 53. It was published in 1877.

in short, they seem to have regarded the new Brethren at the southern point of Africa as a success for the Pan-Islam movement."

It was in 1862 that the Turks first interested themselves in the fortunes of their brethren at the Cape. In a despatch (dated 15th July, 1862) to Lord John Russell, the Turkish Ambassador at the English Court, Musurus, informed the British Foreign Secretary[1] "that the Mussulman community of the Cape of Good Hope, after the occurrence of a dispute between its members relative to the practice of certain ceremonies,[2] applied to me, through the medium of one of their Priests, to procure for them books explanatory of the formulas of the religious services in use at Constantinople.

"This request having been referred to Constantinople, and the new supply of the books having been judged insufficient, it has been deemed necessary that an Imam versed in religious matters should visit the Cape and give the Mussulman Priests the explanation they asked for. To settle the question in dispute between them, and to establish in this British Colony a school in which the principles of Islamism might be afforded to the Mussulman youth." After the British Government had agreed to the Ambassador's wishes, one Abu Bakr Effendi was sent out to the Cape by the Sultan as a religious teacher. He was not altogether successful in his mission, for Governor Sir Philip Wodehouse, in a letter to the Colonial Secretary, the Duke of Newcastle, wrote thus[3]: "At the same time I think I ought to add that little good is likely to result from his prolonging his stay. The people to whom he has been sent do not understand a

[1] Cape Archives, *G.H.*, 1/9 (1862), No. 119.

[2] In all probability this refers to the "Califa" ceremony, which was at one time annually performed by Cape Malays on the 11th of Rabil Achier. In 1856 the Government prohibited it altogether on the ground that it was proving dangerous to the law and peace of the community. It was looked upon as an unwanted nocturnal nuisance. Consult *The Califa Question*, by J. S. de Lima (Capetown, 1857). One of those who particularly helped the Government in the matter concerned was the Hon. P. E. de Roubaix, who was shortly afterwards made Consul for Turkey at Capetown.—*The Mussulman Population at the Cape of Good Hope*, by M. Kollisch (Constantinople, 1867); and *Illustrated News of the World* (London), 22nd August, 1863. The "Califa" was also specially performed before Prince Alfred (later the Duke of Edinburgh) in connection with his visit to the Cape in August, 1860. [Apparently this ceremony was one peculiar to the dervish orders.]

[3] Cape Archives, *G.H.*, 31/9 (1862–4), pp. 240–1; *G.H.*, 31/10 (1865–7), pp. 210–11. A relative of his was Ahmad Effendi, who was a prominent figure in the Cape communal life of his day. In September, 1898, he left South Africa for Khartoum as special correspondent for the Arabic journal *Oukab*. He claimed to be the first Muslim war correspondent ever to have left the Cape.—*The Standard and Diggers' News* (Johannesburg), 17th October, 1898.

word of the Turkish language and have a most imperfect knowledge of Arabic, and when to this extreme difficulty of communication is added a jealousy of his interference with their customs and privileges whether proper or improper, it is but natural that he should make but little progress with them."

Nevertheless, the Cape Malays continued to venerate the Sultan. From 1867 [1] until the close of the century they usually held an annual service to celebrate the birthday of the Head of their Faith. In 1877, for example, a local representative group published the following notice [2]: "We, the undersigned, make this appeal to all Moslems residing in South Africa on behalf of the Sick and Wounded Turks. We trust that this appeal will not be made in vain, but that all Moslems will give something. . . . It is well for us to remember that His Imperial Majesty the Sultan of the Ottomans has always treated us with great consideration and kindness, insomuch that he has sent teachers of our Faith to us, to direct and guide us. It has never been in our power as yet to make any return for this Kindness, but now there is a fitting opportunity for us to show His Imperial Majesty the Sultan our loyalty and our appreciation of His Fatherly Kindness and interest in us. This is the most fitting opportunity we could have of showing the Turks that we regard them as our Brothers in the Faith, and that we rejoice with them in all their joys, and mourn with them in all their sorrows."

Such was the atmosphere in which the Cape Muslims found themselves at the close of the nineteenth century.

[1] *S.A. Commercial Advertiser*, 13th February, 1867; *The Cape Malays* (Capetown, 1883), pp. 14–15. One of the immediate results of the Turkish influence on them was that they began to wear the fez—a headgear unknown to them previously, *vide* H. A. Broome, *A Ramble in the Cape Peninsula* (Capetown, 1884), p. 14.

[2] *Cape Times* (Capetown), 18th July, 1877. As late as 1897, the Muslims of Durban sent an address to the Sultan of Turkey, congratulating him on his victory over the Greeks.—*The Standard and Diggers' News*, 9th August, 1897.

Two Mende Tales

By Ralph Eberl-Elber

Introduction

During my stay in the British Protectorate of Sierra Leone in the year 1935 I had the opportunity of studying the Mende language, one of the most important languages spoken in this part of West Africa. Through the kind intermediary of the British authorities and by the friendly help of some missionaries, I was able to get knowledge of the different dialects of the Mende language, and to collect a considerable number of stories, fables, and tales.

The following two texts are specimens of the innumerable Mende stories dealing with the "Bush Demon", a fabulous creature, who is supposed by the natives to be very powerful, and very often to behave extremely inimically towards mankind.

The first version of the two tales was taken down in one of the remote Mende villages in the centre of the Southern Province of Sierra Leone, and was based upon the reports of several natives. Later on during a stay in the District Headquarters of Pujehun it was made possible for me to obtain from a native mission school teacher the vernacular version of the two tales as commonly told among the Mende. This version is reproduced below.

The orthography used in the following transcription is that recommended by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures in London. Length of vowel is marked by doubling the vowel-letter. Nasalization is indicated by placing a wavy line above the vowel which is nasalized. Tones are marked on each syllable, as far as it was possible to fix them exactly. [High tone ´, low `, mid ˈ, rising ˇ, falling ˆ.]

The English translation of the tales was verified by the above-mentioned native mission school teacher, and by some other native informants who had a good knowledge of the English language.

TEXTS

I

The Story of the Little Twin-brother who set free his Elder Sister caught by the Bush Demon

1. hā̀ni waĭ ì ya kòmé tèɛi hū́. 2. kɛ̀ ì nyàhā́ yèlá lɔŋgà kɛ̀ ì lóŋgá à ŋgìé. 3. kɛ̀ ì ndeǎ yěe nyàhɛî jí mà yɛ̀: "ŋgá bí jɔlɔ̀."

4. kɛ̀ ì nyàhɛî wùmbú kɛ̀ tí ya pèlei hū́. 5. ké tí ya ndɔ̀gbɔi hū́ kɛ̀ tí ya ŋgàfɛî yê tàa hū́. 6. hãîwaĭ à númú mɛ. 7. hãîwaĭ ì ndeǎ nyàhɛî mà yɛ̀: "ŋgɛ̂ɛ bí mɛ." 8. yɛ̀: "ŋgá bí jɔlɔ̀." 9. ì ŋgí wùmbú, ì li pélé bù. 10. ŋgèlé wo, hãîwaĭ ì li pèlei má, ì núuŋgà lɔ̀, ì tí hoǔ, ì li à tìé pélé bù. 11. ŋgì nyáhɛĭ ɛ̀ɛ númu mɛ. 12. hā̀ni waĭ ì li ndɔ̀gbɔi hū́, ì li, ì hū̀ā́ hoǔ. 13. ì wá lá ŋgì nyáhɛĭ wɛ̀. 14. kɛ̀ ì yá gbɔ̀mà.

15. ŋgi ndê wúloĭ ì hìyé kɛ̀ ì ya ŋgí ndê waì gâamà kɛ̀ ì ndeǎ ŋgì ndei mà yɛ̀: "mú lí yé gâamà." 16. kɛ̀ tí hìjèŋgá kɛ̀ tí yá.

17. kɛ̀ hãîwaĭ ì wá ŋgí yê tàa hū́ kɛ̀ ìi ŋgì nyáhɛĭ lɔ̀nì kɛ̀ ì tòŋgà ŋgì má. 18. hãîwaĭ ì ŋgi ndê wúloĭ houŋgá. 19. yɛ̀: "lí bi wá à bí ndè!"

1. The Bush Demon went to a meeting into the town. 2. And he saw some woman, and he fell in love with her. 3. And he said to this woman: "I will marry you."

4. And he seized the woman, and they went into the road. 5. And they went into the bush, and they went into the Bush Demon's own town. 6. The Bush Demon devours human beings. 7. The Bush Demon said to the woman: "I shall not devour you." 8. He said: "I will marry you." 9. He seized her, (and) he went home. 10. At daybreak the Bush Demon went into the road, he saw people, he caught them, (and) brought them home. 11. His wife will not eat human beings. 12. The Bush Demon went into the bush (again), he went (and) caught an animal. 13. He brought it to his wife. 14. Then he went (away) again.

15. Her (the woman's) little brother got up, and he went to his elder sister, and he said to his sister: "Let us go to (our) mother!" 16. And they started, and they went.

17. Then the Bush Demon came into his town, and as he did not see his wife, he followed her. 18. The Bush Demon caught her little brother. 19. He said: "Go and bring your sister (back)!"

20. ndòpoî ì hiye, ì lí, ì ŋgi ndê màlê. 21. ì ndeǎ ŋgì ma yè: "hìyé mú lì!" 22. ké hãiwai ì ndeǎ ŋgì mbélɛi má yè: "bǎa lì à nyá nyàhɛi à kpíndíi jí!"

20. The boy got up, he went (and) he reached his sister. 21. He said to her: "Get up (and) let us go!" 22. But the Bush Demon said to his brother-in-law: "Do not go (away) with my wife to-night!"

23. kè ŋgèlé woa, kè ŋgì ndê ì ŋgí wumbuá kè tí hìtiá pèlèi hǔ. 24. kè tí ya kè tí njɛɛ̌ màleŋgà. 25. njɛɛ̌ wǒŋgò kè tí gélé yěe njɛɛi jí mà.

23. As the (next) day was breaking, her brother took her (his sister), and they reached the road. 24. And they went, and they came to the water. 25. The water was vast, and they stopped at this water.

26. kè hãîwaǐ ì wǔŋgá kè ì hìyaa kè ì tòŋgà tí mà pèlèi hǔ.

26. And the Bush Demon awoke, and he got up, and followed them on the road.

27. kè ì tí màléŋgà kè ì ndeǎ tì má yè: "wêe lì! à wá, mú yàmá!" 28. ké ndê wúloǐ bɛ̀ ì ndeǎ yè: "bí nyàhã̄ jɔni wɔ̀, èɛ fôo ŋgi yê tàa hǔ?"

27. And he reached them, and he said to them: "You shall not go (away)! Come let us return!" 28. But the little brother spoke too, he said: "(If) you have married a woman, may she (nevermore) enter her own town?"

29. kè hãîwaǐ ì ndeǎ yè: "nǎ ŋgí nyàhã̄ gɔlini wɔ̀, èɛ yǎ yàma ŋgi yê tàa hǔ, ŋgîiyè njɛɛ̌ì bèlí." 30. ké ŋgi ndê wúloǐ ì ndeǎ yè: "njèɛi màhǔ ì yéî mú gùlɔ́ kǒo mú lì, mǎ nyá ndèwè," yè, "mú gbí mú hìtí mù tɛɛi hǔ!" 31. yè: "gbɛ̌ɛ ŋgòmbuǐ í gula mú loa hǔ̃!" 32. kè ŋgòmbuǐ ì gùlá ti loa hǔ̃. 33. kè hãîwaǐ ì woteá, ì yama ŋgi yê tàa hǔ. 34. kè ì yamaa kè ì ndeǎ ŋgì loǐ mà yè: "núuŋgà wɔ̀ ŋgí ti hoǔnì," yè, "tí ya tì yê tàa hǔ kè nyá ndòpoǐ."

29. And the Bush Demon said: "Now that I have selected a wife, she may not return again to her own town, unless the water dries up." 30. But her (the woman's) little brother said: "May the surface of the water sink in front of us, so that we (may) go, I and my sister, and (that) we both may reach our town!" 31. He said: "May fire fall between us!" 32. And the fire fell between them. 33. And the Bush Demon turned, and went back into his own town. 34. And he came back, and he said to his son: "The people I had caught they went (back) into their own town, and my child too."

35. kè ŋgì loi ì ndeǎ ŋgí kɛ́ mà yè: "ŋgá lilò," yè, "ŋgí wa mbèì à nyàhɛî kè ná bí leŋgá lò."

36. kè ì ya kè ì hìtí tèɛi hǘ. 37. kè ì ndeǎ nyǎapòi mà yè: "ŋgá wá ŋgí ndé bí má ŋgɛ̂ɛ: mú yama."

38. ké nyǎapòi ì ndeǎ ŋgi má yè: "ŋgɛ̂ɛ wá." 39. kè hãni waĭ ì wa kè tí ŋgi hoǔŋgà kè tí ŋgi wumbu. 40. tí ya pèlèi hǘ kè tí ŋgòmbuĭ yateà. 41. kè tí hãîwaĭ houŋgà kè tí ŋgi yìliŋgà kè tí ŋgi wùmbúà kè tí ŋgi bilià ŋgòmbuĭ yá kè ì hǎaŋgà. 42. dòméí gbòyóà.

35. And his son said to his father: "I shall go to bring here the woman and (the child) you have engendered."

36. And he went, and he reached the town. 37. And he said to the young woman: "I come to tell you that we should return."

38. But the young woman said to him: "I will not come." 39. Then the Bush Demon came, and they caught him, and they seized him. 40. They went into the road, and lit a fire. 41. Then they laid hold on the Bush Demon and bound him; and then they seized him and threw him on the fire, and he died. 42. The story is finished.

II

The Story of the Man who Disobeyed the Bush Demon

43. tàmô yèlá ì liîlò ndògbɔi hǘ ndùwe má. 44. hǎ̀ni waĭ ì ndeǎ yěe tàmói jí má yè: "bǎa nduwe!" 45. tàmói yè: "ŋgá nduwelò." 46. hǎ̀ni waĭ yè: "bí ndùwéŋgá lò, bɛ̂ɛ mbɛĭ mè."

47. kè ŋgèlé wo kè ì mbògbɛĭ wùmbuá. 48. hãîwaĭ yè ŋgì má: "bǎa nduwe!" 49. tàmói yè: "ŋgá nduwelò."

50. hãîwaĭ yè: "bí ndùwéŋgá lò, yěe mbɛĭ ná gbí bɛ̂ɛ mè."

51. ké tàmói ì ya ndògbɔi hǘ ndùwe vâa. 52. kè ì ndùweá kè ì ŋgòmbuĭ wùmbuá kè ì ya

43. One man went into the bush to clear (to make arable a piece of the bush). 44. The Bush Demon said to this man: "Do not clear!" 45. The man said (answered): "I shall clear." 46. The Bush Demon said: "(If) you will have cleared, you will not eat the rice (planted there)."

47. At daybreak he (the man) took his cutlass. 48. The Bush Demon (again) said to him: "Do not clear!" 49. The man said (answered) "I shall clear (nevertheless).

50. The Bush Demon said: "(If) you will have cleared, you will not eat all that rice."

51. But the man went into the bush for clearing. 52. And he cleared, then he took the fire, (and)

kpàlɛi hṹ, kɛ̀ i ŋgɔ̀mbuĭ looŋgà kpàlɛi mȧ.

53. kɛ̀ ì kpàlɛĭ mɔ́ŋgà kɛ̀ ì kálì wùmbuȧ.

54. kɛ̀ ì ya kɛ̀ ì mbɛĭ wùlí kɛ̀ ì mbɛĭ wumbuȧ kɛ̀ ì ya kpàlɛi hṹ. 55. kɛ̀ ì ndeă ŋgì nyáhɛĭ mà kɛ̀ ŋgì loĭ yɛ̀: "à wá mbèì, mú mbɛĭ wu!" 56. kɛ̀ tí pu̍ŋgà ndɔloi mà kɛ̀ tí ya pɛ́ɛ bù, kɛ̀ tí yiŋgà. 57. kɛ̀ ŋgèlé woa kɛ̀ tí ya tì gbuɛĭ laa. 58. tàmɔ́i yɛ̀, tá mbɛĭ wu̍lɔ̀, yɛ̀, kiá tí mbɛĭ wuŋgà, tá lílɔ̀.

59. kɛ̀ mbɛĭ gbiă hṹ. 60. kɛ̀ tí ya kpàlɛi mȧ, tí mbɛĭ léwe. 61. tí ŋgaŋga kɛ̀ tí puŋgȧ hàmbui mȧ. 62. kɛ̀ mbɛĭ ì beŋgȧ, kɛ̀ tì mbɛĭ wùmbuȧ, tí pu kòndɛi hṹ.

63. tàmɔ́i yɛ̀, kiá tí puni kòndɛi hṹ, tá hìjalɔ̀.

64. tí hìjaîlɔ̀ kɛ̀ tí mbɛĭ gbiă kòndɛi hṹ. 65. kɛ̀ tí puŋgȧ fɛi hũ kɛ̀ tí ŋgĭiŋgȧ kɛ̀ tí gbiă hṹ kɛ̀ tí mɛŋgà.

66. kɛ̀ tí jăaŋgɔ̀ kɛ̀ tí mbɛĭ mɛŋgȧ kɛ̀ tí haa. 67. kɛ̀ nú waĭ ì ndeă yɛ̀: "jí wɔ́ ŋgí ndeă bí mȧ ŋgɛ̌ɛ: băa ndɔ̀gbɔĭ luwe, bá haalɔ̀." 68. yɛ̀: "fàmìà bí haaŋgà." 69. nú waĭ ì ndeă yɛ̀: "băa jí wé!" băa pé! 70. ì gbɔ̀yɔ́à.

then he went on the farm, and set the fire to the farm.

53. And he burnt the farm, then he took a hoe (to scrape the ground).

54. Then he went, and he took rice, and he raised up the rice, and he went to the farm. 55. Then he said to his wife and to his son: "Come here, let us plant the rice!" 56. And they planted (the rice) into the ground, then they went home and slept. 57. As the (next) day was breaking, they went to their farm-hut (again). 58. The man said, they may plant rice (again), and when they had planted the rice, they may go (home).

59. And the rice shot up. 60. And they went on the farm to cut the rice. 61. (Then) they threshed (the rice) and they put (it) on the winnowing-fan (for drying). 62. And the rice dried, and they took the rice to put (it) into the mortar.

63. The man said, when they will have put (it) into the mortar, they may pound (the rice).

64. (When) they had pounded (it), they took the rice out of the mortar. 65. Then they put (the rice) into a pot, and cooked (it), and then they took (the rice) out, and ate (it).

66. And all three of them they ate the rice, and they died. 67. And the big person (the Bush Demon) said: "Long time ago I told you: Do not clear the bush, (or) you will die." 68. He said: "Therefore you have died." 69. (If) a big person says: "Do not do this!", (then) do not do (it)! 70. It is finished.

Grammatical Comments

The following comments are based on the explanations given by my native informants, and on the books and publications mentioned below.

E. G. Aginsky, *A Grammar of the Mende Language.* Philadelphia, 1935.
M. Eaton, *A Dictionary of the Mende Language.* Freetown.
R. Eberl-Elber, "Der konsonantische Anlautwechsel am Hauptwort in der Sprachengruppe Gbande-Loma-Mende," Mitteilungen der Ausland-Hochschule an der Universität Berlin (*MSOS*), Jahrgang XL, Berlin, 1937.
—— "Eine Tierfabel in der Mende-Sprache," *Ethnos*, vol. iii, Nos. 2–3 Stockholm, 1938.
S. W. Koelle, *Polyglotta Africana, Vokabularien über Gbande, Mende und Toma.* London, 1854.
F. W. H. Migeod, *The Mende Language.* London, 1908.
A. T. Sumner, *A Handbook of the Mende Language.* Freetown, 1917,
D. Westermann, *Die Kpelle-Sprache in Liberia, Grammatische Einführung, Texte und Wörterbuch.* Berlin, 1924.
—— *Die westlichen Sudansprachen und ihre Beziehungen zum Bantu.* Berlin, 1927.
D. Westermann and H. J. Melzian, *The Kpelle Language in Liberia, Grammatical Outline, Colloquial Sentences, and Vocabulary.* Berlin, 1930.

In the following comments the books and publications are referred to by the names of their authors.

1. hãni waĭ "the big thing = the Bush Demon"; compare Kpelle: sèŋ kétɛ́ "the big thing = the wood sprite", cf. Westermann-Melzian, p. 65.—kɔ̀mɛ́ "to meet together, to assemble; a coming together, a meeting, a feast."—tɛɛi < taa-i "the town"; the suffix -i forming the definite singular of nouns very often influences the vowel preceding it; so a is changed into ɛ; see in the following sentences: (3) nyàhɛî < nyahã-i, (5) ŋgàfɛî < ŋgafa-i, (24) njɛɛĭ < njaa-i, (47) mbɔ̀gbɛĭ < mbogba-i, (50) mbɛĭ < mbǎ-i, (52) kpàlɛĭ < kpala-i, (57) kpuɛĭ < kpua-i, (62) kɔ̀ndɛî < konda-i; cf. Aginsky, p. 14, and Sumner, p. 7, § 16 *d.*—tɛ̀ɛi hú "the town's inside = into the town".

2. ì lɔŋgà < i tɔŋga "he saw"; when a verb is immediately preceded by its object (noun or pronoun), its initial consonant changes; see in the following sentences: (3) jɔlɔ̀ < sɔlɔ, (4) wùmbú < mbùmbú,

(29) gɔlini < kɔlini, (40) yateà < ŋgatea, (41) yìlìŋgà < ŋgiliŋga, bilià < pilia, (52) looŋgà < tooŋga, (58) wuŋgà < puŋga, (59) léwe < tewe, (67) luwe < nduwe ; cf. Sumner, p. 6, § 13, 2.—ì tɔŋgà < ì tɔ-ŋgà ; the suffix -ŋgà (-ŋgá) forms the perfect tense of the verb ; cf. Aginsky, p. 31. In stories, fables, and tales, the sentences are very often introduced and connected by the conjunction kɛ̀ " and, then ", and in these cases the perfect tense formed by the suffix -ŋga is nearly always used instead of the past tense (imperfect tense) expressed by the stem of the verb plus the suffix -ilɔ̀ (< -ni-lɔ̀) ; e.g. (2) kɛ̀ i . . . lɔŋgà, (41) kɛ̀ tí . . . houŋgà kɛ̀ tí . . . yìlìŋgà.—ì lóŋgá à ŋgìé " he fell in love with her, he was in love with her ".

3. ì ndeǎ yɛ̌e nyàhɛî jí mà yɛ̀ " he told mentioned woman this on saying = he told this mentioned woman saying = he said to this woman " ; the verbal form yɛ̀ " he says " or " he said " is sometimes preceded by the verb ndé " to tell, to say " ; cf. Sumner, pp. 26–7, and compare Kpelle : the verb γɛ " to say " is mostly preceded by bo " to tell, to say " ; cf. Westermann-Melzian, p. 22.—ì ndeǎ < ì ndɛ̀-ŋgá ; in the suffix -ŋga expressing the perfect tense ŋg sometimes is omitted ; see in the following sentences : (23) woa < wo-ŋga, wumbua < wumbu-ŋga, hìtiá < hiti-ŋga, (26) hiyaa < hiya-ŋga, (33) woteá < wote-ŋga, (34) yamaa < yama-ŋga, (40) yateà < yate-ŋga, (41) bilià < bili-ŋga, (42) gbɔ̀yɔ̀à < gbɔ̀yɔ́-ŋgà, (52) ndùweá < nduwe-ŋga.—yɛ̌e nyàhɛî jí " (the) mentioned woman this = this woman mentioned before " ; see in sentence : (25) yɛ̌e njɛɛi jí mà, (44) yɛ̌e tàmɔ́i jí ; cf. Aginsky, p. 28.

4. ì wùmbú " he seized " ; the aorist tense shows the simple stem of the verb without any suffix. This tense may express a present action or a past one ; the aorist is used in independent and also in dependent clauses. Further research would be necessary before any definitive explanation could be given about the use of the aorist tense in Mende ; cf. Eberl-Elber, *Ethnos*, p. 51, 3.—pèlei hṹ " the road's inside=into the road ".

5. ŋgàfɛî yê tàa hṹ " the demon's own town's inside = into the demon's (own) town " ; see in sentence : (28) ŋgi yê tàa hṹ " into his own town " ; cf. Eaton, p. 129, and Eberl-Elber, *Ethnos*, p. 51, 2, and *MSOS*, p. 140, § 38.

6. hãîwaĭ < hãni wai.—à númú mɛ " he devours human beings, he is accustomed to devour (to eat) man " ; the present indefinite tense à mé is used here for expressing that the action of " eating man " is a custom of the Bush Demon.—númú " man ", the singular

form stands here in the meaning of plural; compare Kpelle: a noun often appears in singular form where we would expect the plural; cf. Westermann-Melzian, p. 15.

7. ŋgɛ̂ɛ mɛ < ngá-ì mɛ "I shall not eat, I will not eat", negative form of the future tense; the negation is expressed by adding -ì (on a low tone) to the personal pronoun.

9. ì wùmbú "he seized", ì li "he went"; aorist tense, compare 4 above.

10. ŋgèlé wo < ŋgele ŋgo "the sky (himself) breaks = at day-break"; ngó "to break" is used as a transitive verb; cf. Eaton, pp. 88 and 124; in the sentence above, this verb is used with a reflexive meaning, and therefore its initial consonant is changed from ŋg into w.—ì li, ì . . . lo, ì . . . hoǔ "he went, he saw, he caught"; aorist tense, compare 4 above.

12. ì li, ì . . . hoǔ "he went, he caught"; aorist tense, compare 4 above.

13. ì wá lá "he came with it = he brought it".—ŋgì nyáhɛǐ wè "his wife to = to his wife".

15. ŋgi ndê wúloǐ "her brother the little one = her little brother"; it is supposed by the story-teller that this "little brother" is a twin possessing magic power.—ndê "brother" or "sister".—ŋgi ndê wúloǐ < ŋgi nde kulo-i; all adjectives change their initial consonants when qualifying a noun; cf. Sumner, p. 6.—ŋgi ndê "her brother"; terms of relationship do not change their initial consonants as nouns usually do when preceded by a possessive pronoun; see in following sentences: (22) ŋgì mbélɛi, (35) ŋgí kɛ́; cf. Eberl-Elber, *MSOS*, p. 141, § 43, and p. 142, § 44.—mú lí "we go = let us go"; the aorist tense is used here instead of the hortative mood (gbɛ̌ɛ mú li "let us go!").—yé gâamà "(our) mother's place = to our mother"; yè < njè "mother = my mother or our mother"; cf. Eberl-Elber, *MSOS*, p. 142, § 45.

17. ìi ŋgì nyáhɛǐ lònì "he did not see his wife"; negative form of the past tense; the negation is expressed by suffixing -nì to the stem of the verb, and by adding -ì to the personal pronoun ì (ì + ì > ìi); compare 7 above, and cf. Westermann, *Sudansprachen*, p. 178, 8*a*. —ì tòŋgà ŋgì má "he followed her on = he followed her".

19. lí bi wá à bí ndè! "go: you come with your sister = go and bring your sister!"

20. ì hiye, ì lí, ì . . . màlè "he got up, he went, he reached"; aorist tense, compare 4 above.

21. hìyé, mú lì " get up : we go = get up (and) let us go ! " ; compare 15 above.

22. bǎa lì . . . à kpíndíi jí ! " do not go . . . with night this = do not go to-night ! " — bǎa lì ; negative form of the imperative mood.

25. njɛɛí wǒŋgò " the water was vast " ; wǒŋgò < ŋgǒ-ŋgò ; ŋgǒ " big, large " ; as a rule an adjective changes its initial consonant when qualifying a noun ; compare 15 above. When an adjective is used as predicate, the particle -ŋgò is added to the adjective ; compare the suffix -ŋɔ in Kpelle ; cf. Westermann-Melzian, pp. 17 and 28 ; cf. also Westermann, *Kpelle-Sprache*, p. 13, § 41.—tí gélé < ti kɛlɛ " they (themselves) stopped = they stopped, they stood still " ; kélé " to stop " is used as a transitive verb ; cf. Eaton, p. 39 ; in the sentence above this verb is used with a reflexive meaning, and therefore its initial consonant is changed from k into g ; compare 10 above.

27. wêɛ lì < wúè li " you shall not go " ; the negative form of the future tense is used here instead of the negative form of the imperative mood.—à wá, mú yàmá " come, we return = come, let us return " ; compare 15 and 21 above.—à wá " (you) come ! " ; plural of the imperative mood ; cf. Aginsky, p. 65.

28. bí nyàhǎ́ jɔni wɔ́, èɛ fôo ŋgi yê tàa hǔ ? " (if) you a woman married once, she may not enter her own town's inside = if you have married a woman, may she (nevermore) enter her own town ? " ; conditional clauses may be introduced by íná " if ", but very often no conditional particle is used.—bí jɔni wɔ̀ " you married once (long ago) = you have married " ; cf. Aginsky, p. 87, and Eaton, p. 124.—bí jɔni < bí jɔ-ni ; the past tense of verbs is formed by adding the suffixes -ni-lɔ̀ to the stem of the verb (-ni-lɔ̀ > -ilɔ̀), but in dependent clauses the past tense is formed by suffixing only -ni.—èɛ fôo " she shall not enter, she may not enter " ; cf. Migeod, p. 86.

29. nǎ " now ".—nǎ ŋgí nyàhǎ́ gɔlini wɔ́, èɛ yǎ yàma " now I a wife selected once, she may not again return = now that I have selected a wife, she may not return again " ; compare 28 above.—ŋgí gɔlini < ŋgi gɔli-ni ; the form of the past tense used in dependent clauses ; compare 28 above.—yǎ " again ".—ŋgîiyè " except, unless ".

30. njèɛi màhǔ " the water's surface = the surface of the water " ; màhǔ < ma-hǔ " upper side's inside = on the top of, upon ; surface ". —ì yéî " it sinks = it may sink " ; in this sentence the aorist tense is used in the meaning of the optative mood.—kɔ̀ɔ mú lì " so that we go = so that we may go ".—mǎ nyá ndèwè " I and my sister " ; when two

personal pronouns are joined, the first one is always a plural, e.g. mǎ bia means " I and you ", mǎ ta " I and he " ; likewise mǎ nyá ndèwè means " I and my sister " ; cf. Migeod, p. 70, and Sumner, pp. 34 and 51 ; mǎ < mu-a " we with, we and " ; the form mǎ (sometimes mǎa) may be regarded as a dual ; compare Kpelle : kwa yé " I and you " ; cf. Westermann-Melzian, p. 31.—ndewe = ndê.—mú gbí " we all, we both ".—The inserted yè " he says, he said " continues the direct speech ; compare the following sentences 31, 34, 35.

31. gbɛ̌ɛ . . . í gula " let it fall = it may fall " ; hortative mood ; cf. Aginsky, pp. 65–6.—ì gùlá < ì kùlá ; kùlá " to drop, to let fall " is used as a transitive verb ; cf. Eaton, p. 56 ; in the sentence above this verb is used with a reflexive meaning, and therefore its initial consonant is changed from k into g ; ì gùlá " it itself drops = it falls " ; compare 10 and 25 above.—mú loa hǔ̃ < mú lowa hǔ̃ " our whole inside = between us ", that means between the little brother with his sister, and the Bush Demon.—mú lowa < mú ndowa ; when a noun is immediately preceded by a possessive pronoun, its initial consonant is changed ; compare Gbande (a language being closely related to Mende) wú γekei < wú kekei " your dog " ; cf. Eberl-Elber, *MSOS*, p. 139, § 33, and p. 140, § 35.

32. ì gùlá < ì gulaa < ì gulaŋga " it itself dropped = it fell " ; compare 3 above.

33. ì woteá < ì pote-ŋga " he himself turned = he turned " : pòté " to turn, to turn around " is a transitive verb ; cf. Eaton, pp. 103 and 125 ; in the sentence above it is used with a reflexive meaning, and therefore its initial consonant is changed from p into w ; compare 10 above.

34. ŋgì loĭ " his child, his son " ; the Bush Demon has a son who is not a child of the escaped woman, but a Bush Demon (a wood-sprite) by birth.—ŋgì loĭ < ŋgì ndoi ; ndò " child ; young of animals " is not regarded as a term of relationship, and therefore this noun changes its initial consonant, when preceded by a possessive pronoun ; compare 15 above, and cf. Eberl-Elber, *MSOS*, p. 140, § 35, and p. 141, § 43.—núuŋgà wɔ́ ŋgí ti hoǔnì . . . tí ya " people a long time ago I them caught . . . they went = the people I had caught . . . they went (away) " ; the relative clause (ŋgí ti hoǔnì) precedes the main sentence (tí ya) ; compare Kpelle, cf. Westermann-Melzian, p. 34.—ŋgí . . . hoǔnì < ŋgi hou-ni ; shortened form of the past tense used in dependent clauses ; compare 28 and 29 above.—kè nyá ndòpoĭ " and my child " ; it is supposed by the story-teller that the Bush Demon

has got the escaped woman with child; compare in the following sentence (35) ná bí leŋgá lɔ̀ "that you have engendered".

35. ŋgá lílɔ̀ ŋgí wa . . . à nyàheî "I shall go I come . . . with the woman = I shall go to bring the woman".—ná bí leŋgá lɔ̀ "that you have engendered = that child, whom you have engendered"; bí leŋgá < bi nde-ŋga; nde "to engender, to beget" is a transitive verb; in the sentence above the initial consonant is changed from nd into l with regard to the object ná "that", although this object does not immediately precede the verb; (compare 2 above); bí leŋgá lɔ̀ is a relative clause.

37. ŋgá wá ŋgí ndé bí má ŋgɛ̂ɛ: mú yama, literally: "I come I tell you saying: we return".

40. tí ŋgɔ̀mbuǐ yateà "they the fire lit = they lit a fire"; ŋgɔ̀mbuǐ "the fire", definite form; in stories the definite form is sometimes used where we would expect the indefinite one.

42. dɔ̀méí gbɔ̀yɔ́à < dɔ̀méí kpɔ̀yɔ́-ŋgà "the story itself has finished = the story is finished"; compare 10 above.

43. ì líílɔ̀ . . . ndùwe má "he went . . . clearing on = he went . . . in order to clear, he went . . . to clear".—ì líílɔ̀ < ì lí-nì-lɔ̀ "he went" past tense; compare 28 above.

44. bǎa nduwe! "do not clear!"; negative form of the imperative mood.

46. bí ndùwéŋgá lɔ̀, bɛ̂ɛ mbɛǐ mɛ̀ "you have cleared, you will not the rice eat = if you will have cleared, you will not eat the rice"; conditional clause, compare 28 above.

50. yɛ̌e mbɛǐ ná gbí "(the) mentioned rice that all = all that rice (I spoke of before)"; compare 3 above.

51. ì ya . . . ndùwe vâa "he went . . . clearing for = he went for clearing"; compare 43 above.

54. wùlí "to draw (beer, wine, etc.); to take away from stock".

55. à wá mbèì, mú mbɛǐ wu "come here, we rice plant = come here (and) let us plant rice"; compare 15 and 21 above.

56. ndoloi mà "the ground on = on the ground, into the ground". pɛ́ɛ bù < pélé bù "the house under = into the house = home".

57. ŋgèlé woa < ŋgèlé wo-ŋga "the day is breaking"; compare 10 above.—tí ya tì gbuɛǐ laa "they went their farm-hut's mouth (door) = they went to their farm-hut"; tì gbuɛǐ laa < tì kpuɛǐ ndaa, the initial consonant of kpuɛǐ is changed on account of the preceding possessive pronoun; compare 34 above, and cf. Aginsky, p. 12, and Eberl-Elber, *MSOS*, p. 140, § 35; the initial consonant of

ndaa is changed, because this noun is preceded by a possessive noun (by a genetive): kpuɛ̌ laa < kpuɛ̌ ndaa "the mouth of the farm-hut"; cf. Aginsky, p. 12, and Eberl-Elber, *MSOS*, p. 138, §§ 29–30.

58. yè is here followed up by indirect speech, and not by direct. —kiá "when, as soon as".

59. mbɛ̌ gbiǎ hǘ "the rice (he) came out of inside = the rice shot up".

61. In the sentences tí ŋgaŋga and tí puŋga the object (mbɛi "the rice") is omitted; therefore the verbs ŋga and pu keep their initial consonants unchanged; see also in the following sentences 62, 63, 64, 65.—hambo, hambu "a kind of winnowing-fan, also a kind of basket work for drying rice, meat, or fish".

63. Compare 58 above.

64. tí mbɛ̌ gbiǎ kòndɛi hǘ "they the rice took out (of) the mortar's inside = they took the rice out of the mortar"

65. tí ŋgǐiŋgà < tí ŋgili-ŋga "they cooked".

66. kè tí jǎaŋgò kè tí . . . mɛŋgà "and they were three and they ate = and all three of them they ate".—jǎaŋgò < sàwá-ŋgò; cf. Sumner, p. 48, and compare 25 above.

67. nú waǐ, the same as hǎ̀ni waǐ "the Bush Demon".—jí wò "this (time) long ago = a long time ago".

68. famia "therefore, for this reason"; cf. Aginsky, p. 76, and Eaton, p. 10.

69. bǎa jí wè < bǎa jí pe "do not do this"; compare 2 above.

70. ì gbòyòà < i kpɔyɔa "it itself has finished = it is finished"; compare 42 above.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

SOME ASPECTS OF INDIAN EDUCATION PAST AND PRESENT. By SIR PHILIP HARTOG. University of London Institute of Education, Studies and Reports No. vii, pp. 109. Oxford University Press, 1939. 3*s*. 6*d*.

It is fortunate that the Joseph Payne lectures which were delivered by Sir Philip Hartog have been expanded and published in book form as they represent a valuable addition to the history of Indian education. The scope is a wide one, both in range as well as in time; but the perspective is good and the main sign-posts are not obscured by unnecessary detail or by confusing statistics. What is particularly refreshing is that, though critical, Sir Philip Hartog has by no means indulged in wholesale condemnation of Indian education, as some critics are prone to do nowadays. He has done a great service by bringing into prominence the notable achievements of the past; he has also referred to the "colossal" difficulties which have hampered progress.

To the lectures have been added three memoranda dealing with indigenous education. These memoranda were prompted by an assertion by Mr. Gandhi that "to-day India is more illiterate than it was fifty or a hundred years ago . . . because British administrators . . . instead of taking things as they were began to root them out". Sir Philip Hartog has examined with great care, and also with praiseworthy impartiality, the evidence brought forward by Mr. Gandhi; and he has been successful in demolishing Adam's legend of the 100,000 schools in Bengal, and Leitner's depressing, but unjustified, accounts of education in the Punjab. It would have been an interesting study had Sir Philip Hartog been able to pursue further his discussions with Mr. Gandhi, for he would probably have found points of agreement regarding the future, which would have more than compensated the points of difference regarding the past.

Sir Philip Hartog has no illusions about the ineffectiveness of the primary system. Indeed, it was his committee which drew pointed attention to the stagnation and wastage which still disfigure the primary system; and he is in cordial agreement with Mr. S. H. Wood that the teaching consists far too much of immobile study and is far too little related to practical activities. He has also much that is valuable to say

regarding secondary education. Though he advocates the inclusion of English as a compulsory second language, he favours the adoption of the vernacular medium of instruction. He also criticizes the severely literary trend of education, which renders many pupils averse from practical occupations. Hence India is faced by a problem, not so much of unemployment as of unemployables. It is strange, however, that Sir Philip Hartog, of all people, has scarcely alluded to the evils of the examination system in India, and to the practice of biennial public examinations which prevents continuity of study and impedes the formation of character.

Though he has written in glowing terms about the Middle Vernacular Schools in the Punjab, a contribution which the writer of this review much appreciates, it is doubtful whether their importance throughout India has been sufficiently stressed. If the work of rural reconstruction is to become effective and lasting, these schools are imperative, especially as the foundation for the training of social workers of all kinds, official and non-official alike.

What of Mr. Gandhi? He and Sir Philip Hartog are in agreement on many points. They agree that the medium should be the vernacular; they agree that education should be more practical and in closer touch with the realities of life; they agree that the secondary schools should not be mere ante-rooms to universities. Now that the Wardha scheme has been shorn of most of its original crudities, it appears that there is much in common between the "basic schools" and the better of the middle vernacular schools; but will Mr. Gandhi be able to convince Indian parents that the reformed schools (call them what you will) are not inferior to the old-established high and middle English schools? It is a fight between vested interests and the reformers; and a pact between Mr. Gandhi, Sir Philip Hartog, and many other reformers would be of the utmost importance.

GEORGE ANDERSON.

NEW INDIAN ANTIQUARY: a monthly journal of oriental research in archæology, art, epigraphy, ethnology, folklore, geography, history, languages, linguistics, literature, numismatics, philosophy, religion, and all subjects connected with Indology. Edited by S. M. KATRE, M.A., Ph.D. (London), and P. K. GODE, M.A. Vol. I, nos. 1–10. Bombay, 1938–9.

This new enterprise, now happily launched, calls for a hearty welcome from us, the more so as the senior editor and Professor S. K. De,

whose scholarly survey of the Buddhist Tantric literature of Bengal occupies a position of deserved honour by forming the opening article, were formerly students of this School. It succeeds not unworthily the old Indian Antiquary, in which a brilliant band of great scholars rendered inestimable services to Indian studies. Most of those pioneers, alas, are now only *kīrtti-śeṣa*; but it is heartening to see how their labours in the past have borne fruit in the present, and with especial satisfaction we mark how in the historical fields charted by them a new generation of Indian students is earnestly and successfully working to remove the reproach of indifference to their past which was levelled against their nation by Al-Bērūnī and has been repeated by so many later writers. Young India's interest in historical studies would rejoice the hearts of men like Fleet, Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, and Kielhorn.

The editors may be congratulated on the general quality of the materials presented in these ten numbers. Scholars of India, Europe, and America are here associated in the common search for truth, and their contributions range over wide fields of history, antiquities, literature, and its history, philosophy, linguistics, and art. It is, perhaps, a slight weakness that the department of literature tends to overbalance the others: approximately 339 pages are appropriated by it, as against some 218 pages occupied by history and antiquities, a proportion of over 3 : 2, while only some 38 pages are given to art and 29 to linguistics. If this disproportion is allowed to continue, the title of "Antiquary" will become a misnomer; but we may hope that time will bring about a rectification of the balance.

L. D. BARNETT.

LE TRAITÉ DE L'ACTE DE VASUBANDHU, KARMASIDDHIPRAKARAṆA. Par E. LAMOTTE. 10 × 6½. pp. 144. Bruges: Imprimerie Sainte Cathérine, 1936.

No one can study the genesis of the philosophico-religious systems of India without being deeply impressed by the extent to which their various doctrines in their early stages were shaped by the view taken of the working of *karman*, the Act. As discussion proceeded, however, the original problem tended to fall into the background, as it was seen to involve something far more fundamental, the question what was the individual and what was his relation to the universe. It thus comes about that in Buddhism the great debates on the subject took

place in the Hīnayāna schools, while the Mahāyāna sidetracks it for the most part. Materials for understanding the points in dispute remained deficient, till Professor Lamotte published an admirable paper in Volume IV of the *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, which is here reprinted. In it he gives the Tibetan and Chinese translations of a treatise by Vasubandhu dealing with the problems presented by *karman*, together with his own French renderings of Hiuan-Tsang's version and of *Madhyamakavṛtti*, ch. vii. The introduction sets out, as clearly as the intricacy of the matter allows, the standpoints of the different schools and shows the command of scholastic thought which is to be expected from a pupil of the late Professor de la Vallée Poussin and from a Professor of Louvain. About the identity of Vasubandhu, the author of the treatise, he takes up a refreshingly cautious attitude, contenting himself with the conclusion that the writer is the Vasubandhu who composed the *Abhidharmakośa*, but who need not be the same as the person or persons responsible for the numerous works passing under the same name; "à notre avis," he says, "Vasubandhu a trop vécu, trop pensé, trop écrit." Much work, in fact, remains to be done before we can free the figures of Vasubandhu and Asaṅga from the accretions that later ages have heaped round them.

To enter into the dogmatic details would hardly be suitable here, but one point of more general importance emerges from the study of Vasubandhu's work, which deals not merely with the nature and mechanism of the Act, but also with the question of the carrier of the Act as seen by the different Hīnayāna schools. Professor Lamotte establishes the conclusion that the conception of the *ālayavijñāna*, the store-consciousness, originated with the Sautrāntikas, who regarded it from the realist, not the idealist, standpoint. Their substantial difference from the Vijñānavādins lies in their accepting the outer object as real and in their not making the consciousness evolve in two directions so as to form the object perceived as well as the percipient agency. As this book shows, the theory was a natural outcome of the "stream of consciousness" postulated by the Sarvāstivādins and rendered unnecessary the curious devices to which the latter had recourse to make their scheme workable. The question not answered by this book, and not indeed relevant to it, is why the *ālayavijñāna* theory enjoyed so brief a span of favour; the answer is perhaps to be found in the rise of the Tathāgatagarbha doctrine, which taught the existence in each being of an essentially pure *cittaprakṛti*, unaffected by the Act, undefiled by the sins, and constituting part of the

Dharmakāya. That doctrine, like the views of the Mādhyamikas, lay outside Vasubandhu's scope, and we have to be grateful to him and to his scholarly translator for making clear the positions taken up by the various Hīnayāna schools on this central point of their teaching.

E. H. JOHNSTON.

THE NATIONAL FAITH OF JAPAN. A Study in Modern Shintō. By D. C. HOLTOM. 9 × 6½. pp. xiii + 329, with 26 plates. London: Kegan Paul, 1938. 15*s*.

Of the many volumes that have been written on Shinto the book under review may well be ranked among those which deal with the subject-matter without any bias, nationalistic or religious. It reflects the author's profound study in the field which he has set out to investigate.

Citing a number of typical definitions given of Shinto by various scholars, Dr. Holtom attempts to find their greatest common measure and, in conformity with Ames' definition of religion, has arrived at a description of Shinto as "the characteristic ritualistic arrangements and their underlying beliefs by which the Japanese people have celebrated, dramatized, interpreted, and supported the chief values of their national life" (p. 6).

However, Shinto embraces four main fields of activity: the ceremonies of the Imperial Household, Domestic Shinto, Shrine or State Shinto, and Sect or Religious Shinto, which last is a comparatively new growth. Throughout its history Shinto has had to cope with external influences, and just as it was inevitable for the Japanese Government to establish separate legal controls for Shinto and Buddhism, so in 1882 it was also felt expedient to isolate by law such Shinto organizations as practised definite religious propaganda from the traditional Shinto which did not (pp. 7–76).

The legal separation thus effected by the Government has raised a very delicate problem as to the main differences between these two forms of Shinto. We are told that Sect Shinto "nucleates, for the most part, about the faith and activities of historical founders", whereas Shrine Shinto "claims to perpetuate the authentic and traditional beliefs and rituals of the Japanese race and declares that it has developed spontaneously in the national life without the aid of individual historical founders" (p. 68). Indeed, "since 1900," says the author, "officials of the government have been particularly

emphatic in their insistence that the state ceremonials are not religious in nature" (p. 72).

No discussion is, however, possible on the official treatment of Shrine Shinto without first examining the nationalistic policy as adopted by the Government. Thus Dr. Holtom gives a critical review of the official genealogy of the Imperial family, in which he identifies Izanagi-no-Mikoto with a sky father and Izanami-no-Mikoto with an earth mother (pp. 77–92). How he has arrived at these conclusions and how he has come to interpret Susanoo-no-Mikoto as a storm-god he explains in the subsequent two chapters (pp. 93–121).

It may be remembered that Dr. Holtom is not the first person who gave these interpretations of the three deities. Since 1899 when the same theory was first advanced by Takayama-Chogyū it has been the subject of vehement controversy among native scholars.[1] The supporters of this cosmogonic theory naturally contend that the two great ancestors of the Japanese Imperial family really belong to the domain of pure mythology and not of history (cf. p. 121). "To capture," protests Dr. Holtom, "the distant cloud material" as furnished by the official history in regard to the deeds of Susanoo-no-Mikoto, "bring it down to earth and congeal it into the form of a great Imperial ancestor who is to be sent out over the nation to inspire its moral life and bring conviction to its faith in an absolute and unchanging State requires a species of official legerdemain that is altogether beyond the reach of those who possess even a moderate respect for historical veracity" (p. 149).

Precisely the same view is held by Dr. Holtom concerning Amaterasu-Ōmikami or "the Sun Goddess", the most outstanding figure in the national history, who is considered by the Government as the greatest of the ancestors of the reigning Emperor and as such is made the object of utmost reverence by the Board of Education (pp. 126–136). While himself admitting that none of such human associations as may be inferred from the official history could have been attached to Amaterasu-Ōmikami "without the existence of corresponding patterns in the social life of the early Japanese", the author argues that "to say that Amaterasu-Ōmikami was once an actual human being and an authentic ancestor is either to misunderstand the early mythological and religious history competely or else to surrender entirely to official constraint" (p. 150).

[1] Dr. Holtom states that in 1896 Buckley presented "convincing proof" of the storm-god character of Susanoo (p. 147).

The severe criticism that has just been quoted may seem justified from the intellectual point of view, but it is quite plain that the whole question is infinitely deeper rooted than the comparatively insignificant matter of knowledge. We must, it would seem, first seek clear understanding of the educational policy of the Japanese Government. If positivity or demonstrability of the laws and principles is the measure of a science, then biology must certainly contain a far greater scientific element than historiology or comparative mythology. Is not, in the face of this, the knowledge of the true circumstances of animal reproduction kept from all school children as if the whole thing were a myth? It is definitely not the mere question of disregarding the enhancement of intellect that is involved here, but is a vital problem of morality, just as the official genealogy of the Imperial family constitutes the means of instilling an almost intuitive sense of loyalty into the very souls of the Japanese people.

After reading such a vigorous attack made on pseudo-scientific grounds upon matters that are held sacred by a nation it is a relief to find in the following chapters an interesting description of Shinto ceremonies and charms (pp. 153–169), also of gods and goddesses discussed under two distinct categories: the objects of a legitimate anthropolotory (pp. 172–180) and those which originated in nature worship (pp. 180–5). This concludes Part I.

Part II treats of the existing thirteen Shinto sects, not in outline, as the author modestly asserts, but in fact at some length. It contains a well of information, giving an accurate and lucid account of all the essential facts relating to the thirteen sects, which in accordance with their respective characteristics are divided into five groups: the pure Shinto sects, the Confucian sects, the mountain sects, the purification sects, and the faith-healing sects (pp. 189–286).

In Part III the question is once again brought up as to the non-religious status of Shrine Shinto. Quoting the views of several representative writers of Japan, Dr. Holtom looks into this problem more closely (pp. 301–6) and comes to the conclusion that "modern Shrine Shinto is a thorough-going religion" (p. 306). It passes the reviewer's comprehension to find so many pages devoted to this particular problem, for it seems quite unlikely that the Japanese Government should have pronounced that Shrine Shinto is not a "religion". All that they insist appears to be that it is not a *shūkyō*. True, the term *shūkyō* is used as an equivalent for "religion", but its original meaning must surely be "sectarian teaching" as is

suggested by the Chinese characters with which the word is written. When, therefore, the Japanese authorities declare that Shrine Shinto is not a *shūkyō*, one might interpret the word in its original and narrower sense. Inasmuch as there could be no sectarian teachings without their founders we should find nothing contradictory in the declaration of the Government. None the less, as long as the educational authorities cling to such an ambiguous term as *shūkyō*, so long will confusion persist and controversy continue.

As to the validity of the official history no educated Japanese of the present day hesitate to acknowledge the accounts of the Age of the Gods as a pure myth, but their nationalistic faith nevertheless remains undisturbed. What then is responsible for this seeming discrepancy ? To answer this question and to find out the true nature of the response of those seventeen and a half million adherents of the thirteen sects to the doctrines they profess to follow, it would be necessary to carry out a most systematic and extensive field work. This, to the reviewer's knowledge, has never been done. Accordingly, Dr. Holtom's book deals with Shinto teachings rather than the national faith of Japan.

S. YOSHITAKE.

A CONCISE HISTORY OF BUDDHIST ART IN SIAM. By REGINALD LE MAY. pp. xxii + 165, figs. 205, maps 2. Cambridge University Press, 1938. 42*s*.

The art of Siam, like that of England, is not autochthonous; initiative comes from without. Nine different "schools of art" are named, each with its own traditions and contacts, its own period and its own sphere of activity, for Siam consists of four distinct geographical regions, northern, central, north-eastern, and peninsular.

The story opens with a Roman lamp of II A.D. and a series of metal statuettes of the Buddha of "pure Indian" types (figs. 3–14). The dates (II–V A.D.) and affinities ascribed to them are conjectural. The earliest known rulers of Central Siam were the Môns, kinsmen of the Talaings of Lower Burma, whose period Dr. le May would date from V–X A.D., a creative epoch evidently, for, though Gupta influence is obvious in pose and drapery, it fails to explain the charming individuality of the faces which the author figures. The adjoining Môn area in Lower Burma has yielded nothing like them, probably because it has hardly yet been explored.

The maritime empire of Çrīvijaya and/or the Sailendras (VII–XII

A.D.) contributed little to Siam. The few objects figured are suspected to be imports. Dr. le May favours Professor Majumdar's view that the Sailendras took over the empire as a going concern soon after A.D. 775, but evidence is lacking of contacts with Kalinga, and the connection between the Gangas of Kalinga and those of Mysore has yet to be proved.

For Cambodian impacts, on the other hand, in both pre-Angkor and Angkor periods, a wealth of evidence is forthcoming, while the growth and ripening of Tai culture, and its response to contacts with Pagān, Ceylon, and Cambodia, as the Tai moved from their Yunnan home to North Siam, and thence through Suk'ōt'ai and Lopburi to Ayudhya, can be traced with precision.

Dr. le May made good use of his long service in an "Asian Arcady", in close touch with Siamese of all grades, from prince to peasant. His "author's collection" is no assemblage of curios but material for hard thinking, a source of inspiration. In sober concise English, untainted with modernisms, he records his "conversion" from Greek ideals of physical beauty to the spiritual values of the East. Art to him means sculpture, architecture is ancillary, and this theme he sticks to, but views it from every angle, weighs judiciously the evidence and interpretations of the great French and Dutch archæologists and the rather scrappy data from Burma and Ceylon, and, by scrupulous attention to geographical and historical fact, places art on a scientific footing. No longer is the English contribution to the study of Siamese art a "complete blank".

There are a few slips: Tamluk (p. 18) is not on the Hugli, Paloura (p. 45) not on the Ganges; Çulamāni (p. 37) should be Çudāmani, Maravi- should be Māra-vijayōttunga; the "soles-uppermost" posture (p. 103) is common to Sārnāth, Mathura, Gandhāra, and the caves of West India; Hacchi- should be Hucchi-malligudi (p. 66), a style of tower, by the way, entirely different from those at Bādāmi and Pattadakal; all minor points which do not impair the value of this thoughtful, well-planned book.

F. J. RICHARDS.

SIMPLE MALAY. By R. O. WINSTEDT. pp. vii + 80. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1938. 3*s*. 6*d*.

This handy little introduction to elementary colloquial Malay answers to its title and fills a gap. It consists for the most part of twenty progressive lessons in the form of brief vocabularies and short

sentences, with English translations, involving all together the use of only 400 of the most necessary Malay words. These lessons are followed by a vocabulary of 1,500 words and a supplement of special vocabularies and sentences for domestic and military or air force use respectively. A good deal of necessary grammatical information is also distributed appropriately in the lessons. In his preface the author mentions that the work aims at preparing candidates for Standard I of the Malayan Government examinations. For this purpose it is very suitable indeed, but it will be equally valuable to the large number of non-official persons who have to acquire at least an elementary knowledge of Malay.

I have noticed a few misprints, which it may be useful to point out here, with the numbers of the pages in which they occur: (7) *berseh*, (64) *bengkak*, *pedang*, (65) *penat*, (66) *lembah*, in all of which cases the vowel of the penultimate syllable should be *ĕ*, not *e*; similarly, in (8) *Mĕm* should be *mem*, as it is on p. 55. For (21) *ta'usaha* read *ta'usah*, for (62) *shore* read *shove*, for (75) *salad* read *salada* (or *sĕlada*). On p. 79 *jambatan* should be followed by the note of interrogation, not by the full stop. The second Malay phrase on p. 74 seemed to me to be difficult to reconcile with the English version, but the author has been good enough to solve the problem by explaining that the word *daging* is an error for *tulang*. The only other point that I have observed is that *tiada* seems to be used throughout (e.g. p. 21), although its abbreviated form *tada* is at least as common in the colloquial; but that is a very minor point.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

NETHERLANDS INDIA. A Study of Plural Economy. By J. S. FURNIVALL. pp. xxiv + 502. Cambridge University Press, 1939. 25*s*.

This is an exhaustive work on the political and social economy of Netherlands India. In the pseudo-scientific fashion of the age, which delights in labels unintelligible in themselves, the author calls it a study of "plural economy", a term already used in two senses, both of which require a gloss. He starts with an interesting outline of "Indonesia to 1600". On p. 15, without criticism, he quotes the incredible statement that at fairs Malacca of the fifteenth century had a population of a million, and he uses the rather ludicrous euphemism that "in 1511 Malacca passed to the Portuguese". These, however,

are mere specks in the sun. The author's summary of political and economic conditions, his analysis of the reasons for the fall of the Dutch Company and incidentally for the survival of the English Company, his analysis and comparison of the administration of Daendels and of Raffles are at once concise and masterly. Particularly valuable is the comparison by an author, once a member of the Indian Civil Service, between Dutch and British administration throughout the centuries, even though that comparison is only with India. The special qualification of this official experience gives reality and life to a work that in so many respects must be a compilation, though even a compilation from so many Dutch sources would have been of value to British students of administration, few of whom read Dutch. The author's career has given him an intelligent interest in many topics such as administration, justice, and finance, mining and agriculture, and the social services, all of which he handles with illuminating commentary. His section on education, for example, is a useful introduction to the subject even for specialists, nor has he omitted to outline the valuable work done by the Bureau for Popular Reading, though he is naturally unaware that the native Malay books it has published have been printed from unspecified texts, not always the best, and have apparently been "edited", points that spoil them for scholars though not for popular taste. Topical are the pages on Japanese trade penetration. But so fast does the modern world move, that the writer's statistics, ending with 1934, make his account of the present economic situation already out of date.

The book has an introduction by one of the most distinguished and progressive of the Governor-Generals of Netherlands India, Jonkheer A. C. D. de Graeff.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

SOUTH OF THE CLOUDS. A Winter Ride through Yün-nan. By GERALD REITLINGER. pp. 327. London: Faber and Faber, 1939. 15*s*.

The authors of most contemporary travel books visited China on journalistic or political missions, and their works are war books, primarily concerned with conditions in or near the fighting line. But the land "South of the Clouds"—Yünnan—is, fortunately, still so far from the war zone that even a major military event, the fall of Nanking in December, 1937, reached Mr. Reitlinger only as an echo, rumoured, uncertain, and remote, as a battle in Spain. On his

winter ride through western Yünnan few evidences of the ruthless struggle in eastern China were to be found. There were more propaganda posters, and fewer soldiers, in the garrison towns; and he encountered the advance guard of that amazing migration of the students from the occupied zone, which is surely destined to leave an enduring mark on the backward culture of the western provinces.

Mr. Reitlinger did not visit China on any mission. With a refreshing freedom from what he calls "the occupational fixation of the present age", he travels for enjoyment alone. Consequently his book fully conveys that enjoyment to the reader, on holiday, for once, from the grim narratives of the political "missionaries". His route, none the less, has topical interest, for he passed over or close to the line of the now famous Burma motor road, still at that time in the early stages of construction.

But the main interest of the book both to the author and to students of things Chinese is his journey northwards to Li-Chiang and the great bend of the Yang-Tze beyond that city, where the river cleaves through the 20,000 ft. snow ranges in the great gorge known locally as Hu T'iao Chiang—The Tiger's Leap. This awesome place, which deserves the fame accorded to the Grand Canyon of Colorado, is, in fact, not merely almost unknown to the Western world, but not marked on any map, a neglect shared by the two 20,000 ft. mountains, Sha Tzu Tou and Ha Pa Shan, which it divides. Although Mr. Reitlinger and his companions were not the first Europeans to traverse this gorge, he seems to be the first to describe it in a publication generally accessible.

The description of this region would have sufficed to make this book memorable in itself, but Mr. Reitlinger provides his readers with no dry-as-dust catalogue of stages, altitudes, and geological observations; the character of travel in a world still medieval is described with a deft lightness of touch and the manners of remote peoples commented upon with the insight of a widely cultured mind. There have been many travellers in Yünnan of the scientific type whose works, perhaps, add more to their readers' knowledge than to their entertainment; Mr. Reitlinger does both, and brings to Chinese travel the cultured background hitherto only found in the travel literature of Europe.

In a prefatory note on spelling the author has answered in advance the criticisms of the more fanatical admirers of the Wade system of Romanization. Once or twice the pitfalls of Yünnanese pronunciation

have led him astray in the translation of place names (e.g. p. 259). The reviewer differs from Mr. Reitlinger in his estimate of the age of the chain suspension bridges over the Mekong and other rivers of western Yünnan which are probably older than is here suggested.

C. P. FITZGERALD.

PROPHECY AND DIVINATION. A study of man's intercourse with the unseen world. (The Bampton Lectures for 1938.) By ALFRED GUILLAUME, D.D. pp. xviii + 434. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1938. 20*s*.

At first sight a Bampton lecture seems out of place in the *Bulletin*; this study of prophecy calls in the Arabs and Islam to throw light on the methods of the prophets. The procedure of the Arab diviner was like that of the prophet. One was asked about the fate of a prisoner. He looked round and saw a man pouring water out of a skin. He declared that the prisoner had been released. "The Lord caused me to see two baskets of figs." The fruit was there for all to see but to the prophet it bore a message to Israel. Similarly a basket of summer (*ḳaiṣ*) fruit suggested the end (*ḳēṣ*) of Israel. Hosea, looking back on his ruined life and seeing it sublimated into a record of God's dealings with Israel, is only a grander example of the same method. In both nations common things took on a higher meaning for him who could see.

Ecstasy may mean anything from the self-torture of the prophets or the howling dervishes to the contemplation of Plotinus or the use of music in worship. Elisha used music to induce the spirit of prophecy and Muslim mystics use it to help their approach to God. A dervish who became a Christian confessed that nothing in the church took the place of the ritual of his Order. Here, al-Ghazāli is left to speak for himself as the chief defender of this mystic communion and the grave earnestness, with which he warns his readers of the dangers, is a salutary reminder of the importance of thought in religion.

This book is a fine contribution to the study of the Bible; the ange of subjects is wide but they are all kept in their proper place. The whole is based on sound and precise scholarship. Some criticisms may be ventured. In the sentence "a desire to explain things, rather than a desire to know the truth" (p. 237) the antithesis is false and shows a failure of the historical sense. Is it not better to take the words, "I came not to call the righteous but sinners," as ironical instead

of invoking a doubtful grammatical construction ? The Hebrew root *b'r* is made to mean "sweep away as dung" in one passage and a connection with the common meaning "destroy" is found in the fact that dung was used as fuel. This goes against the suggested meaning, for dung is not (and probably was not) swept away but kept carefully for use as fuel. The criticisms of Ibn Ḥazm on the Old Testament might have been strengthened by the less subjective remarks of Ibn Khaldūn who, by the way, is not in the index. On p. 382 "name" in the second line seems to be a misprint for "moon".

A. S. T.

La Distinction de l'Essence et de l'Existence d'après Ibn Sīnā (Avicenne). Par. A.-M. Goichon. pp. xvi + 546. Paris : Desclée de Brouwer, 1937.

The relation of essence to existence takes us into the heart of the philosophy of Ibn Sīnā. In the primal being, God, they are one ; in all else they are distinct, because everything else derives its being from God. This derivation is called creation but is emanation, beginning with pure intelligences, which become more multiple as they recede from God, and ending with our world of generation and dissolution. Here Ibn Sīnā is dependent on the *Theology of Aristotle*. This creation is a necessity of the primal being, as the assumption of a divine will involves the idea of incompleteness and potentiality in him, so there is nothing contingent in the universe ; all is necessary though with varying degrees of necessity. Matter is indirectly dependent on God ; this contradicts the statement of de Boer in *Philosophy in Islam*.

Exposition is accompanied by criticism. Ibn Sīnā uses one word to mean power when it is the antithesis of weakness or impossibility, and also potentiality the antithesis of actuality. This usage has led to confusion in his thought. He also argues that as all in this world is potential, everything potential also exists. Sometimes he takes a logical argument and assumes that it is also ontological. In common with the scholastics he distinguishes between a thing *secundum se*, *in re*, and *in intellectu*, and says that the thing *secundum se* precedes the other two. This can only mean that a thing is *secundum se* when it is in the divine being. But the divine being is pure thought, so a thing *secundum se* is also *in intellectu*. Some criticisms can be made. The transcription of Arabic words is erratic. The note on p. 425 about

mamsūḥ is absurd; Mlle. Goichon nodded badly when she wrote it. In the passage translated on p. 72 the first sentence should run: *L'idée universelle en tant que nature et idée, par exemple* . . . and in the first sentence of the passage at the foot of p. 217 *puisque* is a mistake. What is said about the *Makāṣid* in p. 22 note and on p. 162 implies that this book contains al-Ghazāli's own opinions; which is wrong. A great part of this book is translation, and when closely related texts, often from different books, are quoted one after another the argument seems to go round rather than forward. It is fair to say that the book would have been the better for another revision.

This book is discursive but nothing is dragged in unnecessarily. Ibn Sīnā tells us that a book by al-Fārābi first helped him to understand metaphysics, so the references to, and quotations from al-Fārābi are to the point. When needful the Arabic terminology is described precisely. The books of Ibn Sīnā have been studied in the original Arabic and in medieval Latin translations, differences in the texts being noted. Frequent reference is made to Aquinas and to the exposition of philosophy made by al-Ghazāli. The modern literature has been carefully studied. There is a long bibliography, an index of authors and another of Arabic words. There is no subject index but its place is supplied by summaries put at the head of each section and repeated consecutively at the end of the book. Careful scholarship, wide reading, and clear thinking have gone to the making of this book, which marks a great step forward in the understanding of Ibn Sīnā. It is not easy reading but no one expects a volume of philosophy to be a bedside book.

A. S. T.

SAḤĪḤ AL-BUKHĀRĪ. Vol. 5, 1st instalment. Translated by MUHAMMAD ASAD (LEOPOLD WEISS). pp. 80. Lahore: Arafat Publications, 1938.

Superlatives are dangerous, yet this is probably the best piece of printing which has come out of India; paper, type, and lay-out are all excellent. The translation is undistinguished and is usually correct. There is no reason why *rabb* should become Sustainer. It is said that the sentence which is rendered, "Thou didst not leave behind thee anyone whose deeds were better than thine; and I would prefer to meet God with deeds like thine [to my credit] than with those of

anyone else" is one which cannot be translated literally. This claim is right but, "Thou hast not left behind one whose deeds I would have rather than thine when I meet God," is much nearer the Arabic. The notes suffer from a homiletic tone. The English is horrible; "Was rendered unable to fulfil his inimical designs" is typical. "On account of" and "as regards" come in one sentence. Mistakes occur like the use of "too" on p. 54, last line. The attitude of the translator is revealed by his reference to "the shifting sands of Goldziher's theories".

A. S. T.

IL CALIFFO MU'ĀWIYA I. *Secondo il Kitāb ansāb al-ashrāf*. Translated by OLGA PINTO and G. LEVI DELLA VIDA. pp. 193. Roma, 1938. L. 60.

Any part of the *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* is welcome, though in a way this part is disappointing because there is very little history in it; if it were a bit of Ṭabari's history it would come at the end of the caliph's reign and would be entitled "Incidents from the life of Mu'āwiya". As a book, this is almost all that a book should be. It has an index, parallel passages from other works are noted, and full cross references are given. The most damaging criticism is that it is so badly sewn that the review copy fell to pieces. So far as it can be tested the translation is exact and the notes are meant for the general reader. The paragraphs are all numbered. One parallel has been missed, § 400; it is stated in that part of the *Ansāb* edited by Ahlwardt that 'Abd al-Malik was employed in the ministry at Medina. The whole book is given up to illustrating the Caliph's character. Again and again his actions are questioned by Yazīd and the Caliph sets him right; it reminds an English reader of Sherlock Holmes and Watson. One story is unexpected. Yazīd visited his father and found a slave girl sitting on a stool with Mu'āwiya sitting on the ground at her feet, while she tapped him on the head with a switch! The common accusation that 'Uthmān's death was due to Mu'āwiya's delay in going to his assistance is repeated in strong terms. One item is interesting; Mu'āwiya instructed Ziyād to treat the *mawāli* kindly. If genuine this is another proof that Mu'āwiya was a statesman.

A. S. T.

FOUR STRANGE TONGUES FROM SOUTH ARABIA. THE HADARA GROUP. By BERTRAM THOMAS. (Proceedings of the British Academy; vol. 23.) pp. 105. London: Humphrey Milford, 1938. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Mr. Thomas collected the material for this book without knowing that some work had already been done on two of the languages. He is content to publish his findings; a stay-at-home reviewer can only note the differences between the two versions. The short introduction suggests that these samples of language were gathered from many men, which is all to the good. The "Phonetic guide" prefixed to this collection of material is inadequate as no explanation is given of the symbols used. The reader has to look through the book till he finds a word he knows and so can discover approximately what sound the symbol represents. The treatment of lateralized consonants is muddled; derivation is confused with sound. Apparently what is meant is that sometimes eight Arabic sounds have become lateralized and from this process two sounds result. Enough of complaints! The transcription differs widely from that used by Bittner; a few examples are (the form used by Bittner is in brackets):—

Mahri.	daughter	*gojinōt*	(*ǵajenôt*)
	people	*habū*	(*hâbū*)
	speak	*qatarī*	(*ǵátirī*)
	sit down	*iškawil*	(*tḫowwel*)
Shahari.	two	*thurūt*	(*ṯrīt*)
	three	*šalthait*	(*ṯaṯet*)

The differences may be those of dialect; at present it seems better to suspend judgment. The vocabularies are a puzzle. Many words clearly belong to Semitic stock, some are loans from Arabic, a few seem to belong to the Abyssinian circle, many are common to Socotri, and some are unexplained. Several have North Semitic connections; *shūti*, drink; *fa'm*, leg; *ōrukh*, month; *fenne*, face; *raḥaq*, far; and others. To the Abyssinian circle belong also the *k* in the inflection of the perfect first and second persons, and the vowel after the first radical in the imperfect. The author does not note this in the grammar though an example is given in the sentences. The future as given by Mr. Thomas for Shahari is curious. It is formed by prefixing *ha* to the Arabic form of the imperfect. In the 1st, per. sing., however, *l* is put in between the *ha* and the verb. Thus from *aghād* comes a form, *halghad*, and from *sakhabur*, *halsakhabur*. This may be euphonic like

nūn al wiḳāya though it suggests a notorious form in Biblical Aramaic. In other persons the vowel of the preformative is usually not elided.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Thomas will go back to Dhofar and bring back more of these languages.

A. S. T.

CONTRIBUTIONS À L'ÉTUDE DU HARARI. By WOLF LESLAU. (Extrait du *Journal Asiatique.*) pp. 127. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1938.

Although Harar has long been a centre of Muslim missionary activity the language is a dialect of Amharic. The present work is a supplement to Cerulli's book. In it the author has collected all the material available, including some unpublished MSS. in Paris. Notes on grammar fill 24 pages and the major part of the work is a dictionary of the language with a French-Harari vocabulary. The feature of the dictionary is the use made of neighbouring languages, thirty-two in all. As a rule, words given in Cerulli's list are omitted. Some omissions are surprising; thus *esāt* is pure Ethiopic though the fact is not mentioned. It may be that the author thought it so obvious as not to be worth while. The language has travelled a long way from the Semitic pattern. In the construct the genitive precedes the governing noun; two auxiliary verbs have come into being and are regularly combined with nouns to form verbs; nouns and adjectives are formed from other words, even from finite verbs, by the addition of the relative pronoun and a preposition. Thus *gar* "house" gives *garzala* "owner" (lit. to whom is a house). Many of the roots are Semitic but many are African. As is to be expected in a language spoken by Muslims, borrowings from Arabic are many and some of them assume strange forms.

A. S. T.

THE CUNEIFORM TEXTS OF RAS SHAMRA, UGARIT. By C. F. A. SCHAEFFER. (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy.) pp. xvi, 100; pl. 39; sketches and maps 10. Humphrey Milford: Oxford University Press, 1939. 8*s*. 6*d*.

To anyone who wants to know what Ras Shamra is, this book can be cordially recommended, for it is popular in the best sense. The history of the town is told in detail from the Stone Age to its destruction in the twelfth century B.C., so that the reader can place it in its

connections with other countries and peoples. The place is interesting in itself and gets an added interest from its connections with others. Burial customs are described fully and lead up to the story of the Danaids. The punishment of these women, the pouring water into a bottomless jar, was not a variant of the treadmill but was to provide drink for the souls of their murdered husbands, making punishment fit the crime. There is a general account of the documents found, some of which are translated in full for the light they throw on the life of the country. The last chapter is given up to the literary texts. The title of the book is not quite correct as less than half the book is concerned with texts. A summary of the legends is given and their connections with the Bible pointed out. Ras Shamra proves that some of the Bible stories, which had been dismissed by some as mere tales, have a background of historical truth. The maps and sketches serve their purpose and some of the plates are beautiful. It seems needless to give so many reproductions of the cuneiform tablets; to those who cannot read them, one tablet is very like another.

A. S. T.

RAS SCHAMRA UND SANCHUNJATON. By OTTO EISSFELDT. (Beitraege zur Religionsgeschichte des Altertums, Heft 4.) pp. 157. Max Niemeyer: Halle, 1939.

It is hard to place this book. It is a collection of essays all of which have some connection with Phœnicia. Some of them have been published before and are printed here without change, with the result that the repeated introduction of old friends breaks the continuity. All are interesting. Some are popular, in the best sense; others are exact science. One deals with a proposed emendation in the text of Josephus dealing with Nebuchadnezzar's siege of Tyre. Another is an expansion of an article by Professor Torrey showing that there was in the temple at Jerusalem a workshop for melting down metal objects which were presented to the temple. Another treats of the god worshipped in the oasis of Siwa. The oasis belonged economically to Lybia, the plan of the temple is not Egyptian; therefore the identification with Amon is modern. The conclusion reached is that the god must be the Syrian Baal Ḥammān, whose worship was carried there by trade. The longest essays deal with Philo Byblius and

Nonnus. The author decides that Philo used a genuine old work though he translated it in the light of his own philosophy. Two criticisms may be allowed. In Syria the autumn is the time when vegetation comes to life; one would expect the vegetation god to die at the beginning of summer. Four mountains are named as the dwelling places of gods, Mons Casius, Lebanon, Anti-Lebanon, and Tabor; Tabor is an anti-climax. A short review can call attention to part only of the contents of a very interesting book.

A. S. T.

AKSUM. RICERCHE DI TOPOGRAFIA GENERALE. By UGO MONNERET DE VILLARD. (Analecta Orientalia, 16.) pp. x + 138; pl. 3. Pontificum Institutum Biblicum. Roma, 1938. Lire 94.

The plan of this book is modest and within its narrow limits it is a sound piece of work. The first part contains a description of the town of Aksum with an account of the ground on which it stands and the water supply. There is a detailed description of the big church and the three old cemeteries. One chapter is devoted to palaces which are now heaps of ruins. The author notes that the *Liber Axumae* calls them churches and suggests that, when that book was written, there had been no stone palaces in Aksum for centuries, so the writer naturally assumed that the ruins must be churches. The second part consists of full extracts from all books which mention Aksum; these range from Cosmas Indicopleustes to the Deutsche Aksum Expedition. The extracts are in Greek, Latin, Italian, Portuguese, French, English, and German. The French have fewer misprints than the German, and the German than the English. No book or article later than 1913 is quoted; a few are named and dismissed as having no scientific value. There is a list of monuments, a note on an Egyptian stele, and another on the date of the *Liber Axumae*. There are two plans of the town and a plate of pottery.

A. S. TRITTON.

AL-HIDAYATU'L-AMIRIYA, being an epistle of the tenth Fatimid Caliph al-Āmir bi-aḥkāmi'l-lāh, and an appendix IQA' ṢAWA' IQI'L-IRGHAM. Edited with an introduction and notes by ASAF A. A. FYZEE. Published for the Islamic Research Association by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1938.

The arrival of Badr al-Jamālī in Egypt in 1073 ended an epoch in Fāṭimid history. Since the death of al-Ḥākim, the military had steadily been gaining importance as a political factor, and the installation as wazīr of a military autocrat, ruling by virtue of his troops, marked the final victory of the army, and its establishment as the ultimate authority in the State. The change was momentous. Instead of a civilian bureaucracy, presided over by a civilian wazīr, under the supreme control of a religious and spiritual Imām, we find a military government, with a general at its head and the Caliph as its puppet. With startling rapidity the Fāṭimid Caliphs followed their 'Abbāsid rivals into political insignificance, and became the helpless playthings of a series of military dictators, often openly opposed to the doctrines of the Caliphs they professed to serve. The Sunnī amīrs of Ismā'īlī Cairo are the exact counterpart of the Shī'ī amīrs of 'Abbāsid Baghdād.

The position of the Caliphs as heads of the Ismā'īlī da'wa was also affected. The rule of the amīrs was clearly incompatible with the œcumenical, propagandist character of the da'wa organization. Soon the world-wide claims of the Fāṭimids were abandoned, and the descendants of Mu'izz became a local Egyptian dynasty—secularized, militarized, and in decay.

Such a change, inevitably, awoke widespread discontent among the more consistent and extremist elements of the da'wa—the more so since it coincided with a period of extraordinary activity on the part of the Ismā'īlīs in the Seljuk dominions, where, under the able leadership of Ḥasan i Sabbāḥ, a veritable Ismā'īlī renaissance was taking place.

Already in the early days of the Fāṭimid Caliphate, the divergence between the interests of the state and the claims of the revolutionaries became apparent, and the Carmathian opposition within the sect came into direct conflict with the central authority. The change inaugurated by Badr al-Jamālī widened the breach, and rendered the final rupture inevitable.

Between Ḥasan i Sabbāḥ, the leader of the Assassins, and Badr al-Jamālī, the military amīr, there could be little in common, and, according to some sources, the two men came into conflict as early

as Ḥasan's visit to Cairo. The succession of Badr by his son Afḍal made little change in the state of affairs. When Afḍal, a few months after his succession to power, was confronted, by the death of Mustanṣir, with the problem of choosing a successor, his choice was not difficult. On the one hand was Nizār—an adult, known and honoured by the dā'īs, probably enjoying the personal support of Ḥasan i Sabbāḥ—on the other hand Musta'lī, a youth, without allies or supporters, who would consequently be entirely dependant on Afḍal. It was almost certainly with this object in mind that Afḍal arranged the marriage between his own daughter and Musta'lī. In choosing Musta'lī, Afḍal split the da'wa from top to bottom, and alienated—perhaps intentionally—almost the whole of its following in the eastern lands of Islām. A few years later, on the death of Āmir, the son and successor of Musta'lī, in 1131, even those Ismā'īlīs who had remained faithful to Musta'lī refused to recognize the new ruler in Cairo, and so the final severance of the bonds between the Fāṭimids and their dā'īs was effected.

The two texts under consideration are products of this extremely interesting period, and in publishing them, Mr. Fyzee has not only provided a welcome addition to our scanty stock of printed Ismā'īlī literature, but has also rendered a service to all students of mediæval Islāmic history. The texts are both official statements issued by the Fāṭimid government during the reign and in the name of the Caliph Āmir. They contain a defence of the right of succession of Musta'lī, and were presumably issued in reply to Nizārī claims. The interest of the texts lies rather in their deficiencies than in their merits, for the case they put is weak in the extreme. The arguments are feeble and unconvincing, and the references to factual evidence few and far between. The significant thing is that the epistles admit the public appointment of Nizār as heir-apparent, and the general proclamation of this appointment. The claims of Musta'lī are based on a subsequent cancellation of this, and a new appointment, this time of Musta'lī himself. The evidence adduced in support of this second appointment is fragmentary and vague, and the occasion on which it is said to have taken place—the wedding of Musta'lī and the daughter of Afḍal—is itself suspect. Particularly interesting in this connection is the remark attributed to Nizār by the Hidāya: "She (the sister of Nizār) said that on the day of the marriage of our Lord Musta'lī to the daughter of the Amīr al-Juyūsh, Nizār came to her and said: 'I did not despair of the Caliphate until to-day'" (p. 14). Even more surprising is the

principle involved. The whole conception of a revoked appointment is fundamentally opposed to Ismā'īlī doctrine. Indeed, the sect owed its very inception to its refusal to recognize a similar revocation in the case of Ismā'īl b. Ja'far. Another argument used against the Nizārīs is the alleged absence of issue to Nizār "and what stronger proof could there be of the invalidity of his Imāmate than the extinction of his line" (p. 23). An ironic commentary on this argument is provided by the extinction of Āmir's own line after his death. The text, on the whole, thus merely confirms the impression gained from other sources, that Nizār was the original and generally recognized heir to the Imāmate, and that the second appointment, of Musta'lī, if indeed it took place at all, was purely a political manœuvre of Afḍal, intended to assure himself a dependant and subservient Caliph.

The edition, as Mr. Fyzee himself says, is tentative, being based exclusively on recent and faulty MSS.—unfortunately the only ones available—and, therefore, without any serious *apparatus criticus*. The text is lithographed in a clear Indian hand, and a number of alternative readings are given in the notes. It must be agreed that in spite of the defects, both technical and intrinsic, of the text, it was well worth editing.

Mr. Fyzee's introduction consists of a brief analysis of the contents of the text, including a number of useful references to other (unpublished) Ismā'īlī works. It is, however, to be regretted that in his comment, Mr. Fyzee has confined himself almost exclusively to the religious aspect of the great Ismā'īlī schism, leaving the historical aspect—and with it, the Sunnī historical sources—strictly alone. A comparison of the account given in the text with those of Ibn al-Qalānisī (127–8), Abū'l-Maḥāsin Taghrī-Bardī (ii, 2. 298), and Juvainī (iii, 179 and 186), to quote but three examples, should have been of some interest. De Lacy O'Leary's *Fatimid Caliphate*, which is Mr. Fyzee's sole reference for non-Ismā'īlī sources, is hardly adequate. For, as I have tried to show, it is in the general political evolution of Fāṭimid Egypt, rather than in the obscure squabbles of conflicting sects and contending dynasts, that the real motive and the real significance of the defection of the Ismā'īlī da'wa from the Fāṭimid state lie. The Carmathians began it. The Nizārīs continued it. The followers of Ṭayyib completed it.

B. Lewis.

THE HAVERFORD SYMPOSIUM ON ARCHÆOLOGY AND THE BIBLE. By W. F. ALBRIGHT, G. A. BARTON, H. J. CADBURY, J. W. FLIGHT A. GOETZE, T. J. MEEK, J. A. MONTGOMERY, J. A. WILSON, and E. GRANT, editor. Biblical and Kindred Studies, No. 6. Haverford College, published jointly with and distributed by the American Schools of Oriental Research. 9 × 5½ in., x + 246 pp. New Haven, 1938.

The book contains eight surveys on the present state of Near East studies having either a direct bearing on the Biblical field, or else forming an indirect background of general importance. It opens with a masterly study by W. F. Albright on Syro-Palestinian archæology. G. A. Barton treats of Old Testament studies, H. J. Cadbury of New Testament studies, J. W. Flight of the history of writing. Flight's article deals for the most part with what was one of the most important of our material inheritances from the Near East, alphabet writing. In view of the great discoveries of the last decades—the Proto-Sinaitic script, the Byblos inscriptions, the Ugaritic script—we are now in a position to sketch out an alphabetic history from somewhere near the 19th century B.C. It must, however, be stated that the problems connected with the early centuries are still controversial. Obermann's very important article in the *JAOS* (1938, Supplement) could not yet be utilized in this survey. Incidentally, only the first edition of Jensen's work is quoted, although the second, revised one, appeared in 1936. Anatolian and Hittite studies are dealt with by A. Goetze. The article on Mesopotamian studies, by T. J. Meek, is a veritable introduction to that field. J. A. Montgomery writes on Arabian studies, J. A. Wilson on those of Egypt. E. Grant, the editor, contributes in the form of a supplement the publication of ten Old Babylonian contracts.

The work is a most valuable survey of Near East studies and to specialists in one department a welcome source of information about adjacent sections.

S. BIRNBAUM.

THE DECLINE OF THE SALJŪQID EMPIRE. By M. F. SANAULLAH. pp. xxxviii + 150. University of Calcutta, 1938. 8°.

It is a satisfaction to see that the University of Calcutta has printed in such a handy form this thesis for which the author was awarded the Ph.D. degree by the University of London. In several respects, Dr. Sanaullah's book can be recommended as a contribution

to be imitated by other Oriental students. Its subject is clearly defined; its arrangement in chapters is lucid and its style direct. The chronological survey and index are most welcome.

On the whole, the Seljuk epoch is fully ripe for a scientific treatment. The sources are nearly all available in careful editions, owing to the labours of Professors Houtsma, Süssheim, Muḥammad Iqbāl, etc. Apart from the earlier translations of passages from such works as the *Tārīkh-i guzīda* and the *Rauḍat al-ṣafā*, a series of recent articles in the *Encyclopedia of Islam* from the pen of Houtsma, Zetterstéen, and H. Bowen, gives an epitome of the present-day knowledge on the principal rulers and statesmen of the time. It is to be hoped that a very elaborate thesis on the sources of the Seljuk period written by Dr. V. A. Hamdani (Oxford, 1938) will see the light before long. Another thesis on the social organization of the Seljuks is under way at the University of London. An English translation of Niẓām al-mulk's *Siyāsat-nāma* is also in preparation and Professor F. Gabrieli's critical remarks on the text (Naples, 1938) will be helpful for the revision of the text.

The history of the Great Seljuks, who had created a state extending from the Oxus to the Mediterranean, is obviously the particularly interesting subject for study, referring as it does to a new state of things brought about by the advance of the Turks and their numerous, peaceful and warlike, contacts with Caucasian, Byzantine, and Western lands. The Crusades were a direct reply to the Seljuk successes.

Dr. Sanaullah studies a period less known in larger circles, that of the comparative decadence between the years A.D. 1092 and 1118, marked by great struggles among the sons of Malikshāh. The forces of disruption of the subsequent epoch become manifest at this period, which abounded in such spectacular events as the march of Tutush from Syria to Rayy, the five great battles between the brothers Barkyaruq (in Turkish, "strong light") and Muḥammad, etc. Some entirely new agencies come to light during this time, as the curious growth of women's interference in politics, a typically Turkish phenomenon rightly insisted upon by Dr. Sanaullah (pp. 8–17). Assignments of lands to the military (p. 70) also show a striking development. The author ought to have tried to connect it with the increased necessity of keeping up larger armies combined with the great monetary crisis of the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D., most clearly attested by numismatic evidence.

The author's Bibliography, which occupies twelve pages, could certainly spare such unnecessary references as to Mme de Warzée's *Peeps into Persia*, 1913, etc. On the contrary, no use seems to have been made of the special essay on the reign of Bark-yaruq by C. Defrémery, one of the most conscientious historians of the Middle East, *Journal Asiatique*, 1853, 139 pages (misquoted in Dr. Sanaullah's Bibliography). No progress in science is possible unless we stand on our predecessors' shoulders. Speaking of the fifth battle between Bark-yaruq and Muḥammad, Dr. Sanaullah (p. 111) says that Muḥammad fled "to Tirmidh [*sic*] by way of Arjīsh, Khilāt and Aāni . . . and finally went to Tabrīz". Tirmidh lies on the Oxus in Turkestan, and is out of place here (unless *Āmid* is to be read in its stead). Defrémery, p. 132, explains the passage in more detail, and says that Muḥammad went to Ānī (in Armenia), whose prince was Manūchihr, brother of Faḍlūn (of the Shaddādī dynasty).

Among the occasional slips, Turkish names, as usual, occupy the place of honour. We shall enumerate them as they come. P. 1. "Five bands" does not convey the idea of *Panj-naubat*, namely that the Sulṭān's band plays five times a day. P. 3. Unar, as Georgian and Armenian transcriptions show, must be *Ōnār* "he grows". P. 5. Qumushtaking **Qamīsh-tagin*, cf. Ghamīsh "a reed", a lieutenant of Bughā, in Ṭabarī, iii, 1415. P. 6. Qutlagh **Qutlugh* "the blessed one". P. 19. The plural *Turkomen* is as bad as German Muselmänner (now obsolete !). P. 21. Duzdār **diz-dār*. P. 27. Jawāli **Chaulī*, either "famous" from *chav* "sound, renown", or better "a falcon", Kāshgharī, i, 360; *ibid.* Jakarmish (p. 70, Jikirmish) has no meaning; the reading is probably *Jügürmish* "he ran away"; *ibid.* Qizughli **Qīz-oghlī* "the daughter's son". P. 34. Read *Salghur*, *Surkhāb*. P. 43. Bulkabak **Bilga-bāk* "the sage prince", Sabjas **Sujās*. P. 48. Yalbard, very probably **Yulbars* "a tiger". P. 49. Bajsara **Bā-jisrā*, Kumashtakin **Kümüshtagin*. P. 56. Yanal **Yinal*. P. 62. Sarmaz, probably *Sārmāz* "he does not persevere" (?). P. 67. **Dushmanziyār*. P. 74. Kardkuh **Girdakūh*. P. 119. Kantghadi **Kün-toghdi* "daylight is born". P. 120. Ilbi **Alpī*. P. 130. Jaghri **Chaghrī* ("a kind of bird of prey").

V. MINORSKY.

SIMPLE COLLOQUIAL PERSIAN. By C. L. HAWKER. 16°, pp. 63 + 10. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1937. 3*s*.

Hundreds of travellers, business-men, and residents in Iran wish to acquire some practical knowledge of Persian, without any pretence to being able to read books in Arabic characters. The task presents no difficulty, for spoken Persian has a very regular grammar. All essential rules, including the pronunciation, can be explained in three hours. Further progress depends on the acquisition of the vocabulary, but even 400–500 basic words assure to a student a mass of combinations and make him feel at ease among the Persian-speaking population.

The study of simple Persian is unfortunately hampered by the absence of suitable manuals. Phillott's *Higher Persian Grammar* is very bulky, being designed for professional interpreters. St. Clair-Tisdall's *Modern Persian Conversation Grammar* can be used safely only under the supervision of a trained teacher; the book is full of misprints and is notoriously inadequate as regards the pronunciation, e.g. the words are accented not as they are pronounced in Persian, but more or less as an Englishman would be disposed to read them. A good *Colloquial Grammar* compiled by the late German diplomat Dr. F. Rosen was published in English by Messrs. Luzac in 1898, but is now out of print.

The classes of students referred to above will naturally be interested in Mr. C. L. Hawker's *Simple Colloquial Persian*, and we learn from its Preface that since 1931 the little book has been through five editions and has been circulated privately for the staff of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. Its chief merit is the practical selection of words in the short Anglo-Persian vocabulary (pp. 41–63) containing some 1,600 items, plus a Supplement on the important "household" expressions (pp. 71–80). The short phrases disposed in twenty diminutive lessons are also to the point. Less happy is the grammar, in which the author is not quite at home. P. 11. The explanation of the all-pervading construction of *ezāfat* is misleading. The author first says that it "denotes possession" but later adds that it is used also with adjectives. As a matter of fact, it would be enough to say that in Persian a substantive, an adjective, a pronoun, a numeral, and even an infinitive, are all indiscriminately treated as "nouns", and then to add that, if such a "noun" is qualified or explained by another "noun", (1) it stands first, (2) it is followed by an unaccented suffix *-e* (or *-ye*), (3) after which comes the qualifying "noun". *Pīr-e mard* (p. 12) is no exception to the rule. P. 15, *hast*, etc., is not used for "he is", but rather for "he

exists". Cf. p. 16, where the right form *-ast* is used. P. 18. The formation of tenses could be better presented in a table. P. 19. In *khāham kard, kard* is defined as "past root" (why ?), but on p. 39 rightly as a "shortened infinitive". P. 21. The important meaning of *dārad* "there is" is not quoted. Nothing is said on the distinction between proper prepositions (*bar, dar*) and simple nouns used as prepositions but requiring an *ezāfat* (p. 22) : *rū-ye, bālā-ye*. P. 39. The explanation "*bāyad* = must" is wrong. One ought to say : English sentences "I must go", etc., must be translated : "it is necessary (*bāyad* "il faut") that I go."

Pronunciation, as given by the author, is unfortunately a mixture of the phonetic "transcription" of the spoken language and the so-called "transliteration", as only conventionally used in learned books. One is glad to see Persian *kasra* quite rightly transcribed with *e : kūchek, gereftam, hāzer, āb-e sard*, etc. Quite right, too, is the fact that final *fatḥa* in such words as *banda, hafta* has become *kasra* and the words are now pronounced *bande, hafte*. However, the author, under the influence of the term applying only to the Arabic alphabet, speaks of a "silent *h*" which has no *locus standi* in Latin transcription. He accordingly spells *hafteh*, etc., but this leads him into confusion with the words in which *h* is pronounced : *deh* ("village"), *motavajjeh* ("careful"), etc. Still worse is the spelling *khānehi* (for *khāne-ī*). The best way would be to spell *hafte* (or *hafté* if it is absolutely desired to remind the student that all the letters must be pronounced). In fact the author spells *dast-e chap*, etc., though he is again inconsistent in *berāyeh* "for". In Persian there is no *i* "as in *sit*" (p. 8), and *khoditān* (p. 38) is a mistake. Consequently it would be necessary to explain that all *i*'s are long. Quite unexpected are *kashty, arūsy* with *y* instead of *ī*.

The author writes regularly *ū*, but contrary to this system *tool* (p. 39) stands for the expected *tūl*. Short *ḍamma* is pronounced nowadays *o* (though not as in English *pot*, but as in French *pomme !*) and one is glad to see (p. 16) *khormā, tofang, moshkel*. But then why *dukhtar, pur*, etc., instead of *dokhtar, por ?*

As the book is destined for English students, there is no harm in transcribing the diphthong *ey* as *ay*, e.g. *kay* "when", but all consistency was forgotten in the word *ty-yārreh* (*sic*) instead of *tayyāré*. The other Persian diphthong is described quite inadequately (p. 8) : "*ō*—as in *no*". This sign *ō* stands in fact for the diphthong o^u. It is true that the English *o* in *no* is diphthongal, but Persian no^u ("new")

sounds very different from English *no*. If only English sounds be used for explanation, it may be better to say that *no*ᵘ reminds one of the English *aw* (as in *paw*) + a very short *u*. It is a mistake to imagine (pp. 12–13) that *do* (" two "), *to* (" thou "), and *khob* (for *khūb* " good ") are long.

Occasional slips in misheard words (*mutovajjeh*, for *motavajjeh*) are too numerous to be recorded.

Mr. Hawker's manual as it stands may prove useful for beginners, but it needs a drastic overhauling before it can be recommended as a trustworthy guide.

V. MINORSKY.

TAHT TLIET SALTNIET. By ĠUŻÉ AQUILINA. 8vo, pp. 478. Malta: Empire Press, 1938.

This is the novel that took the first prize offered by the Malta Government in 1935. As its title shows (" Under three Lordships ") its setting is at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when Malta passed from the rule of the Knights to that of Napoleon, and then to that of the English. One of the heroes of the story is M. A. Vassalli, the compiler of the first Maltese Lexicon, who is styled Mgħallem, or Master, by the little group of native conspirators in the plot against the Grandmaster. We know very little of Vassalli but my impression is that he was never popular with his fellow-countrymen, and that his few friends were all among the French Knights, favourable to the Revolution, but in a romance one must not insist on finding real history. Among the expressions used in the book, I note that Moħħ (i.e. brain) is used in a figurative sense, moħħ kbir seemingly meaning " high intelligence ", p. 13, and moħħ il kliem " inclination to talk ". Wisq naħseb, p. 75, looks like the English " I much suspect ", just as it-tliet egħxieren looks like " three score ". To speak of good news as bxara it-tajba seems odd, until we call to mind that in Maltese bxara means any sort of news, good or bad. As usual, there are a few new composite words, e.g. għalissa (now, lit. at this hour), p. 85.

Some of the comparisons used are odd. A lady's hair is described as abjad qotna (white as cotton), p. 106, to which I suppose our " white as a sheet " might be compared, whilst another, younger, lady's hair is iswed tuta (as dark as the mulberry), a comparison with ample classic

precedent. But, then, another girl's teeth are said to be bojod lift (white as turnips), p. 82, which I scarcely think an English girl would take as complimentary.

Some of the denominative verbs are used in startling ways. Id-dmugħ ġelben (the tears started to the eyes), lit. means "the tears sprouted", for ġelben is a verb from ġilbiena, the name of one of the Leguminosae. Mietu ħesrem (they died young) is lit. they died as sour grapes. Waħħal ġħainejh (he fixed his eyes on somebody, p. 371), is lit. he stuck his eyes to the object with clay, for the verb is from waħal (clay, mud) now lost in Maltese.

One interesting word is nebûla, in rafa' n-nebula, p. 51, 246 (he lifted the latch by pulling a string). This is a curious instance of a new use for an ancient Arabic and Assyrian root meaning to shoot arrows. Nebûla would be a metathesis of Arabic nubâlah (apparatus). Palmer in his W. Palestine Name-Lists (p. 291) renders the name Bir Nebâla, as Well of apparatus, the word being applied to any sort of rigging. From the point of view of semantics it is well to compare this Palestinian-Maltese use with the English word bolt which originally only meant a missile though now more often used of a door-fastening.

I was rather sorry to read the words put on the lips of a Muslim on p. 68. By the way this novel is the biggest book in Maltese yet published and it was its size that accounted for the long delay in publication.

C. L. D.

L-'Jien' U Lilhinn Minnhu. By Dun Karm. 8vo, pp. 32. Malta: Chrétien, 1938.

Put into English the title is "The 'I' and its beyond", or in kitchen-Arabic "al-âna wa l-hinna minhu". Whether the "beyond" refers to space, or time, or neither, is left ambiguous. The first word of the title corresponds with the Arabic âna and should normally in Maltese give iena, and so indeed the word is actually spelt in the lexicons, but, quite lately, for some not very obvious reason, a concession has been made to the prevalent pronunciation and the tendency to draw out the *ie* sound and the word is now officially written Jiena, or Jien. The second word is hinn, also written henn, or, as in Arabic, hinna, or henna, fundamentally the same as the Maltese hemm, all with the meaning "there" as opposed to "here". Hinn is often used with

hawn, and often with an attached *l* partaking of the nature both of the article and of the preposition, il-hawn u l-hinn (here and there). Hawn, needless to say, is Arabic hâhuna; this word in Algerian Arabic gets the attached *l* exactly as in Maltese; see l-haun in Roland de Bussy, Petit Dict., 3rd ed., p. 137.

The poem would seem to have been suggested by a little book brought out some fifty years since by that kindly Gallic Carlyle, Joseph Serre (Au Large, Essai de conciliation universelle). There is no doubt that there is a high quality in Dun Karm's poesy.

Issa qed nara; nifhem kif il-werqa
Ġħandha tidbiel, tisfar u fl-aħħar taqa'
Biex tibqa ħajja s-siġra u tibqa ħadra.
Jien bkejt lill-werqa u xejn ħsibt fis-siġra.

(Now I see; how the leaf | moulders on its stem, yellows and at last falls | that the tree may stay alive and green. | Mourning for the leaf I was mindless of the tree.)

C. L. D.

Il-Malti, Diċembru, 1938. 8vo. pp. 29. Malta: Empire Press.

This tiny quarterly, now in its fifteenth year, is the organ of the Ġħaqda, which was itself the successor of the Xirka Xemija, which in its turn inherited the traditions of the Accademia Filologica. It is a miscellany of prose and verse and odd notes on matters connected with the Maltese tongue. In the present issue there is an article by Saydon on certain words on which doubts might arise. One such word is sikt, to which the lexicons assign the meaning of "silence", and which then goes with the Arabic sakt. In Maltese this noun is often used with the suffixed pronoun: jiena f'sikti means, "I am getting along comfortably," though, seemingly, it should mean "I am in my silence". Saydon, after an analysis of the forms taken by the suffix comes to the conclusion that, here, as so often elsewhere, two words have got jumbled. The phrase should be written: Jiena f'sikkti, and the word is not sikt at all, but sikka (Ar. sikkah), the *t* being t-marbuta. In modern Maltese sikka only means a ploughshare, but the Arabic equivalent meant also any furrow, groove, road, or course. The meaning is obvious: we are happy when we are in our groove or rut, and uncomfortable when we get out of it. I have very little doubt

in my mind that Saydon is right, and his diagnosis is confirmed by the fact, that, in the Qâmûs we find the Ar. bi-sikkitihi, in the sense: conveniently.

Notes, like the above, have always found their place in Il-Malti; and should be helpful in the drafting of a new and fuller list of Maltese words.

By the way, not long ago a number of Il-Berqa, one of the vernacular newspapers, came into my hand in which there was a thoroughly funny little poetical skit called the "Triumvirate", dealing with three of the writers who have all along taken a prominent part in the redaction of Il-Malti. The saving rain of humour is always welcome, and doubly so in the dusty field of linguistics.

C. L. D.

RAKKONT TA' SAFRA FL-ART IMQADDSA MINN PATRI FRANĊISKAN SPANJOL. By SIR HARRY CHARLES LUKE. Translated into Maltese by MICHAEL KISSAUN. 8vo. pp. 116. Malta: Government Press, 1897.

A Spanish Franciscan, who in the middle of the 16th century pilgrimed to the Holy Land taking in on his way, Tripolis and Beyrut, Mt. Sinai, Cairo, and Alexandria, left a written record of things seen, and this MS. came into the hands of Sir Harry Luke who translated it into English. It is this translation which has now been re-translated into Maltese.

On p. 15 I think that the translator should have told us that the plant he speaks of as having possibly given its name to Haleb or Aleppo is that known in Maltese as Ħelba. On p. 33 the practice of the Christians in throwing stones at the fabled site of the Barren Fig-tree seems modelled on the "Casting of stones" that forms part of the Meccan pilgrimage. On p. 34 a coin is called the "excellente", no doubt a rendering of the Ar. sherîfy, which also seems to lie behind the olden English "noble". The charnel-house described on p. 53 was again spoken of by Maundrell a century later; seemingly, Christian pilgrims who died at Jerusalem were not buried but simply wrapped in a winding-sheet and left exposed in this strange edifice.

On p. 65 a certain relic of Christ's infancy which shall be nameless is said to be preserved at "Notre Dame of Dupini in the province of Béarn". Obviously Sir Harry Luke must have misunderstood the

text before him, and "Dupini" stands for Le Puy-en-Velay, where, in the cathedral of Notre Dame, such a relic is actually recorded. But there were no less than five other specimens of the same relic shown in other parts of Europe. *See* Collin de Plancy, Dict. des Reliques, ii, p. 46 sqq.

C. L. D.

IL-HAJJA TAR-RE U R-REĠINA TAGHNA. By MICHAEL KISSAUN. 8vo. Malta: Progress Press, 1937.

The writer has here put together a goodly number of photographs, with an account of the life of the present King and Queen. Opposite p. 8, a photograph shows the then Prince busy planting in the well-known Boschetto a tree, that, both at the foot of the picture and on p. 16 is described as an "awrikarja". It is not the Chile Araucaria that we call monkey-puzzle but presumably some other species, but what accounts for the transposition of the letters in its name? Such wilful transposition is quite normal in Maltese, and, in this case, is perhaps facilitated by the fact that, whereas "arau" means nothing, there is a glimpse of meaning in "auri", just as naranj, in modern botanic Latin has grown into aurantium (an orange).

C. L. D.

LEHEN IL-MALTI. January, 1939. 8vo. pp. 16. Malta: Empire Press.

This is the ninety-fifth number of a little monthly issued by a group at Malta University wishful of promoting the study of Maltese. It consists mainly of short poems, book-reviews, and notes. Among the latter are some remarks on two or three Maltese verbs. I am afraid I cannot accept any of the explanations offered, but one of them is distinctly ingenious. There is a curious imperative in Maltese. "Hurry up," addressed to one person is isa! To two persons it is isaw! The proposal is to take this for Ar. ihsa', ihs'u from the hasa' verb given by certain modern Arabic lexicons. It would be interesting to learn whether this Arabic word is anywhere so used at the present day. My own impression is that both the Maltese imperative and the late Arabic verb are just denominatives from the vulg. Ar. is-sâ'a (this very hour!).

C. L. D.

TAGHLIM FUQ IL-KITBA MALTIJA, IT-TIENI KTIEB. By A. CREMONA. 8vo. pp. 232. Malta : Muscat, 1938.

This is a grammar for use in the upper schools of Malta. About the Maltese alphabet. Some have asked why the Maltese put a dot over the native letter zain (ż) and not over the far less frequent zed used in foreign words such as zappîn (ultimately from Latin sappinus). The reason is simply that the zain is dotted in Arabic, in that case, needless to say, in order to distinguish it from the ra. The use was first introduced in the Reading-book of 1839. Others are puzzled about the use the Maltese make of the x for the letter shin. This use goes back at least to 1824 and was, no doubt, introduced under Spanish influence. It is well to recall that the name of the North Italian town of Brescia was in ancient times spelt Brixia, and I have little doubt that that x was pronounced as sh. In their spelling, the Maltese pay some attention to etymology, and though, e.g., a final *b* tends to become a *p* (as in Turkish), the Maltese write ktieb for book (and not kitap as the Turks) and miktub for written (not mektup like the Turks).

In this Grammar the verbs are conjugated as in non-Semitic grammars, in the order 1st, 2nd, 3rd persons instead of the normal 3rd, 2nd, 1st. The derived Forms are so numbered that only two Forms (IX and X), correspond with those in the Arabic lexicons and grammars, whilst Form II of the quadriliteral verb is assimilated to IV of the triliteral, all the numbers being accordingly discordant by one unit just as is the case with the Ten Commandments in the various Churches. Some had hoped that the Malta Government, in subsidizing the Sutcliffe Grammar which we reviewed here two years ago, would have adopted the reforms therein tacitly suggested, but it seems that the force of the contrary practice was too strong.

The Grammar allows a certain amount of freedom in the spelling of certain words ; " the roots " may be spelt (p. 21) either l-eghruq, or, il-ghheruq. Words like ukoll (also, lit. " and all ") when they follow a vowel are written wkoll, e.g. hu wkoll (it also), p. 101. Composites may be framed by running together two words : " at times " becomes mindaqqiet, p. 224. No blame is incurred for inverting the due order of noun and adjective, and you may write : il-mahbub tifel taghna (our beloved children), p. 195. It is quite the usual thing to begin letters with Dear Friend, Ghaziz Habib, though a lurking sense that this is quite wrong leads some to start, by the word Habib, with a note of exclamation. On p. 225 there are a few words on how prepositions can alter the meaning of verbs, but for a detailed treatment of this I

suppose we shall have to wait for the new Maltese lexicon, for there are very many such verbs, e.g. ghadda minn (to pass by), p. 210. By the way, the reason why the verb mar (to go) is conjugated (p. 97) partly as a doubled verb and partly as a hollow verb is that the doubled verb * marr has been affected in Maltese by the hollow Arabic verb mâr.

C. L. DESSOULAVY.

DE NOMINALE KLASSIFICATIE IN DE AFRIKAANSCHE NEGERTALEN. By J. WILS. NIJMEGEN, 1935.

Some years ago the author published in " Congo " a long article (in sections) entitled " De Klassificatie der Afrikanaansche Negertalen " in which a masterly account was given of the work of Africanists and the progress of ideas concerning African language evolution up to the present time. This article has, evidently, inspired the author to propound his own theories of language development, which seem to be mostly an elaboration of the long since discredited views of Drexel ; and the introductory chapter on the classification of African languages, which is by far the most practical and useful in the book, is, unfortunately, a mere abridgment of the original article.

The aims of the book, to quote the author, are " to give a certain rearrangement of the available material in order to bring to the fore the psychological-grammatical aspects. Two problems will as a result claim principal attention, (1) the gradual development of the classification tendency and its slow incorporation in the language system, (2) the total contents and structure of the classes as they are formed. To the practical analysis of the languages under discussion is added a short discussion of the language type to which they belong ".

The " language type " strikes one as a rather arbitrary association of linguistic and anthropological phenomena ; for instance, the lowest layer consists in a combination of isolative language and totemism ; then comes the combination of grammatical phenomena like the article, number, case, verb inflection with the matriarchal system of clan organization. Higher levels are represented by Hamitic and Bantu influences, and invading patriarchal cattle culture people from Asia.

The language groups, which he discusses in turn both generally and with particular regard to their noun systems, show an out of date classification. They are :

1. The Equatorial and Bornu languages.

2. The West Sudan languages, (*a*) Mandingo and Guinea groups; (*b*) West Atlantic group; (*c*) Volta group; (*d*) Togo language enclave.

3. The Nilotic languages, under which are grouped languages of such diverse structures as Dinka, Zande, Mangbetu, Masai, and the Kordofan "Nuba" dialects.

4. The Bantu languages; here, with a broad choice of languages, one might have expected a representative selection, instead of which we find Yaunde (a north-west language much influenced by neighbouring Sudanic languages), Kuanjama (Ovambo, a little known south-west language), and Rundi. None of these languages are represented in Meinhof's "Lautlehre", nor, except in the case of the suspect Yaunde, have they been carefully analysed phonetically or for tone.

As the title of the book suggests, the author confines himself almost exclusively to the study of nouns, and the noun system in each main language or group is indicated by a complex tridimensional diagram, purporting to show the underlying genus of its class or gender structure.

Some of the author's conclusions are startling, as, for instance, when he postulates a previous cattle culture for the Zande because the language has four genders, but his main conclusions are in line with those of most African philologists, namely that the Central Sudan languages represent the most primitive level of African speech, that the Mandingo languages are a development of these, probably due to external influence, and the Bantu languages a further development still; also that there has been much contact, and consequently much assimilation, between these levels or layers, further complicated by a much later Hamitic invasion.

The book contains 500 pages and deals with a great number of African languages. It will have value as a book of linguistic reference, in that something is told us about most of Africa's Negro languages. It remains for us, however, to separate language fact from enveloping theories.

A. N. TUCKER.

DIE MIT B.-ÎLE GEBILDETEN PERFEKTSTÄMME IN DEN BANTU-SPRACHEN. By PAUL BERGER (Sonderabdruck aus der Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen.) pp. 231. Berlin, 1938.

Dr. Berger has chosen an interesting subject for his "Dissertation", and one that has long needed investigation. The work is in two parts, the first dealing with forms of the perfect in specific Bantu languages,

Herero, Ndali, Kikuyu (where special emphasis is laid on the difference between *-ile* and *ite*), Yao, Konde, and Safwa; and the second part dealing with forms of the perfect stem, drawn from the Bantu field in general. His treatise is particularly illuminating where it shows the effect that the shifting of word stress plays in the "contracted" perfects, and his theory of the transposition of *î* in trisyllabic verbs explains many other puzzling "irregularities". He has over simplified the rules for sound change in Sotho, ignoring the middle vowels which lie between his *o* and *o̱*, and between his *e* and *e̱*; the latter middle vowel happens to be the vowel in the *-ile* suffix itself (and all its derived forms), besides being the "umlaut" form of *a* and *e̱* before this suffix. All this would have been apparent if the author had consulted Jones's "Sechuana Reader" or my own "Comparative Phonetics of Suto-Chuana". Similarly, his Swahili material, which is rather scrappy, would have benefited considerably if he had taken into account Miss M. Bryan's "The 'Archaic' Perfect Tense in Old and Modern Swahili" (*BSOS*, 1937), which treats the subject exhaustively for that language.

A. N. TUCKER.

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BULLETIN

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1940

PAPERS CONTRIBUTED

Another Ancient Tribe of the Panjab

By L. D. Barnett

I

In his admirable *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 282–4 and Introduction, pp. clvii f., Mr. J. Allan describes what he calls "a puzzling group" of coins in the British Museum, of which he has deciphered the legends; but he is unable to throw any light upon them beyond the fact that they were obtained by the late Mr. Rodgers at Barwala (in Hissar District, Panjab). I am able to locate them with certainty, and propose to add some relevant observations.

The legends of these coins seem to fall into two classes, viz. (1) *Agōdakā Agāca-jana-padasa*, and (2) *Agāca-mitrapadābhiṣayana*.[1]

Agōdakā—i.e. *Aggōdakā*—is the ablative of the Prakrit name of a known town, which is discussed by M. J. Przyluski in his brilliant article "Un ancien peuple du Penjab: Les Udumbaras" (*JA.*, tome ccviii, 1926, no. 1, pp. 16 ff.), under its Sanskrit name *Agrōda* or *Agrōdaka*. He there points out that it lay between Śākala (Sialkot) and Rōhitaka (Rohtak), and identifies it with the modern Agroha, thirteen miles north-west of Hissar. This conjecture is fully confirmed by the fact that the coins which are now in the British Museum were acquired by Mr. Rodgers at Barwala, a few miles eastward from Agroha. The meaning of the name *Aggōdaka*, however, is not quite

[1] For these revised readings I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Allan. He reports that in no. 1 *Agōdakī* is also a possible reading, and that in the last syllables of no. 2 the vowels are uncertain, but the letters seem to be *-ṣayānā*.

clear. Sanskrit *agra* and Prakrit *agga* may both be used as substantives signifying: (1) top, point, summit; (2) front, forepart; (3) beginning; (4) excess, and as adjectives denoting: (5) first in place or time, foremost; (6) excellent, chief, etc. Hence are derived Panjabi *aggā* (< Pkt. **aggayaṃ* < **aggakaṃ*), "front, forepart," Hindi *āgē* (< **aggayē* < **aggakē*), "before" in place or time, and Gujarati *āg*, "passage in front of a house." Thus *Aggōdaka* or *Agrōdaka* would mean "place of foremost waters", whatever that may signify. Its modern name *Agrōhā* may come from a Pkt. **Agga-rōhaya*, "foremost bank," from Skt. **Agra-rōdhaka*; cf. Skt. *rōdhas*, Pali *rōdha*, "bank, dam." The similar town-name *Amrōhā* may be explained in like manner as from Skt. **Āmra-rōdhaka*. The Panj. *rōhī* (< **rōhiyā* < **rōdhikā*) denotes, among other things, the bed of a stream or the stream itself; so perhaps in such town-names *rōhā* may have practically meant a stream, and thus *Agrōhā* would be an almost exact equivalent of *Aggōdaka*.

It is also possible that *Agrōhā* may be directly derived from *Agrōdaka*, and *Amrōhā* from *Amarōdaka*. But on that hypothesis it is difficult to account for the survival of the *r* in the first of these names, and moreover the appearance of *h* as a hiatus-stop in both of them would be anomalous in a Northern dialect, though regular in Sinhalese.

Now we come to *Agāca*. As the coin-legends tell us, this was the name of a *jana-pada* or oligarchic tribal state whose capital was Aggōdaka; and this fact suggests some further connection between the two names. It seems reasonable to trace back *Agāca* to a hypothetical Skt. **agrā-tya* or **agrāt-tya*, or to both. In order to make adjectives of place in Skt. the affix *-tya* is added to a considerable number of adverbs of place, including *dakṣiṇā* (originally an instrumental case),[1] and *paścāt* (originally ablative), whence have arisen *dakṣiṇātya*, "dwelling in the south," and **paścāttya*,[2] "dwelling in the west," which apparently is no longer extant, but has left a derivative in *pāścāttya*. Both *agrātya* and *agrāttya* would become in Pkt. either *aggacca*, or in some dialects (including the parents of Western Panjabi, Sindhi, and Lahndi) *aggāca*, spelt on our coins *agāca*.[3]

[1] Of instrumentals thus used as adverbs of place we find in older Skt. *dakṣiṇā*, *madhyā*, *nīcā*, *prācā*, *uccā*, *paścā*, and *tiraścā* (Whitney, *SG.*, 2nd ed., § 1112 (*e*)).

[2] With this type cf. the forms constructed from adverbs ending in *-tas*, e.g. *tatastya*. So, too, *paurastya* implies an earlier **purastya*.

[3] This reference to W. Panjabi, Sindhi, and Lahndi I owe to the kindness of Professor Turner. He compares Sindhi *cāḍru* "lunar", from Skt. *cāndra*, and writes: "The long vowel must have continued throughout the Middle Indian (Pkt.) period.

The first type of legend may then be translated: "[coin] of the tribal state of the Aggācas, [issued] from Aggōdaka."[1]

The second type of legend is more difficult. We have first *Agāca-mitra-padā* . . ., where *mitra-pada* appears in lieu of *jana-pada*. *Mitra* in the language of polity denotes an ally or confederate; hence *Agāca-mitra-pada* means "The Allied State of the Aggācas". The following letters, which Mr. Allan now reads as *-bhiṣayānā*, with some doubt as to the vowels in the last three syllables, may perhaps be emended to *-bhiṣṭhāyinām* or *-bhiṣṭhāyinaḥ*.[2] Thus the legend may be provisionally given as *Agāca-mitra-padābhiṣṭhāyinām* or *A°-mitra-padābhiṣṭhāyinaḥ*, "[coin] of the rulers (or ruler) of the Allied State of the Aggācas."

II

Why did the Aggācas entitle themselves an "Allied State?" The history of the Panjab suggests a ready answer. The tribal states in that region seem to have formed themselves at various times into confederations or leagues, to which M. Przyluski has called attention in his stimulating monograph "Un ancien peuple du Penjab: Les Salva."[3]

Its existence is hidden by the Kharoṣṭhī script, but is attested in the Brāhmī of Aśoka's Girnar—*nāsti, rāño*, etc., as compared with the Eastern (*nathi*, etc.), where the shortening in front of a consonant-group had already taken place, as found later in the Prakrits." Such preservation of an originally long vowel should be distinguished from a secondary lengthening of a short vowel before double consonants with accompanying loss of a consonant, as in *Īdrapā[la]*, *Jīvanādāye*, for *Indrapāla*, *Jīvanandāyāḥ*, at Mathura, *EI.*, ii, p. 201 (cf. Pischel, *G.P.-S.*, § 62 ff.; V. Lesný in *ZDMG.*, 72 (1918), p. 206; and W. Printz, *Bhāsa's Prākrit*, p. 9). So, too, Hindi *kāṇ* < *kaṇṇa* < *karṇa*, et sim.

[1] With this use of the ablative to denote the place of issue compare its frequent use for the same purpose in charters. Possibly, however, we should read *Agōdakē* in the locative (above, p. 277, n. 1). In either case the formula is parallel to that of the Śibi coin-legends, *Majhamikāya Śibi-jana-padasa*, where *Majhamikāya*, denoting the city of Madhyamikā, may be taken as either loc. or abl.

[2] Though *abhiṣṭhāyin* does not seem to be extant in literature, it is quite regularly derived from *abhi-ṣṭhā-*, meaning primarily "stand upon", thence "prevail over", "dominate", "be supreme", which occurs in Vēdic texts (e.g. *Ṛv.* IV, iv, 9, *abhí dyumnā́ tasthivā́ṃsō jánānām*, "standing supreme in glories of the folk"), and sometimes in later Skt., as well as in Pali (e.g. *Dīgha-nikāya* xx, 20, *Sahassa-Brahmalōkānaṃ Mahābrahmā 'bhitiṭṭhati*, "M. is the lord of the Thousand Brahma-worlds"). For the mixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit in the same legend there are parallels elsewhere.

[3] *JA.*, tome ccxiv (1929), pp. 314 ff. Not all of his views, however, are convincing, and some seem untenable. In this connection it may be pointed out that the verse from the *Mantra-pāṭha* quoted by him (*Yaugandharir ēva nō rājñī Sālvīr āvādiṣuh | vivṛtta-cakrā āsīnās tīrēna Yamunē tava*, "The Sālva women, turning wheels, sitting

It is possible that the Aggācas may have been admitted into the confederation which was under the hegemony of the Sālvas; for the river Yamunā, on the bank of which some of the Sālvas at one time dwelt, flows from north to south only some seventy miles due east from Barwala. Another possibility is that they had formed a league with their neighbours the Śibis, of whom we shall say more anon. However this may be, they apparently advertised on their coins the fact that they were members of a confederation.

III

In his previously quoted essay on the Udumbaras (*JA.*, ccviii, 1926, pp. 16 ff.), M. Przyluski draws attention to the name of a town in this region which is mentioned in the *Vinaya-piṭaka* (ii, 300), where it is called *Aggaḷa-pura*. This he would identify with Agrōdaka, and I believe he is right. His arguments in themselves are not strong; but they are corroborated by considerations which I adduce here.

Aggala, an adjective derived from *agga*, is widely spread in the vernaculars. Thus we have Hindustani *āgal*, "before, in front"; Panjabi and Hindustani *aglā*, "first, foremost, chief, best"; Sindhi *aǵarō*, "first," etc.; Marathi *agḷā*, "superior, excellent"; Gujarati *āgaḷ*, "before" in place and time; Kanarese *aggaḷa* and *aggaḷe*, "great, excellent" (whence apparently by pseudo-sanskritism *argaḷa*, with same sense), *aggaḷike*, "greatness"; and Telugu *ǎggala*, "excessive, extraordinary." Hēmacandra (iv, 341), quotes from Apabhraṃśa *aggalaü*, "superior." In the name *Aggaḷa-pura*, however, I suspect that *aggaḷa* is used not in this sense as a simple adjective but as the title of a tribe or people. Tribes and the lands in which they dwelt were often designated by words ending in *-la* or *-ḷa*, e.g. *Kōsala*, *Tōsala*, *Siṃhaḷa*, *Ḍāhala*, *Utkala*, *Mēkala*, *Murala*, *Kuntala*,

on thy bank, o Yamunā, have told us that their king is a Yaugandhari") is enough to prove that the Sālvas were regarded by orthodox Brahman ritualists as being well within the pale of Brahmanism (cf. *Mahābhārata* VIII, xlv, 14). It is a *gāthā* of more or less normal type for use in the *sīmantōnnahana* rite (see A. Hillebrandt, *Ritual-Litteratur, etc.*, in Bühler's *Grundriss*, pp. 43 f.). But it is noteworthy as showing that at one time the Sālvas were settled on the bank of the Yamunā (probably the western bank), and that one of their kings bore the title *Yaugandhari*, i.e. "chieftain of the Yugandharas", who, as we know from the Vṛtti on the *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa* II, iv, 103, were one of the six tribes forming the Sālva confederation. This use of the derivative *Yaugandhari* from the tribal name *Yugandhara* is exactly parallel to that of *Ōdumbari* (i.e. Skt. *Audumbari*) from *Udumbara*, which was borne by the chieftains of the Udumbaras (see Mr. Allan's *Catalogue, ut cit.*, pp. lxxxiv, 122 ff.). The Udumbaras, like the Yugandharas, were members of the Sālva confederation.

Kēraḷa (beside *Cēra*)[1]; perhaps too *Śākala* or *Sāgala* was originally the name of the tribe inhabiting it. Names of the same and kindred types occur often in medieval and modern Aryan languages. A sub-caste of the Arora Khatrīs, for example, is called *Bāghal*, "Tiger-folk."[2] Probably the appellation of the *Bāghēlas* of Baghelkhand has the same meaning. The *Vāghēlās* of Gujarat are said to have derived their name from a village called Vyāghra-pallī, "Tiger-thorp." The name of the *Çandella* dynasty was always regarded as a Pkt. equivalent of their Skt. title *Candrātrēya*. Hence we may infer that these types of tribal names in *-la*, *-ēla*, and *-ella* were originally felt as abbreviations of compound names, exactly as was the case with names of persons.[3] I believe, therefore, that *Aggaḷa-pura* signifies "Town of the Aggaḷas", and that here *Aggaḷa* is synonymous with *Aggāca-jana-pada*, much as, e.g., *Vāghēlā* is synonymous with *Vyāghrapallīyaka* or its vernacular equivalent, so that Aggaḷa-pura and Aggōdaka are two names for the one town. Such duplication is familiar in India.

IV

According to Diodorus (xvii, 96), the *Agalasseis* were a tribe of the Panjab who were neighbours of the *Siboi*, i.e. the Śibis.[4] The Śibis dwelt in and about Shorkot in Jhang, possibly extending some distance

[1] I am unconvinced by the ingenious theory which sees in most of these tribal names evidence of Austro-Asiatic speech and race. But that question is here irrelevant. Some of these tribes may have been more or less non-Aryan in blood; but the *names* by which the Aryans designated them are definitely of Aryan type, inasmuch as they bear specifically Aryan affixes.

[2] There are many other names of this type in the North, e.g. *Gōsal* (a Jat clan in Jind), *Gondal* (a Jat clan in Shahpur, Multan, and Montgomery Districts), *Vātal* (nomad sieve-makers in Sialkot), *Dājal* (a tribe and village in Mianwali District); but it is not always clear whether the *-al* in the last syllable has originally short *a* or is abbreviated from *-āl* < *-vāl* < *-pāla*, as has happened in the case of *Haṇḍal* beside *Haṇḍāl* (also Jat clans). I am indebted to Mr. Lakshmi Chandra Khurana for drawing my attention to these Northern appellations.

[3] The study of Indian names is a field in which little work has yet been done. A. Hilka in his *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der indischen Namengebung: Die altindischen Personennamen* (Heft 3 of Hillebrandt's *Indische Forschungen*) has some useful material, but he deals only with names of persons, and even within these limits is very inadequate; for example, he takes no notice of the duplication of names in the south where Skt. names are used side by side with vernacular derivatives, e.g. *Dejja-Dēvarāja, Gojjiga-Gōvindarāja, Bijja-Vijayāditya, Sōvi-Sōmēśvara, Vikki-Vikramāditya, Biṭṭi-Viṣṇuvardhana.*

[4] He states distinctly that after receiving the submission of the Siboi Alexander marched against "the conterminous tribes", *τὰ συνορίζοντα τῶν ἐθνῶν*, and of these the first whom he mentions are the Agalasseis.

to the north-east of Jhang.[1] The distance between Agroha and the river Ravi, which is the eastern frontier of Lyallpur District on the east of Jhang, is now about 170 miles. This at first sight seems to forbid us to identify these "Agalasseis" with the Aggaḷas of Agroha. But the difficulty is not unsurmountable. Both the Śibis and the "Agalasseis" were in Alexander's time large tribes,[2] and probably occupied spacious areas extending far beyond Shorkot and Agroha and possibly including between them the part of Montgomery District which now separates Jhang from Hissar. We may therefore venture tentatively to suggest that the "Agalasseis" are the same as the Aggaḷas.

The name *Agalasseis* [3] itself seems to supply some evidence. It is an attempt to render in Greek letters a Prakrit name. What is this? Several interpretations are possible; but the simplest one that I can offer is that it stands for *Aggaḷāsō* or *Aggaḷāsē*, a nom. plur. of the masc. stem *Aggaḷa* with a vernacular flexion corresponding to the ending *-āsas* which is used in the Vēdic language side by side with the normal ending *-ās*.[4] This ending *-āsas* was not an invention of the esoteric style of the Vēda. It was at the outset drawn from the living speech of the Aryan people in the Panjab, for it is also found in a number of passages in Pali religious poetry, under two dialectal forms, *-āsē* and *-āsō*.[5] The verses in which these occur belong to an early stratum of the Buddhist Canon, and are comparatively popular, as is shown by their rather free metres and lively style: they owe little, if anything, to the technique of the Ṛgvēdic poets with its formally fixed metres and conventional diction, and they have much

[1] Dr. Vincent Smith in his paper *The Position of the Autonomous Tribes of the Panjab conquered by Alexander the Great* (*JRAS.*, 1903, pp. 685 ff.), and Chapter IV of his *Early History of India*, locates the Śibis N.E. of Jhang town on the map, not making allowance for their admitted presence in Shorkot.

[2] The "Agalasseis" according to Diodorus mustered 40,000 foot (so also Curtius, ix, 4), and 3,000 horse.

[3] So spelt by Diodorus. Vincent Smith and others wrongly write *Agalassoi*.

[4] Another instance in which Greeks have presented Indian names with a case-inflexion is that of two kings conquered by Alexander, "Mousikanos" and "Oxykanos" (v. l. "Porticanus"). Whatever the stems here may have been, the ending *-anos* seems to have been attached to them because the Greeks on hearing a phrase containing a gen. plur., let us say something like *Mūṣikāṇāṃ rājā*, "king of the Mūṣikas", wrongly understood it to mean "King Mūṣikāṇa". If the "Abastanes" are really Ambaṣṭhas, the ending *-anes* may have arisen out of some Pkt. phrase equivalent to Skt. *Ambaṣṭhānāṃ jana-padam*.

[5] Thus in the *Sutta-nipāta* we find *samūhatāsē* (14, 369), *paccayāsē* (15), *samaṇa-brāhmaṇāsē* (1079 ff.), *anāsavāsē* (1082 f.), and *samuppilavāsō* (670).

in common with the older metrical Upaniṣads. We may thence infer that the endings *-āsē* and *-āsō* in early Pali pertained to everyday speech [1]; and as they occur in two forms, they must have been in use over a fairly wide area.[2] We may or may not accept the theory of Franke [3] that Pali was "the language of an Aryan tribe wandering from the Panjab along the Indus southwards", or the view of Sir George Grierson [4] that it was based on the speech of Taxila; but at any rate some of its older elements seem to have come from north-western dialects, and to these *-āsō* and *-āsē* may well belong.

The date when these flexions were first used in Buddhist propaganda, like all other questions in the chronology of primitive Buddhism, is uncertain. But it may safely be said that it was early, probably very early; and there are some significant facts to note. In the introduction to his text and translation of the *Sutta-nipāta* the late Lord Chalmers remarks that this book "contains an ancient, probably the most ancient, part of the Sutta-piṭaka". As we have seen (above, p. 282, n. 5), the Sutta-nipāta preserves a considerable number of these flexions. One of these (369, *samūhatāsē*) is in the *Muni-sutta* or *Sammā-paribbājaniya-sutta*, which is one of the three texts of the Sutta-nipāta mentioned in Aśōka's Bhabru (Second Bairat) Edict; and five (1079 ff.) occur in the *Pārāyaṇa-vagga*, the antiquity of which is attested by the canonical *Niddesa*, a commentary upon a part of the Sutta-nipāta. These facts of course furnish no guarantee that in their primitive form these texts contained any endings in *-āsō* or *-āsē*, but at least they make this inference highly

[1] This becomes clearer when we ask the question: Whence did the Pali poets derive their *-āsē* and *-āsō*? The corresponding Vēdic form *-āsas* disappeared from Sanskrit literature at the end of the Vēdic Age, and never reappeared. The Pali poets did not borrow *-āsō* and *-āsē* from the Vēdas, which they were not allowed to hear, nor from writers of Skt. Kāvya, who never used them. Even if by a stretch of imagination we suppose that a poet might have learned them from Vēdic tradition, would he have stuffed them as literary embellishments into verses appealing to plain men to whom they were unknown? Obviously not: they must have come in the first instance from a live dialect or dialects together with the rest of the forms of speech and the vocabulary which characterize the early strata of this poetry.

[2] It has been suggested that the *ē* of *-āsē* is due to the influence of Māgadhī. This is quite unlikely and unnecessary, for even in the third century B.C. some north-western dialects had *-e* < *-as* in the nom. sing., as is shown by the Mansehra and Kalsi Edicts of Aśoka, representing the dialects respectively of Hazara and of the Lower Himalayas in the neighbourhood of Mussoorie; and still later the *-e* appears in a number of Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions, which indicate that it was a feature of the dialects spoken west of the Indus (see *CII.*, vol. ii, pt. 1, pp. cxii f.).

[3] In *ZDMG.*, 46 (1892).

[4] In the *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 117 ff.

probable, and we may conclude that Buddhist poets used *-āsō* and *-āsē* before the age of Aśōka—most probably in the fourth century B.C., and perhaps earlier. It may therefore be reasonably conjectured that about the time when Alexander came into India these flexions were still preserved by popular speech in some regions of the Land of the Five Rivers.

AN ADDENDUM

Supplementing the note "Sātavāhana and Śātakarṇi" in this *Bulletin*, vol. IX, pp. 327 ff., it should be noted that the personal names *Sāta* and *Sāti* can be traced in the appellations of many towns, villages, and districts in the regions which are or were Kanarese, and that such place-names are by far commonest in Bellary, Mysore, and the Kanarese areas of Bombay. A rough survey, omitting the Tamil area, furnishes the following data. In Bellary we find a Satanur, "Sata's Town," in Adoni Taluka. Mysore has several towns or villages called Satanur or Satanuru in the talukas of Mulbagal, Hoskote, Devanhalli, Kankanhalli, Magadi, and Mandya; Satanhalli, "Sāta's Thorp," in Chintamani hobli; three Satenahallis in the talukas of Nagamangala, Channarayapatna, and Hassan; Sadenahalli in Devanhalli t.; Satagal, "Sāta's Rock," in Hassan t.; Sadahalli in Devanhalli t.; Satangere, "Sāta's Tank," in Arsikere t. (cf. *Ann. Report of the Archæol. Survey of Mysore*, 1937, pp. 128 ff., which publishes a Hoysaḷa record found at Satangere in Kanikatte hobli, in which that village is entitled *Sātiyabbe-geṟe*, "Madame Sāti's Tank"); and Sātamaṅgala, "Sāta's (Brahman) Village," mentioned as the home of a Brahman worthy in a record at Balehalli in Balehonnur hobli (ibid., 1934, p. 97). Bombay has a Satanhalli in Haliyal t., a Satinhalli in Kod t., a Satankop ("Sāta's Hamlet") in Yellapur t., and a Satihal ("Sāti's Waste") in Bagewari t.; moreover the Jejuri plates of Vinayāditya (dated Śaka 609) mention a *Sāti-māḷa-bhōga* or "district of Sāti's Plain" situate in the Paḷayaṭṭhāṇa-viṣaya, which is the modern Phaltan State.[1] Further study may enlarge this list, and perhaps add to it some place-names in other areas of which the etymologies are at present imperfectly known. But the above facts, definitively showing that *Sāta* and *Sāti* were once common personal names in the Kanarese districts, and commonest of all in

[1] The name of the town of Sātavalī in the Southern Konkan (*IA.*, ii, 317, 319, 322) may be left aside, as its origin is rather dubious.

Bellary and Mysore, tend to support the theory that the Sātavāhana dynasty, the "Sons of Sāta", originated in that region.

Except in such place-names, *Sāta* and *Sāti* appear rather seldom in ancient records. First they are found in the royal appellations *Siri-Sāta* and *Canda Sāti*, beside the dynastic titles *Sātavāhana* and *Śātakarṇi*.[1] In early times there appear on the scene a few others bearing these names, or derivatives of them, outside the Mysore-Bellary area: *Sātisirī*,[2] a nun at Sanchi in the early first century B.C. when it was under Sātavāhana rule (*EI.*, ii, p. 382, Lüders' List no. 427), *Sātimit[t]a*, a friar from Sopara in the Northern Konkan registered at Karle (*EI.*, vii, 54 f., Lüders' List nos. 1094–5), and *Sātimit[t]ā*, at Kuda (Lüders' List no. 1040), together with *Sātila*, also at Sanchi (*EI.*, ii, 95, 375, Lüders' List no. 259), and *Satilisiri* at Nagarjunikonda (*EI.*, xxi, 64, 71); and in medieval times we find *Sātōja*, "Sāta the Smith," at Ablur (*EI.*, v, 234). The sporadic occurrence of these names in regions which at one time or another were under Sātavāhana rule does not prove much; but they indicate their derivation. Already the writers of the Purāṇas sanskritized *Sāta* and *Sāti* as *Svāti*, and they seem to have been right. *Sātimitta* appears to be a Prakrit form of *Svātimitra* (cf. *Phalgunīmitra*, etc.); probably *Sāta* and *Sāti* are hypocoristics from this compound, and on the basis of these were framed the further diminutives *Sātila* and *Sātilī*.

L. D. B.

[1] The story of the birth of Sāta as son of a Yakṣa and a Ṛṣi's daughter (*Kathā-sarit-sāgara*, vi, 87 ff.) has preserved in a fantastic mythical setting the genuine name of the founder of the dynasty and a vague reminiscence of their claim to brahmanhood. Buddhist legends know a Sātāgira Yakkha (*Sutta-nipāta*, i, 9, etc.); possibly some myth concerning him may have come to be associated with the real Sāta.

[2] On the composition of names with *śrī* and *siri* cf. Rapson's remarks in *JRAS.*, 1901, pp. 99 f.

Sinhalica

By L. D. Barnett

IN Professor Geiger's new *Grammar of the Sinhalese Language* there is so much that is admirable and instructive that one is loth to dissent from any of his statements. When, therefore, I find myself unable *iurare in verba magistri* in respect of a few of his etymologies, I do so with regret, and hope for pardon.

1. The Professor derives the honorific *vahansē* from *vahan* (Sanskrit *upānah*, "slipper") and *sē* (Sanskrit *chāyā*, "shadow"), understanding it as "likeness of the sandals, footprint" (p. 103, § 105. 3). With all respect for him, I feel this explanation to be very far-fetched and improbable: such a phrase is not likely to have been adopted in popular idiom. I would suggest that *vahansē* comes through a Prakrit stage from Sanskrit *pādānām āśrayaḥ*: thus Sanskrit *sthavirāṇāṃ pādānām āśrayaḥ*, "the refuge of the reverend gentleman's feet" (a slight expansion of the common *sthavira-pādāḥ*), would become in Prakrit *therāṇa pāyāṇa assayē*, and the last two words in Ceylon would become **payaṇ' asē* and ultimately *vahansē*. For change of intervocalic *p* to *v* in compound phrases, see the *Grammar*, p. 88, § 86; and the appearance of *h* for *y* is paralleled by, e.g., *ahas* from Sanskrit *ākāśa* (ibid., p. 30, § 25. 2).

2. The derivation of the genitive affix *-gē* from Sanskrit-Prakrit *gēhē*, "in the house" (p. 110, § 113. 2), is not new; but its age does not make it any the more attractive. It seems to me semantically forced and improbable. I suggest that *-gē* has come from Prakrit *gahiyē* (Sanskrit *gṛhītē*), literally, "in the grasp, holding, possession," the past participle being used in the sense of an abstract noun. Thus from phrases like *himiyan gē pahā*, lit. "the mansion in the occupation of the masters", the *gē* might easily extend its meaning to that of a vague genitive. This substantival use of the past participle is well authenticated: the Pali Dictionary quotes *gahita* in the sense of "a grasp, holding" from the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, iii. 175, and the same thing is fairly common with Sanskrit, e.g. *gata*, *bhukta*, *raṇita*, *skhalita*, etc.

3. The explanation of *nuvaṇa*, "understanding, prudence," as from Sanskrit *naya* plus a Sinalese affix *-ṇa* (p. 65, § 59. 4), is equally unconvincing. It is perhaps more natural to see in it a Prakrit

navaṇā, corresponding to Sanskrit *jñāpana*. A feminine *jñāpanā* apparently is not found in extant Sanskrit texts, but it exists in Jain Prakrit in the compound *pannavaṇā*, sanskritized as *prajñāpanā*, the title of a scripture. It may be justly urged against this derivation that *jñāpana* and *pannavaṇā* mean only "the giving of knowledge, instruction"; but it may be observed that the Sanskrit *jñapti*, which corresponds to *jñāpana* as, e.g., *kṛti* to *karaṇa*, denotes "intelligence, cognition", as well as "the act of learning and of making known".

4. In some cases Tamil furnishes far better etymologies than Prakrit and Sanskrit. Professor Geiger sees in the ancient words *manumaraka*, *maṇumaraka*, and *marumakana* ("grandson" ?) varieties of Sanskrit *manōramaka*, which does not mean "grandson" or anything like it (p. 89, § 88. 1). But it is much simpler to refer them all to the Tamil *marumakan* (cf. *marukan*, *marumān*), meaning "nephew, son-in-law, and male descendant". He likewise laboriously traces *muḷu*, "whole, entire," to Sanskrit *samūḍha* (p. 32, § 27. 2), whereas it is obviously the Tamil *muḷu*, with the same meaning.

Dravidian Studies II

By T. Burrow

Notes on the interchange of short o *and* e *with* i *and* u *in South Dravidian*

It is well known that in a great number of words *e* and *o* in Kanarese, Tuḷu, and Telugu correspond to *i* and *u* in Tamil and Malayalam, e.g. :—

Tam.	*Mal.*	*Kan.*	*Tuḷ.*	*Tel.*
ilai, leaf	*ila*	*ele*	*ele*	—
iraṅku, descend	*iraṅṅu*	*eragu*	*eraguni*	*erāgu*
iḷa, young	*iḷa*	*eḷa*	*eḷe*	*ela, lĕ*
tirai, wave	*tira*	*tere*	—	*tera*
niṇai, think	*ninayu-*	*nene*	*nene-pu*	—
piṇaṅku, be twisted together, fight	*piṇaṅṅu*	*peṇagu*	—	*penāgu*
viḷaṅku, to shine	*viḷaṅṅu*	*beḷagu*	*beḷagu-*	*velūgu*
uṭal, body	*uṭal*	*oḍal(u)*	*uḍal, oḍal*	*odalu*
uṟai, scabbard	*uṟa*	*oṟe*	*oṟe*	*oṟa*
ulai, forge	*ula*	*ole*	*ule*	—
kuṭai, umbrella	*kuṭa*	*koḍe*	*koḍe*	*goḍugu*
puṯar, puṯal, thicket	—	*podaṟ(u)*	*pudel*	*podaru, poda*
muṯal, first	*muṯal*	*modal(u)*	—	*modalu*

With reference to this interchange K. V. Subbayya in his "Primer of Dravidian Phonology", published in the *Indian Antiquary*, lays down the following rule: "*i* before cerebrals and liquids and followed by *a* becomes *e* in Classical Canarese, Tuḷu and Telugu and also in New Tamil and New Malayalam."[1] Likewise with respect to *u* and *o* he says[2]: "Pr. Drav. initial *u* becomes *o* when followed by *a* and before cerebrals and liquids. This change is found in classical Can., Tel. and Tuḷu, and also in New Tamil and Malayalam." This formulation is faulty in as much as there is no restriction on the consonants intervening between the *i* or *u* and the following *a*-vowel. Whatever consonant comes between, the result is just the same, e.g. :—

Ta. *ivar* to rise	Ka. *egaru*	
Ta. *iṭal* petal	Ka. *esaḷ*	
Ta. *pukai* smoke	Ka. *poge*	Tel. *poga*
Ta. *tuvar* scarlet	Ka. *togaru*	Tel. *togaru*

and so forth. Likewise the restriction to initial *u* (and *i*) is unjustified as is evident from examples already quoted.

[1] *I.A.*, vol. 38 (1909), p. 167.
[2] Ibid., p. 170.

Dealing with this question in his *Materials for a Sketch of Tuḷu Phonology* L. V. Ramaswamy Aiyar formulates the following rule [1]:—

"There is a rule in South Dravidian whereby a short radical *i* (of words of more than one syllable) followed by an open vowel in the next syllable is replaced by *e*: the operation of this rule is restricted to derivative words only and, further, the change occurs only when in the above circumstances the consonant immediately following the radical vowel is a short one. The literary varieties of Tamil and Mal. show in the above circumstances the *i*-forms, while the colloquials show *e*-words; in Kann. and Tel., even the literary speeches have accepted a number of *e*-forms. Tuḷu shows forms with *i* and *e* side by side in some cases, and those with *e* alone in others." Later he lays down the same rule for $u > o$ [2]: "In circumstances similar to those described for $i > e$ above, there exists in South Dr. a change of $u > o$ also. Tuḷu shows forms with *u* and *o* side by side in some cases, and words with *o* alone in others."

There are some inaccuracies here. To say that "in Kann. and Tel. even the literary speeches have accepted a number of *e*-forms", is very much of an understatement. In effect, whenever such a divergence exists the Telugu and Kanarese literary languages show almost exclusively *e*- and *o*-forms, and that from the earliest times.

Again, to restrict the operation of the rule to cases where a single consonant intervenes between the *i* or *u*, and the following *a*-vowel, appears hardly justified in view of a number of examples to the contrary:—

Ta. *puṉṉai* Calophyllum Inophyllum, Te. *ponna*, Kan. *ponne*; Ta. *muṭṭai* egg, Ka. *moṭṭe*; Ta. *mullai* Jasmine, Ka. *molle*, Te. *molla*.

On the other hand in the case of Ta. *piḷḷai* child, Ka. *piḷḷe*, Te. *pilla*, we find no change. Actually in this case examples are not at all numerous, which makes it difficult to generalize satisfactorily.

So much for the conditions of the interchange. What remains to be discussed is the question as to which in these cases is original *i* and *u* or *o* and *e*. So far it has been taken for granted that *i* and *u* are original and *e* and *o* secondary.[3] Considering the fact that in modern Tamil and Malayalam, in the spoken languages, we see a development

[1] "Indian Linguistics" (*Bulletin of the Linguistic Society of India, Lahore*), vol. vi, (1936), p. 432.

[2] Ibid., p. 433.

[3] Cf., besides the authorities quoted above, E. H. Tuttle, *Dravidian Developments*, § 17.

of $i > e$ and $u > o$, thus bringing them into line with Kanarese and Telugu, this certainly seems at a superficial glance to be the case. On further examination of the evidence, however, the situation appears by no means so simple.

The starting-point of our inquiry is the state of affairs described above: Radical *i* and *u* in Tamil when followed in the next syllable by *a* or *ai* (= Kan. *e*, Tel. *a*) correspond to *e* and *o* in Telugu and Kanarese. In these positions Kanarese and Telugu do not admit of *i* and *u*. In like manner Tamil (with Mal.) does not, except for a few exceptions which will be dealt with below, admit of *e* and *o*. Thus none of the languages admits of the two sets of vowels in these positions. In other positions, namely before *i* and *u*, both sets exist independently and have no connection with each other. Thus in Tamil: *iṭu* to put, *eṭu* to raise; *iri* to retreat, *eri* fire; *ciṟu* small, *ceṟu* to restrain; *tiri* to turn, *teri* to be clear; *viḷi* to call, *veḷi* outside; *uḷi* chisel, *oḷi* light; *kuṭi* house, *koṭi* banner; *puli* tiger, *poli* to shine; *putu* new, *potu* common, etc. Likewise for Telugu. In Kanarese a change, which will be discussed later, has resulted in a confusion of these two sets so that *i* and *u* are exclusively used in these positions. That however is a purely local and special change and the normal Dravidian state of affairs is that just illustrated.

Thus in all the languages under discussion, while *e* is admitted as well as *i*, and *o* as well as *u*, when followed by *i* or *u*, in other positions, namely before *a* and *ai* (= *e*, *a*), either one set may be chosen, or the other, but they cannot co-exist in any of the languages preserved. This being the case it is quite possible that the same rule applied to the parent language also, in which case to argue about the priority of *e* and *o* or *i* and *u* would be pointless since nothing so definite can be said about the phonetics of a reconstructed language, and the reconstructed sounds are in the main to be regarded as convenient symbols.

Obviously then, no progress is to be made by comparing merely the words themselves in question in the different languages. There remains, however, one profitable method of approach, namely, to compare them with kindred words in which the radical *i* (*e*) and *u* (*o*) are not followed by *a* or *ai*. A result of such juxtaposition is to see immediately that in these cases original *i* and *e* are confused as *i* in Tamil and Malayalam and as *e* in Kanarese and Telugu. The same, of course, applies to *o* and *u*. It will be convenient first to present the material:—

Ta. *ilaṅku*, *ilaku* to shine : *el* light, lustre.

Ta. *iḷa* young, tender, soft, Ka. *eḷa*, *eḷe*, Te. *ela*, *lē*, Ta. *iḷaku* to grow soft, weak, *iḷai* to grow weary, become thin : Ta. *eḷi* easy, slight, weak.

Ta. *ciṟai* restraint, prison, Te. *ceṟa* : Ta. *ceṟu* to restrain.

Ta. *civa* to become red, *civappu* redness : *ce-*, *cem* red, Ka. *ke-*, *kem*.

Ta. *piṇaval* female of the dog, pig, deer, or yak, *piṇā*, *piṇavu* woman, *piṇai* female of animals : Ta. *peṇ* woman, Ka. *peṇ*, *peṇḍa*.

Ta. *piṟa* to be born, be produced : Ta. *peṟu* to obtain, bring forth, bear (as children), Ka. *peṟ*, *peṟu*.

Ta. *viḷaṅku* to shine, *viḷakku* light, *viḷar* to become white, whiteness, Ka. *beḷagu* to shine, *beḷaku* light, *beḷar* white colour, Te. *velūgu* to shine : Ta. *veḷ* white, bright, *veḷḷi* whiteness, silver, *veḷḷai* whiteness, *veḷiṟu* to grow white, whiteness, Ka. *beḷ* white, *beḷpu* whiteness, *beḷḷi* silver, Te. *vella* white.

In the case of *u* and *o* :—

Ta. *uṭai* to break, Ka. *oḍe* : Ta. *oṭi* to break, Ka. *oḍi*.

Ta. *uṭaṉ* with, Ka *oḍan* : Ta. *oṭu* with (termination of the third case).

Ta. *uḷavu* secrecy, Ka. *oḷavu*, *oḷagu*, Te. *oḷavu* : Ta. *oḷi* to hide, Ka. *uḷi* < **oḷi*.

Ta. *kuṭa* curved, bent, *kuṭaṅku* to bend, *kuṭā* bend, curve : *koṭu* crooked, Ka. *kuḍu* (< **koḍu*).

Ta. *kuḷa* young, *kuḷaku* youthfulness, *kuḷantai* child, *kuḷavi* child, Ka. *koṇasu* a young one of wild beasts, *koḍa* young, Te. *koḍuku* son : Ta. *koḷuntu* tender shoot, anything young, tenderness, Tuḷu *korndu* tender.

Ta. *kuyam* sickle : *koy* to reap.

Ta. *cura* to flow : Ta. *cori* to flow, Ka. *suri* (< **sori*).

Ta. *tuyaṅku* to be exhausted, faint(,) *tuyar* affliction, sorrow, *tuyavu* mental distraction, perturbation : Ta. *toy* to languish, grow weak.

Ta. *tuḷai* hole, Ka. *toḷe* : Ta. *toḷ* to perforate, *toḷḷai* hole, Ka. *toḷḷe*.

Ta. *putar* bush, thicket, *putal* id., Ka. *podaṟu*, Tuḷu *pudel*, Tel. *poda podaru* : Ta. *potumpu* grove, shrubby jungle.

Ta. *puṭai* to beat, thresh, Ka. *poḍe* : Ta. *poṭi* to break to pieces, pulverize ; powder.

Ta. *putai* to bury, cover, clothe, Ka. *pode* : Ta. *pottu* to bury, cover, Ta. *poti* to hide, cover up, treasure, Ka. *pudi* (< **podi*).

Ta. *purai* to resemble : *poru* to come into contact with, to resemble, *poruntu* to agree with, etc.

Ta. *muyaṅku* to embrace, cling to : *moy* to crowd together, press, throng.

Ta. *muḻaṅku* to make a noise, roar, Ka. *moḷagu*, Te. *mrōgu* : Ta. *moḻi* to speak.

In the above list of parallel forms it is obvious that in Tamil *i* and *u*, in the words in which they occur, must have arisen out of *e* and *o*. That conclusion is necessary because, as pointed out above, both *i* and *e*, also *u* and *o*, exist in words in which they are followed by *i* and *u*, whereas only *i* and *u* exist when there is *a* or *ai* in the next syllable. Therefore, in the *o*- and *e*-forms there is nothing to cause a change out of *u* and *i*, whereas the non-existence of *e* and *o* in Tamil in positions where an *a*-vowel appears in the next syllable, proves that there has actually been a change $e > i$ and $o > u$ in the examples quoted above. Tamil *viḷakku*, therefore, must be out of **veḷakku uṭai* < **oṭai* and so forth, and in these cases the vocalization in Kan. and Tel. represents the original.

The statement that *i* and *u* are exclusively used in Tamil when *a* or *ai* follows in the next syllable is to be qualified by some exceptions, which, however, do not impair the validity of the general rule. In the first place, when *-a* or *ai* appears in the inflexion of a word the rule does not operate. Thus from *poṟu* to beat, the infinitive is *poṟa*, the verbal noun *poṟal* and so forth. This applies also to derivatives in *-ai* thus *poṟai* burden, *kolai* slaying from *kol* to kill, etc. Here, as naturally to be expected, either the change did not take place, or having taken place, was effaced by the influence of primary forms which correctly retained the *o*.

Other exceptions are :—

peyar [1] name, Ka. *pesar*. Here the intervening *-y-* has probably had a restraining influence. It is instructive to compare the different treatment in *viyar* sweat. This word is probably derived from *ve-* hot, which would mean that *e* is original. The word appears in Kanarese as *bevar*, also *bemar*. The Tamil *viyar* is therefore < **vivar* < **vevar*. The difference of treatment to that of *peyar* is therefore due to a different consonant having originally intervened. The change $v > y$

[1] The Tamil Lexicon quotes *piyar* from an inscription, which also occurs in old Malayalam. E. H. Tuttle (*Dravidian Developments*, § 23), wrongly regards *piyar* as the older form.

must be due to dissimilation because it does not occur in other s instances, e.g. *civa* to become red < **ceva*.

Another exception is *peṭai* hen, Mal. *piṭa* also *peṭa*. There ap no particular reason for *e* here, and it is probably dialectical.

As regards *o* > *u* there is a small group of words in whic expected change has not taken place: *toṭaṅku* to begin, *toı* connect, *tolai* to destroy, and *toḷai* hole. In these cases forms *u* also occur, but are not the prevalent forms, except perhaps In Malayalam, however, forms with *u* exclusively occur: *tu* to begin, *tuṭar* to connect, *tulayu* to destroy, *tuḷa* hole. It is not clear what has prevented the operation of the general rule. Prc the particular combination of consonants before and after the had some influence on its quality.

Such are the main exceptions. Clearly they do not invalida general rule, nor the conclusion that necessarily follows frc namely that in the list of forms quoted above Tamil *i* and *u* a of original *e* and *o*. The general assumption then that Prii Dravidian *i* and *u* > *e* and *o* in these positions in Telugu and Ka is definitely disproved for the examples quoted above. Primi and *o* on the contrary become *i* and *u* in Tamil and Malayal these examples.

We cannot, however, simply reverse the statement and a that wherever *e* and *o* in Kanarese and Telugu correspond to *i* in Tamil in these positions, they represent the original. Becaus as it has been proved that there are cases in which original *e* an *i* and *u* in Tamil and Malayalam, in like manner examples c quoted in which original *i* and *u* > *e* and *o* in Kanarese and T The demonstration is on the same lines, namely by comparing ki words (words from the same root) in which the radical vowel (*i* is not followed by an *a*-sound. As examples we may quote:—

Ka. *eraḍu* two, Ta. *iraṇṭu*: here the original *i* is supported by throughout the Dravidian languages; Ta. *iru-*, Ka. *ir-*, Te. Gondi *irur* (beside *raṇḍ*), Kolāmī *iddar*, Kurukh *irb*, Malto *iwr*, I *irā*, *iraṭ*.

Ka. *eḍa*, *eḍe* place, Te. *eḍamu*, Ta. *iṭam*: cf. Ta. *iṭu* to put, T *iḍu*.

Ka. *eḷe* to pull; thread, Ta. *iḷai* to spin; thread: Ta. *iḷu* t Ka. *iḷ*.

Ka. *kela* a few, Ta. *cila*: Ta. *cil* little, few; cf. Ka. *kiṟu*, T small.

Ka. *teraḷu* to become round, Ta. *tiraḷ* to become round; a ball, a round mass: cf. Ta. *tiri* to turn, revolve, Ka. *tiri*, *tirugu*, Te. *tiri*, *tirugu*.

Ka. *tenasu* beside, *tinasu* food, Tuḷu *tenasu* and *tinasu*: Ta. *tiṉ* to eat, Ka. *tin*, etc.

Ka. *nela* earth, *nele* standing, place of residence, etc., Tu. *nela* earth, Te. *nelavu* place, residence, etc., Ta. *nilam*, *nilai*: all derived from the common root *nil* to stand.

Ka. *peṇe* to unite, intertwine, *peṇagu* to be entangled, to quarrel, Ta. *piṇai*, *piṇaṅku*, Te. *penāgu*, *pena*: Ta. *piṇi* to bind.

Ka. *neḷal* shade, Ta. *niḷal*: Ta. *nīḷal*, Te. *nīḍa*. The long *ī* in the Tamil and Telugu forms shows the *i* to be original and Ka. *e* secondary.

Ka. *bele* price, Te. *vela*, Ta. *vilai*: Ta. *vil* to sell, Ka. *bil*, Te. *vilucu*.

Ka. *oṟe* sheath, Te. *oṟa*, Tu. *ore*, Ta. *uṟai* place of residence, cover receptacle; to reside: Ta. *uṟu* to be in or at, Ka. *uṟu*.

Ka. *koṟate* deficiency, Te. *korāta*: Ta. *kuṟu* short, *kuṟṟam* deficiency, fault, Ka. *kuṟu*, Te. *kuṟu*.

Ka. *posa* new: Ta. *putu*, *putiya*.

Ka. *modal(u)* first, Te. *modalu*, Ta. *mutal*: Ta. *mutu* old, Ka. *mudu*.[1]

Ka. *mone* point, extremity, end, Te. *mona*, Ta. *muṉai*: Ta. *muṉ* in front, Ka. *mun*, Te. *munu*, *munnu*.

Examples of the change *i* > *e* and *u* to *o* under these conditions are also to be found in a number of loan-words from Indo-Aryan, e.g.:—

Telugu: *gonamu* < *guṇa-*, *komaru* < *kumāra-*, *kolamu* < *kula*.

Kanarese: *bojaṅga* < *bhujaṅga-*, *soga* < *sukha-*, *toṇvari* < *tuvari*, *devasa* < *divasa*, *dese* < *diśā*, *soṇaga* < *śunaka*, *poḍavi* < Pkt. *puḍhavī* earth.

In other examples the Dravidian words are probably original and the Sanskrit borrowed. Thus, Ka. *koḍa*, Ta. *kuṭam*: Skt. *kuṭa* pot; Ka. *moga*, Te. *mogamu*, Ta. *mukam*: Skt. *mukha* face.

The rule may therefore be stated simply as follows: Original radical *i* and *e*, likewise *u* and *o*, are confused when followed in the next syllable by an *a*-vowel. In Tamil and Malayalam they are

[1] The meanings "old" and "first" are combined also in Drav. *tol*. See Kittel, *Kan. Dict.*, s.v. *tom*. He gives as meanings: "The state of being first or the first, the being former, previous, old."

represented by *i* and *u* and in Kanarese and Telugu by *e* and *o* respectively. Since this confusion is common to all the languages concerned, we may assume in all probability that it had already taken place in the parent language itself. That is, of course, much more likely than to assume an independent and parallel development in each individual language. Whether in this case the parent language showed *i* and *u* or *e* and *o*, it is not possible to say and is of no great importance, since it is important to know only the original vowel which was there before the confusion took place. This can be done as we have seen when cognate words exist in which the vowel in question is not followed by *a*-. There are, however, a large number of words for which no such related words can be pointed out, e.g. :—

Ta. *itaḷ* petal	Ka. *esaḷ*
Ta. *imai* eyelid	Ka. *eme*
Ta. *ilai* leaf	Ka. *ele*
Ta. *niṇam* fat	Ka. *neṇa*
Ta. *ulai* fire-place	Ka. *ole*
Ta. *nurai* foam	Ka. *nore*, etc.

In these cases the original vowel may have been *i* or *u* on the one hand, or on the other hand *e* or *o*, but without related forms of the type used above, it is impossible to say which.

The development sketched above is common to all the languages concerned. We now come to a change that is peculiar to Kanarese. Briefly, radical *e* and *o*, when followed in the next syllable by *i* or *u*, become *i* and *u* respectively.[1] Examples are :—

Ka. *idir* opposite : Ta. *etir*, Te. *eduru*.
Ka. *ili* rat : Ta. *eli*, Tu. *eli*, Te. *eluka*.
Ka. *isu* to shoot : Ta. *ey*.
Ka. *kiḍu* perish : Ta. *keḍu*, Te. *ceḍu*.
Ka. *kivi* ear : Ta. *cevi*.
Ka. *tiḷi* become clear : Ta. *teḷi*, Te. *teli* " white, clear ".
Ka. *bidir* bamboo : Ta. *vetir*, Te. *veduru*.
Ka. *bisil* heat : Ta. *veyil*, cf. *ve*- hot.
Ka. *uḍi* hip : Te. *oḍi*.
Ka. *uli* to sound : Ta. *oli*.
Ka. *kuḍi* point : Ta. *koṭi*, Te., Tu. *koḍi*.
Ka. *kuḍu* to give : Ta. *koṭu*.

[1] Cf. E. H. Tuttle, *Dravidian Developments*, § 17, where this change is briefly indicated.

Ka. *tuḍu* to join : Ta. *toṭu*.
Ka. *nuḍi* sound, speech : Ta. *noṭi*.
Ka. *puḍi* powder : Ta. *poṭi*, Te., Tu. *poḍi*.
Ka. *puruḷ* substance : Ta. *poruḷ*.
Ka. *pusi* lie, falsehood : Ta. *poy*.

In a number of these cases forms with *e* and *o* appear as well as *i*- and *u*- forms. This must be due to dialect mixture. The point is touched on by Kittel in his Grammar.[1] Speaking of *tuḍu* and *kuḍu*, which appear in the above list, he says : " [In the formation of the past participle] *tu* is converted into *ṭu* after the ancient and medieval themes *kuḍu* and *tuḍu*, these changing their initial vowel *u* into *o* and taking the forms *koṭ* and *toṭ*, so that the past participles become *koṭṭu* and *toṭṭu*." Historically, of course, the vowels in the past participles are original and those in the themes secondary. He then goes on to add : " The themes *kuḍu* and *tuḍu* occasionally appear as *koḍu* and *toḍu* in the medieval dialect, and always so in the modern one ; the participles remain *koṭṭu*, *toṭṭu*." The same remarks as regards the vowels apply to *kiḍu* perish, *isu* to throw, etc., of which the past participles are *keṭṭu*, *eccu*, etc. It thus appears that the change is only rigidly enforced in the ancient classical language and that it is often neglected in the later language. This can be explained by assuming that the development took place only in a restricted part of the Kanarese area, and that this part happened to be the district where the classical dialect was centred.[2] Later the influence of other areas was felt, in which this change had not taken place. At the same time the classical form of speech continued to exert its influence resulting in a mixture of forms.

[1] § 164.

[2] On the localization of classical Kanarese, see *Kavirājamārga*, ed. K. B. Pathak (1898), introduction, p. 13. It is well up in the northern part of the modern Kanarese-speaking area.

The Secret Committee of the East India

By C. H. Philips

THE importance and function of the Secret Committee, an essential part of the East India Company's home government have in general been misrepresented or ignored. From the beginning the Company's executive body in London consisted of the rather large number of twenty-four and, since the Company was wholly dependent upon trade, the formation of a smaller, trustworthy committee, which in emergency could safeguard the Company's voyages, especially against the threat of war or piracy, by giving secret instructions to the ships' captains, was sooner or later inevitable. Likewise, as the Company became increasingly entangled in Indian politics, it realized the necessity of issuing secret political orders from London, and since the Company's unwieldy executive body was obviously ill-fitted for this task a Secret Political Committee soon evolved. That the duty of ensuring the safety of the Company's ships and of issuing secret political orders should have been entrusted to one and the same Committee was convenient and natural. Historians have not only underestimated the significance of this Committee's activities down to its statutory establishment in 1784,[1] but have also tended to disregard the part it thenceforth played, describing it at best as a mere ministerial instrument or as a channel, conveying to India the Ministry's instructions "which it could neither discuss nor disclose".[2] The truth is much less one-sided than this, and in fact long before 1784 the Secret Committee had emerged as the cabinet council of the Company, the most powerful Committee at the India House, a status which it maintained until the Company's extinction in 1858.

Considerable uncertainty has prevailed as to the exact date of the Secret Committee's origin. Peter Auber, the Company's Secretary from 1829 to 1836 and its most devoted and painstaking historian, gave 1748 as the year of the Committee's inception,[3] but evidently he was merely copying the statement made in 1793 by John Bruce,

[1] *The Cambridge History of India*, for example, does not mention the Secret Committee before 1784.

[2] Cf. ibid., vol. v, pp. 201, 315.

[3] *Constitution of the East India Company*, p. 188. Sir William Foster (*India Office Records*, p. 4, f.n. 2) quotes Auber's statement.

later the Company's historiographer, when investigating the India House organization on behalf of Henry Dundas, President of the Board of Control. Bruce wrote [1] :—

> "When the Company's concerns began to assume the mixed aspects of commerce, and of revenue subservient to investment, it became difficult to assign to any of the Standing Committees, either the political interferences with the Indian Princes, of whose sovereignties their foreign government had become sharers or allies, or to manage the political connection which the Company now necessarily had with the executive government. As early as the peace 1748, and while the political struggle between the French and English on the Coromandel Coast was obviously the harbinger of a war, a Secret Committee was appointed."

A more recent authority, H. D. Love, in his *Vestiges of Old Madras*, states that the first Secret Committee was formed in 1706.[2] However, it is more likely that this Committee originated in the resolution of the Court of Committees of 23rd April, 1683 [3] :—

> "The Court taking into consideration that in transacting the affairs relating to Bantam it is necessary that the same be managed with all privacy ; they were pleased to nominate the Governor, Deputy, and Sir Josia Child to be a Secret Committee for the carrying on that business ; and what instruction shall be drawn up by them to be given unto any person as shall be employed to go over into Holland."

A crisis in the Company's affairs had precipitated this Secret Committee. For the major part of the seventeenth century the English had waged a losing trade war with the Dutch in the latter's chosen stronghold, the Eastern Archipelago, until finally, in 1682, they had been forced to abandon their precarious position at Bantam in Java. Clearly, only a small executive body, acting with authority, speed and decision, could successfully handle such a situation : the Secret Committee, thus called into being, not only recognized the step already taken by their servants but also made the momentous resolution to abstain from further efforts at establishing the Company in the Archipelago and to leave the seas of Further Asia to the Dutch. The English Company therefore turned to consolidate its position on the mainland and to develop the trade between India itself and Europe.

This change of policy of course necessitated the issue of a new and confidential set of sailing instructions to the Company's

[1] *Plans for the Government of British India*, p. 613.
[2] Vol. ii, p. 7.
[3] *Court Book*, vol. xxxiii, f. 135.

Commanders; a task which was conveniently and properly entrusted to the Secret Committee. The nature of the orders given was not revealed to the Court of Committees until the summer of the following year.[1] Previously, under the normal peace-time system, the Governor, Deputy, and whole Court of Committees had directed the sailings of the Company's ships[2]; occasionally the Committees or members for Shipping had advised the Captains "about navigation"[3]; and, in one exceptional emergency, during the war against Holland, 1665–7, when the Dutch fleet contemptuously sailed up the Medway as far as Gravesend and captured or destroyed sixteen British ships, the Deputy Governor had taken it upon himself to appeal to the Government for a convoy to protect the Company's fleet.[4]

The initiative shown and the success achieved by the Secret Committee in 1683 led the home government to favour the repetition of the experiment if the need should arise. The opportunity soon came with the receipt in August, 1684, of the news of the revolt of the Bombay garrison. Since 1668 Bombay had been held of and administered for the Crown by the Company, and the latter's ill-conceived efforts to raise the revenue and at the same time reduce expenditure provoked a revolt of the soldiery in December, 1683, under the Commandant, Richard Keigwin, who set up a government in the name of Charles II. The King's reply was "to signify his pleasure that he would be ready to grant whatever the Company should desire tending to the recovery of the said island". Whereupon the Court of Committees at once "ordered that Sir Josia Child, Sir Benjamin Bathurst, and Sir Jeremy Sambrook be appointed a Committee of Secrecy for the management of the affair of Bombay and to give such necessary orders for reducing the said island unto the obedience of His Majesty's authority and humbly to propose to His Majesty the best remedies they can think of for that end".[5] The Committee fully justified the trust placed in it, quickly drawing up a report for the King, suggesting appropriate measures to be taken, with the result that a new Governor was sent out accompanied by a naval frigate besides the Company's ships. He carried with him

[1] Ibid., vol. xxxiv, f. 11, 2nd July, 1684.

[2] Ibid., vol. xxii, f. 1, 18th August, 1647. Cf. Ibid., vol. xxxvii, f. 41, 29th November, 1695. *Letter Book*, vol. v, f. 353, 11th November, 1676.

[3] *Court Book*, vol. xxx, f. 64, 18th October, 1676.

[4] Ibid., vol. xxv, f. 301, 16th April, 1667.

[5] *Court Minutes*, vol. xxxiv, 6th August, 1684. R. and O. Strachey, *Keigwin's Rebellion*, p. 116. Cf. *Home Misc.*, vol. xxxxii.

a general pardon and a royal mandate for the surrender of Bombay, to which Keigwin submitted in a level-headed manner.

From the development of events it is clear that at this period the effective power of the Company in London lay in the hands of Sir Josia Child. A poor man by birth, he had made a fortune and a reputation as a London merchant and financier.[1] He entered the East India Directorate in 1674 and became Governor in 1681. Intensely ambitious and energetic, a clever and unscrupulous schemer, it was almost certainly he who had inspired the home government to create the Secret Committee, which he doubtless intended to dominate. Under his influence, broad views of East India policy began to appear. The outbreak at Bombay, following so quickly upon the Company's decision to concentrate its attention on India, and accompanied by other disturbing factors, in particular the war between Aurangzib and the Marathas, the increasingly arbitrary treatment of the Company's servants by the Mughal officials, and the recently intensified competition of interlopers, convinced Child that the Company would founder unless strong, far-reaching measures were immediately taken. He produced a bold plan, characteristically maintaining that the Company's sole hope of salvation lay in increased centralization, and contending that the Company's best policy would be to imitate the Dutch by building up a power on the Indian coastline, centring at Bombay, which should be sufficiently strong to compel the respect of its neighbours, even the Mughal Emperor himself.[2] The Company's servants, in Child's view, were to lay a sure foundation for the Company's settlements by establishing regular revenue systems, and, unlike the Dutch, were to regard equitable administration and just government as of equal importance as large profits.

In June, 1686, Child persuaded the Court of Committees to entrust the execution of this policy to a Secret Committee of five including himself, which was given the exceptionally wide and unrestricted power of managing "the affairs at Surat, Fort St. George and the Bay of Bengal".[3] In pursuit of his aims he had already found a willing agent in the East in his namesake, Sir John, who in 1682 had become the President of Surat, and who, in accordance with

[1] For an account of his career see Macaulay's *History of England*, vol. ii.

[2] *Cambridge History of India*, vol. v, p. 101. By the new Charter gained in 1683 the Company was given power to declare and make peace and war, to raise forces and exercise martial law. See Ilbert, *Government of India*, p. 19.

[3] *Court Book*, vol. xxxiv, f. 217, 9th June, 1686.

the new policy, was created in October, 1686, Captain-General, Admiral, and Commander-in-Chief of the Company's forces throughout its possessions, as well as Director-General of all mercantile affairs. He was normally to reside at Bombay, which consequently superseded Surat as the Company's headquarters in India, but in order to carry out his duties he was empowered to visit Madras and Bengal.[1] In short, Sir John Child was to carry out the Secret Committee's policy in India.

Thus prepared, and already exasperated by Mughal exactions in Bengal, the Company determined to make a stand against the imperial authority. The Secret Committee sent out an expensive expedition of ten armed ships and a small force of men to Bengal and the decision was also taken to blockade the Mughal ports of Western India. In the war that followed the English suffered severely; they were compelled to abandon their position at Hugli, and a fresh naval force despatched from England by the Secret Committee failed in its object, the capture of Chittagong. The factories at Surat, Patna, Kasimbazar, Masulipatam, and Vizagapatam were lost and Bombay was besieged. Sir Josia Child's policy was a complete failure and as soon as the Court of Committees realized this towards the close of 1688 they abolished the Secret Committee and resumed control of the Company's Indian policy.[2] Orders were then given to the Bombay Government to put an end to this disastrous war, which it did in 1690 but only by agreeing both to pay a heavy fine of £17,000 and to remove the President, Sir John Child, from his office.[3]

It was therefore unfortunate for the Company that Sir Josia Child's ideas were so far in advance of his time. Indeed, he had attempted to give the Company and its widely scattered factories a highly centralized form of government before the means of rapid communication existed, and had hurled it into a struggle for which it possessed neither adequate organization nor sufficient forces. Misled by the ease with which the Marathas in Western India had inflicted defeats on the Mughal armies, he had underestimated the effective power of the Mughal Empire. Fifty years were to elapse before the Court of Committees could again bring itself to confer unlimited political powers on a Secret Committee.

[1] *Cambridge History of India*, vol. v, p. 102.

[2] *Court Book*, vol. xxxv, ff. 132, 141, 22nd June, 24th August, 1688. The Revolution of 1688 in England had dealt a severe blow to Sir Josia Child, weakening his position in the Company.

[3] He died shortly before the discussions were completed.

Nevertheless, the outbreak in 1689 of the war between France and Britain jeopardized the Company's fleets and necessitated the issue of secret sailing instructions from London. For this purpose the Court of Committees again nominated a Secret Committee, consisting of the rather large number of nine members, but this time took care to define the Committee's powers and the period for which they were operative. The Secret Committee was authorized [1] :—

> "to give such sailing instructions to the Commanders of the respective ships now outward bound for the East Indies as they shall judge most expedient for the Company's service; and also to write their letters to our General, Lieutenant-General of India and the respective Presidents of Fort St. George and Surat advising what instructions they are to give the said Commanders for touching at such places in their return for England as may be most for their security in these times of danger."

Nine months later, the Committee having found its number inconveniently large for confidential discussion, the membership was reduced to three. The work performed was so necessary that a Secret Committee with similar powers, and with numbers fluctuating from three to seven, was appointed every six, sometimes nine, months until the termination of the war in 1713.[2] Even during the confused period at the turn of the century, when two East India Companies, the Old and the New, existed side by side, the Secret Committee had continued to function, and between 1702, when the project of union was made, and 1709, when it was consummated,[3] the two governing bodies had co-operated in appointing a Secret Committee for the "better security of the ships going out and those expected".[4] On occasion, when an especially valuable cargo was thought to be in danger of capture, the Committee—termed "the Secret Committee for the affairs of the convoys"—solicited the Government for a convoy; when granted it was understood that His Majesty's ships forming the convoy should accept the orders of the Secret Committee.[5]

[1] *Court Book*, vol. xxxvi, f. 299, 6th March, 1695.

[2] Ibid., vol. xxxvii, f. 41, 29th November, 1695; f. 45, 30th December, 1695; vol. xxxviii, f. 205, 1st April, 1701; vol. xli, f. 371, 1st December, 1704; vol. xlii, ff. 110, 123, 16th January, 13th February, 1705; vol. xlii, ff. 85, 88, 412, 607, 14th and 19th December, 1705, 13th December, 1706, 20th June, 1707; vol. xliii, ff. 9, 156, 291, 499, 772, 828, 7th May, 8th September, 26th November, 1708, 21st April, 9th November, 9th December, 1709; vol. xlv, ff. 14, 72, 414, 25th April, 20th June, 1712, 24th June, 1713. In 1708 the Secret Committee collaborated with a certain Captain Smith in fortifying St. Helena. Ibid., vol. xliii, f. 9, 7th May, 1708.

[3] Auber, *Constitution of the East India Company*, p. 196.

[4] Cf. *Court Book*, vol. xli, f. 371, 1st December, 1704.

[5] Ibid., vol. xxxvii, ff. 48, 186, and vol. lxii, f. 88.

With the return of peace the Committee's usefulness was deemed to be at an end, but before many months had passed the Court of Committees discovered that it had been performing an essential service, and consequently, in October, 1716, the Secret Committee was "revived".[1] It was authorized "to take care of the Company's ships" and for the first time its members, four in number, were elected to serve for the period of a year.[2] Thenceforth down to 1741, perhaps because Eastern trade became more hazardous with the decay of the imperial power in India, the Court usually appointed the Secret Committee "for the year ensuing",[3] and since the Committee was regularly sitting it was found convenient occasionally to refer confidential business to it. For example, the Secret Committee was called on in December, 1717, to investigate the report that the French were landing merchandise from the East at Gibraltar.[4] Later, in 1824, when a group of Flanders merchants, trading to Bengal and China under the name of the Ostend Company, began to prosper, mainly by reason of their extensive smuggling of goods into England, the members of the Secret Committee were commanded to meet this threat and "to give such orders as they think fit from time to time for the Company's shipping and to the matters depending in Holland or elsewhere for checking the Ostend trade".[5] Partly as a result of the Committee's exertions, the Emperor of Austria in 1727 agreed to suspend the Ostend Company's privileges, which in 1731 were abolished altogether.[6]

By 1741 the Secret Committee had become so established a part of the Company's home organization that it then appeared for the first time in the April list of the Court's standing sub-committees;

[1] Ibid., vol. xlvii, ff. 148, 463, 19th October, 1716, 16th October, 1717.

[2] The Chairman and Deputy were first elected permanently for a whole year in 1714. Previously a Chairman was elected at each meeting of the Court.

[3] A usual order was for "the Secret Committee to give directions to the several Captains what signals they are to make on their entrance into St. Helena". *References to the Committee of Correspondence*, vol. iii, 10th October, 1733. Cf. ibid., 14th September, 1737. In January, 1717, the Court agreed to "indemnify the Committee of Secrecy for giving such orders relating to those ships as they shall think fit to the Company's Presidents". *Court Book*, vol. xlvii, f. 549.

[4] Ibid., f. 536, 16th October, 1717. In March, 1718, the Court authorized the Secretary to pay fifty guineas to a nominee of the Secret Committee, who had evidently undertaken secret investigations. Ibid. f. 605.

[5] Ibid., vol. li, f. 13, 15th April, 1724; f. 307, 9th April, 1725. The Secret Committee was also authorized in December, 1725, to order the seizure of any of His Majesty's subjects found in India contrary to law. Ibid., f. 454.

[6] *Cambridge History of India*, vol. v, p. 115.

as elected, it consisted of four members, the Chairman, Deputy Chairman, and two others, and its clerk was the Company's Secretary himself. From this time onwards the Chairmen were invariably members of the Committee.[1]

The formal establishment of the Secret Committee was an event demanded by the precarious political situation both in India and Europe. In 1739 Northern India had been terrified by the invasion of Nadir Shah and his sack of Delhi; in the following year, the Marathas systematically plundered the Carnatic. In 1744 France and Great Britain became involved in the War of the Austrian Succession. Neither the British nor French were favourably placed for a war in the East, and hostilities in that area were likely to be disadvantageous to both sides. But recently the English Company had been afforded indisputable evidence that the French were seeking to establish naval supremacy in Indian waters, and in any case the rapidly expanding trade of the French Company had become an object of jealousy. As early as March, 1743, the Directors had caused a swift sloop to be made ready to leave England at a moment's notice with secret orders for India,[2] and as soon as France declared war on Britain in March, 1744, they empowered the standing Secret Committee "to give such directions for the security of the Company's shipping and settlements, and to order such sums to be disbursed for those purposes, as they shall judge proper"[3]; and a new, fast-sailing packet, the *Dolphin*, was placed entirely at the Committee's disposal. The Secret Committee was to assume control of the Company's political, military, and naval affairs, and was to receive all letters from India, revealing only such as it thought fit to the Court of Directors. The Secret Committee in fact was to be the Company's war cabinet and its first and obvious duty was straightway to apply to the Ministry for the immediate despatch of a naval force to the East Indies. The request was promptly granted and by 18th April,

[1] *Court Book*, vol. lix, f. 270, 10th April, 1741. Cf. *Refs. to Committee of Correspondence*, vol. iii, 14th April, 1742. A special warrant for one hundred guineas was made out to the Secretary in April, 1748, for his attendance on the Secret Committee. *Court Book*, vol. lxii, f. 520.

[2] A swift-sailing ship was kept at the Committee's disposal throughout the war. *Court Book*, vol. lxi, ff. 67, 163, 25th July, 5th December, 1744. *Refs. to Committee of Correspondence*, vol. iii, 25th April, 1744, 9th December, 1747. The Secret Committee informed Madras of the impending war in March, 1744. H. Dodwell, *Madras Despatches*, p. 3.

[3] *Court Book*, vol. lxi, f. 10. *Refs. to Committee of Correspondence*, vol. iii, 5th April, 1744.

Commodore Barnett with four ships of the line had left for the East, where he announced his arrival by capturing the French Company's China fleet.[1] But Barnett soon died and his successor, Peyton, by irresolute, foolish conduct, threw away the early advantages gained and ultimately left Madras to fall into French hands.[2]

In the meantime the Secret Committee had revised and reissued the secret sailing instructions for their Commanders and had prepared secret signals not only for the home ports and St. Helena but also for all the Company's forts and factories.[3] Four of the Company's Captains who failed to pay strict attention to the Committee's orders were summarily dismissed the service.[4]

Throughout the war the Committee continued to fulfill its duty as the guardian of the Company's interests, on one occasion in particular successfully blocking a mischievous project, sponsored by Commodore Acton, whereby a squadron of British privateers was to be gathered and loosed against the Maratha pirates who had been plundering the Company's ships; the expedition was to culminate in the capture and sack of Surat.[5] The Committee's activity and success in invoking the Ministry's assistance to quash this expedition, which would doubtless have involved the Company in an unwanted war in Western India, called forth the unanimous commendation of the Court of Directors "who approved of the several steps hitherto taken by the Secret Committee and empowered it to act in this affair by all such legal means as they shall judge proper in order to prevent this and all such like pernicious schemes being put into execution".[6] Meanwhile the Committee, which still consisted of four members, had been pressing the Ministry to fit out a naval and military expedition to avenge the capture of Madras,[7] until finally a considerable expedition commanded by Rear-Admiral Boscawen, consisting of six ships of the line, as many smaller vessels, and a large land force, was despatched. It reached India in August, 1748, thereby assuring British supremacy at sea, but Boscawen's seige of Pondichery was only brought to an

[1] H. Dodwell, op. cit., p. 3. *Cambridge History of India*, vol. v, p. 119.

[2] Ibid., pp. 120–1.

[3] Cf. *Refs. to Committee of Correspondence*, vol. iii, 16th April, 1744, 30th November, 1748.

[4] Ibid., 21st September, 14th December, 1744.

[5] *Court Book*, vol. lxii, ff. 233–257, 25th February, 1746/7.

[6] *Refs. to Committee of Correspondence*, vol. iii, 25th February, 1746/7.

[7] Cf. The Secret Committee's correspondence with the Duke of Newcastle, Add. MSS 35906; see especially f. 176, 24th April, 1747. *Refs. to Committee of Correspondence*, vol. iii, 24th April, 1747.

end by the peace treaty signed in Europe in October, 1748. By the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle Madras was restored to the English, the Secret Committee, on the Duke of Bedford's request, appointing three commissaries to receive the place from the French.[1] The Court of Directors promptly marked the return to normal by informing its subordinate governments, "Now that the war is over, the Secret Committee will only give directions about signals as usual." All letters were once more to be addressed to the Court.[2] Throughout the war the Committee had acted with decision, had displayed foresight, and had shown a real appreciation of the importance of sea power. On the whole it had done more to protect the Company's settlements than the men on the spot.[3]

Despite the peace signed in Europe both the English and French in South India continued to pursue schemes which led to an early renewal of the conflict. Dupleix, the French Governor of Pondichery, sought the complete subjection of the English Company in South India, and his home government, although ignorant of his plans, kept him well supplied with men and munitions. The English found it impossible to interrupt this supply, Boscawen unfortunately having sailed back to England, and for a time matters went well for the French. But Dupleix's schemes did not mature as quickly as he had hoped. The war in South India dragged on until at last towards the close of 1753 the French Company in Paris, exasperated by the non-realization of Dupleix's promises and anxious lest France should be involved in a general war with Great Britain, recalled him. They had prefaced this step by sending an agent, M. Duvelaer, to London to begin negotiations with the English Company "for an accommodation on the differences on the Coast of Coromandel".[4] The Court of Directors for their part replied by authorizing the Secret Committee to conduct the talks.[5] The negotiations lasted throughout 1753 and well into 1754 before coming to an inconclusive end.[6] The French

[1] They were Major S. Lawrence, W. Holt, and A. Winch. Ibid., 23rd November, 1748.

[2] *Abstract of Despatches to Fort St. George*, vol. i, f. 15, 6th December, 1748. H. Dodwell, op. cit., p. 74.

[3] In particular, Charles Floyer, Governor of Madras from April, 1747, to August, 1749, acted feebly and frivolously. Cf. H. Dodwell, op. cit., p. 104.

[4] Orme MSS O.V. 17 (5), *Court Book*, vol. lxv, f. 346, 27th April, 1753.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid., vol. lxvi, f. 9, 11th April, 1754. *Refs. to Committee of Correspondence*, vol. iii, 11th April, 1755.

Company, with the backing of the French Ministry, had proposed a declaration of perpetual neutrality between the two Companies, affecting all their settlements and operative in time of war between the two nations. Although the Secret Committee after prolonged discussion favoured the suggestion, the English Ministry finally rejected it "as containing insidious propositions and tending to cover the trade of French subjects against His Majesty's fleet when a war should break out".[1] The proposal, if accepted, would certainly have given the French an undue advantage; but in the intervening period the subordinate Governments in India had already signed a provisional treaty, beneficial to the French, stipulating for a position of equality between the two nations both in the Carnatic and the Deccan. This agreement was sent to Europe for confirmation. The Court of Directors in London at once referred it to the members of the Secret Committee, who in June, 1755, consulted the Ministers.[2] Discussion, however, was superfluous because increasing friction between the French and English in America had already made war inevitable.

The Ministry and the Company in London had for some time past been making the necessary preparations. On 14th February, 1755, Roger Drake, the Chairman of the Company, acting on a hint from the Ministry, called together the Directors, who "taking into account the great naval preparations making both in this kingdom and in France, the event whereof cannot yet be seen, resolved that the Secret Committee be empowered to give orders and directions for conducting the Company's naval and military affairs and to provide for the safety of their trading ships; as also to give instructions for such treaties and alliances with the Indian powers as may be thought proper to be entered into".[3]

To increase the Company's war efficiency the Secret Committee decided to establish corresponding secret committees in the Company's Governments of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, which were "to pay implicit obedience to the commands of the London Secret Committee . . . relative to military or marine affairs of what nature soever as also whatever may concern any treaties or agreements which they

[1] Orme MSS. O.V. 17 (5), May, 1753, to September, 1754.

[2] *Court Book*, vol. lxvi, f. 427, 24th June, 1755.

[3] *Home Misc.*, vol. lxvii, f. 31. These powers were repeated from 1756 to 1761 inclusive.

may recommend to be entered into for the advantage of His Majesty's subjects in general or the Company in particular. . . . So that our three Presidencies may act in concert whenever the situation of affairs may render it necessary ".[1] By February, 1756, orders to this effect had been despatched to all three Governments but soon afterwards the three newly appointed Committees were ordered to change their title from Secret to Select, probably to avoid confusion with the London Committee,[2] and at the same time the Bengal Committee was informed that " as in the present situation of affairs between the British and French nations it is natural to suppose the French will aim a blow wherever they can strike the most effectually . . . you are to . . . take such measures as shall best conduce to the protection and preservation of the Company in Bengal . . . the earliest and mutual intercourse must be carried on with the Select Committees of Madras and Bombay ".

In the meantime, in order to check the plans of the French, the Secret Committee had gone to great pains to procure reinforcements which they assembled on the Coromandel Coast—Admiral James and a small squadron, a royal regiment, and an unusually large number of the Company's European troops [3]—so that when war officially broke out in May, 1756, the Company in India was reasonably well prepared. In the war that followed the Secret Committee repeated the part it had played during the War of Austrian Succession; concentrating on maintaining the strength of the navy in the East, persistently drawing the Ministry's attention to this point, and in

[1] *Secret Despatches to Fort St. George*, vol. i, f. 441, 14th February, 1755.

[2] An order to establish a Select Committee of eight at Madras had been sent in March, 1754. This Committee was authorized to conclude a provisional treaty with the French which it did in December of that year. H. Dodwell, op. cit., pp. 230–1. The Secret Committee in Bombay was formed on 10th March, 1755, the Select Committee on 16th September, 1755. See Sir William Foster, *India Office Records*, pp. 75, 85. In August, 1756, after the flight of the English from Calcutta to Fulta the President and Council there had formed a Secret Committee on their own initiative. In December, 1756, on orders from England the Secret was changed to the Select Committee. Ibid., p. 40.

[3] *Cambridge Shorter History of India*, p. 547. *Abstract of Despatches to Madras*, vol. i, f. 76, 28th July, 1756. The Company's strength was revealed in an attack on the Angrias, pirates who had long continued to attack vessels that offered a reasonable chance of capture and to dominate the coastline between Bombay and Goa. Several fruitless expeditions had been fitted out against them but in March, 1754, the Secret Committee drew up a plan of attack with the result that Commodore James took Suvarndrug in 1755 and in 1757 Clive and Admiral Watson destroyed Vijayadrug and broke the power of the Angrias. *Home Misc.*, vol. lxvii, f. 31. *Court Book*, vol. lxv, f. 611, 2nd March, 1754.

addition procuring a regular supply of recruits for Madras and Bengal.[1] It also organized a successful expedition against Manilla, sponsored by the Government, and drew up plans for an attack, which did not materialize, on the French naval base at Mauritius.[2] Partly as a result of its foresight and efforts the English squadron gained supremacy in the Indian seas and Pondichery was blockaded into surrender on 16th January, 1761.[3] By careful preparation the Committee had minimized the disadvantage of controlling subordinate governments thousands of miles removed from London.

As soon as peace negotiations were mooted in 1761 the Secret Committee, whose powers were continually being extended, was deputed by the Court of Directors "to attend and confer with the Ministry; also to prepare and offer the proper plans to their consideration for such stipulations to be made in the intended treaty of peace with the powers at war as may most effectually secure and promote this Company's possessions and commerce".[4] At intervals between July, 1761, and February, 1763, when the peace of Paris was finally signed, the Secret Committee continued to consult with the Ministry on the settlement in the East, but were on the whole unsuccessful in trying to persuade the Ministry to allow the Company to retain the more important French factories captured during the war.[5]

On the signature of peace the Secret Committee's powers were once more restricted to the soliciting of the Admiralty for convoys, the issuing of secret signals, and "the opening of such packets as are

[1] Add. MSS 35906, f. 190, 18th August, 1756, Secret Committee to Henry Fox. *Court Book*, vol. lxviii, ff. 212, 358, 13th December, 1758, 30th May, 1759.

[2] *Court Book*, vol. lxx, ff. 251, 267, 30th December, 1761. The Secret Committee in its orders (1st January, 1761) to the three Presidencies concerning the proposed attack on Mauritius, wrote "Destroy all fortifications in case the French regain the island at the peace treaty, ruin the harbour and port but the cannon, warlike stores, and every slave in particular must be transported to our settlement of Bencoolen." Previously in November, 1757, the Secret Committee had been asked by the Directors "to encourage the peopling of the Company's establishments on the west coast of Sumatra for the promotion of commerce in those parts". *Home Misc.*, vol. lxvii, f. 32.

[3] With regard to the Company's policy in India itself, the Secret Committee was adamant that "a good understanding with Salabat Jang (the weak and childish ruler, installed as Nizam by the French in 1751) must be carefully cultivated and maintained. A measure, if happily effected, it is our opinion will contribute more than anything to clip the wings of the enemy and increase our strength and influence on the coast." *Madras Military Despatches*, 26th March, 1755. Cf. H. D. Love, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 477. In fact no stable alliance could have been made with Salabat Jang and the Committee's orders suggest that it had not realized the importance of concentrating the British forces for a decision in the Carnatic.

[4] *Court Book*, vol. lxx, f. 101, 29th July, 1761.

[5] *Home Misc.*, vol. lxvii, ff. 33, 34, 21st July, 22nd September, 1762.

directed to them and to lay only such parts thereof before the Court as they shall think proper ".[1] Out of the last-named privilege soon arose trouble between the Court and the Committee, because the latter was in receipt of highly confidential information which it could not act upon but which it could conceal.[2] Feeling ultimately ran so high against the four Secret Committee members that in May, 1764, a special Court of Directors was summoned to debate the question. In the course of the discussion it appeared that not only had the Secret Committee no authority to appoint Select Committees abroad but also that the extraordinary powers which from time to time had been conferred on it were " not warranted by the charter or bye-laws ".[3] The upshot was that the Select Committees at the Presidencies were abolished[4] and the London Secret Committee " confined to what is prescribed by the Company's charter and bye-laws, except for the conferring with the Ministry upon particular affairs for the Company's service ".[5] Similar powers, together with those already granted in April, 1763, regarding convoys, signals, and the receipt of packets, were yearly renewed to the Committee until 1780, but throughout this period the Court of Directors jealously continued to scrutinize its activities, and on one remarkable and important occasion in July, 1769, interfered to overrule its decision. The circumstances were as follows: continued misrule by the Company's servants in India and disputes between the Crown and the India House, which came to a head in 1766–7, made the Ministry anxious to interfere in the conduct of India affairs. In 1769 the Company proposed to send three supervisors to India with extraordinary powers, and Grafton, Secretary of State, took this opportunity to suggest to the Secret Committee members that Commodore Lindsay, the Commander of a naval force which they

[1] Ibid., f. 35, 15th April, 1763. But on 29th April, 1763, the Secret Committee was urged to apply to Government for assistance " to obviate any injuries to this Company's settlements and trade from the extraordinary force preparing by the Dutch for the East Indies . . . and to concert such measures as are expedient for preventing the outset of that force ". Ibid., f. 36.

[2] Ibid., f. 37, 18th June, 1763.

[3] Cf. Auber, *Constitution of the East India Company*, p. 191.

[4] The lives of the Select Committees at the Presidencies were affected by events at the Presidency towns. For example, at Madras Governor Pigot and Major Lawrence assumed the administration in December, 1758, when Lally beseiged the town. The Select Committee was reappointed on the home government's orders of 13th March, 1761. The Select Committees at Madras and Bombay were reconstituted on orders from home of 17th March and 4th April, 1769. Sir William Foster, op. cit., pp. 75, 85.

[5] *Home Misc.*, vol. lxvii, f. 37, 1st May, 1764.

had asked for, should be joined with the supervisors and empowered to treat independently of the Company with the maritime states of India. The Secret Committee weakly acquiesced without consulting the Directors, but, when the matter was reported, the Court was righteously indignant and "after very mature consideration deemed those power of too extensive a nature",[1] and, overturning the Secret Committee's decision, refused to give Lindsay the powers the Ministry had demanded.[2]

So loth was the Court to increase the Committee's executive power that, although the War of the American Revolution broke out in May, 1775, no attempt was then made, as on former occasions, to invest the Secret Committee with extraordinary powers.[3] Not until France entered the struggle three years later was the matter raised, and even then the Court showed great hostility and in acrimonious debate twice deferred a decision.[4] Finally, on 27th March, 1778, the seriousness of the French threat and the evident necessity of investing a small committee with emergency powers led the Court to authorize the Secret Committee, which was to consist of only George Wombwell and William Devaynes, the Chairman and Deputy Chairman respectively, "to take into consideration all such affairs relating to the Company as shall appear to them to be of a secret nature; also to communicate with His Majesty's Ministers thereon, and to take such measures as may be necessary in consequence of such communication and to report to this Court from time to time as they shall think fit." At the same time the Court warned the "Chairs", "We, however, think proper to observe . . . that no proceedings can . . . require secrecy except such as relate to naval or military preparations or arrangements thereof or to the safety of the Company's ships and possessions, and therefore that the powers vested in the said Committee should only be exercised concerning those objects."[5] On 9th April similar powers were granted, but only for a fortnight, to the Secret Committee (now consisting of the newly elected Chairmen, Wombwell and James, and the late Deputy,

[1] Ibid., f. 38, 21st July, 1769.

[2] See *Cambridge History of India*, vol. v, pp. 278, 594. Nevertheless Lindsay left England with a secret commission which was not communicated to the Company, investing him with plenipotentiary powers from the King to the Princes of India.

[3] In April, 1776, the Committee was authorized to take "such precautions as they shall judge proper". *Home Misc.*, vol. lxvii, f. 38.

[4] Ibid., f. 40, 24, 24th and 26th March, 1778.

[5] Ibid. f. 41, 27th March, 1778.

Devaynes [1]), which forthwith ordered the reconstitution of the corresponding Select Committees at Madras and Bombay.[2] In August of that year the same powers were conferred on the Secret Committee, this time for a month, and in June, 1779, on the entry of Spain into the war, an identical proceeding occurred,[3] the warning of March, 1778, being repeated. With its powers thus limited and its every move watched by the Court, the Committee could hardly repeat the successful part it had played during the War of Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War and in consequence the English Admiral in the East, Hughes, was starved of necessary reinforcements and the French were enabled to gain a temporary supremacy in the Indian seas.[4] Only the signing of the preliminaries of peace in Europe in January, 1783, saved the British from disaster in South India.[5]

When Lord Shelburne had begun the peace negotiations with France he had invited the Secret Committee in October, 1782, to a conference on the "propositions which the Ministry might have to make on the Company's behalf", but the Secret Committee members, namely the Chairmen, Robert Gregory and Sir Henry Fletcher, and the senior Director, John Harrison, rendered cautious by the recently shown jealousy of the body of the Court, replied that they wished first to refer to the Directors for the necessary authority. On 22nd October, 1782, the Court, prompted by Shelburne's emphasis on the necessity of keeping secret the negotiations, empowered

[1] This Committee met in Downing Street and, on the advice of Lord Weymouth, straightway drew up plans for the reduction of Pondichery—consulting Sir Eyre Coote and General Joseph Smith for the purpose. *Secret Committee Minutes*, vol. i, 10th April, 1778. Samuel Wilks, the Examiner of Indian Correspondence, became clerk to the Committee instead of the Secretary as formerly. Sir William Foster says (*Guide to the India Office Records*, p. 4, f.n. 2) that the regular appointment of a Committee of Secrecy began with the resolution of the Court of Directors of 27th March, 1778. Clearly this is not so and, although the Secret Committee Minutes in volume form begin in April, 1778, such Minutes were regularly kept from at least as early as November, 1754. See *Home Misc.*, vol. lxvii, f. 31. *Court Book*, vol. lxvi, f. 298, 14th February, 1755.

[2] They were "to transact all political, military, and naval affairs and likewise all such as may require secrecy". These Committees continued to function until the new form of government established by Pitt's India Act of 1784 restored the sole authority to the Governor and Council. See Sir William Foster, op. cit. Cf. H. D. Love, op. cit., vol. iii, p. 142.

[3] *Home Misc.*, vol. lxvii, ff. 42–3. The same powers were granted for two months in May, 1780.

[4] The Secret Committee applied in vain to Lord North in January and November, 1776, and in April and June, 1777, for men-of-war to be sent to India. Extracts from the Minutes of the Secret Committee, *Home Misc.*, vol. lxxxiv, f. 53.

[5] *Cambridge History of India*, vol. v, p. 287.

the Committee to draw up peace proposals for the Ministry "provided they do not cede any part of the Company's territories of which they were possessed at the commencement of the war".[1] But the Committee members timidly decided not to make formal propositions, merely conveying to the Minister their private sentiments, namely that France should be restored to the position that she had held in India before the war, and that if any concession were offered to her it should take a commercial form, preferably in Bengal or the Circars. The preliminary articles signed in January, 1783, and the final Versailles treaty of September, 1783, in so far as it concerned the East, fell within the line prescribed by the Secret Committee, as the Ministry later informed the Court.[2]

On the whole the Ministry welcomed the appointment and favoured the activities of the Secret Committee. Clearly, as Shelburne found, it was easier to handle and negotiate with three than twenty-four Directors. On the entry into office of the Fox-North coalition in April, 1783, Fox showed that he was not unaware of the fact by personally inviting the Directors specifically to empower the Secret Committee "to consult with His Majesty's Ministers in all matters relative to the safety of the Company's possessions".[3] They complied with this comprehensive request and, on Fox's advice, renewed these extensive powers monthly for the rest of the year. The Secret Committee therefore achieved outstanding importance at the India House because it alone communicated with the Ministers upon the political interests of the Company. Through the Committee Fox undoubtedly exercised considerable influence on East India policy, the more so because the Chairman, Sir Henry Fletcher, was an ardent Foxite.[4] But the Court of Directors was not so complaisant, and the consequent strain imposed on the machinery of home government was one of the major factors contributing to Fox's unwisely conceived attempt in November, 1783, to revolutionize the Company's constitution.

(*To be concluded.*)

[1] Minutes of the Secret Committee, relative to the negotiations for peace, 1782–3. 14th October, 1782, Orde to Fletcher; 18th October, 22nd October, 1782.

[2] Ibid. Grantham to the Chairman, 23rd January, 1783, and *passim*, January, 1783, to 11th March, 1785. The articles concerning the East in negotiation with Holland were discussed by the Secret Committee in detail.

[3] *Court Minutes*, vol. xcii, f. 12, 15th April, 1783.

[4] Sir Henry Fletcher was forced to resign the Chair during the discussion of Fox's East India Bills in November, 1783. Auber, *Constitution of the East India Company*, p. 68.

Dated Chinese Manuscripts in the Stein Collection

By Lionel Giles

(PLATE I)

V. Tenth Century A.D. (to the end of the Later Chin Dynasty)

DURING the whole of the tenth century from about 910 onwards, Tunhuang under the name of Kuei-i Chün was governed by members of the 曹 Ts'ao family, who were more or less independent of the fugitive dynasties that rose and fell at Lo-yang and Pien-liang. The connection with China was practically limited to the bestowal of the title of *chieh-tu-shih* on the man in power if he cared to apply for it. The system seems to have worked well enough: with the Tibetan menace removed, the people enjoyed a fair measure of peace and prosperity, though the standard of living and culture in general never rose again to what it had been under the T'angs before An Lu-shan's rebellion. The deterioration of arts and crafts dating from that disastrous upheaval is plainly observable in the manuscript rolls of this period: the highly finished paper of the seventh and eighth centuries with its beautifully glazed and stained surface has entirely disappeared, and what we find in its place is with rare exceptions thick, coarse, and drab-coloured. The handwriting, too, though sometimes vigorous, lacks the elegance and grace of former times.

The number of dated documents is somewhat larger than before, but they include hardly any Buddhist canonical works of importance. An analysis of the MSS under review in the present article shows that out of a total of sixty-two only twelve are sūtras, six of which are apocryphal, the rest being copies of the Diamond Sūtra and the *Kuan Yin Ching*. There are three collections of prayers, one commentary, and ten other Buddhist texts of various kinds. The secular texts comprise thirteen official letters and proclamations, seven poems and romances, two copies of the *Hsiao Ching*, four legal documents, three account notes, and seven miscellaneous lists or memoranda.

A.D. 901 (T'ang).

S. 1082. On the back of one of the numerous copies of the 大乘無量壽宗要經 *Ta shêng wu liang shou tsung yao ching*,*

an apocryphal but extremely popular sūtra in the tenth century, there is scrawled in rude characters the date 光化四年 "4th year of Kuang-hua" [A.D. 901].

901 (T'ANG).

S. 3905. A fragment of a short Buddhist composition with a date at the beginning: [大]唐天復元年辛酉歲口金光明寺造 "Done at the Chin-kuang-ming Monastery . . . in the *hsin-yu* year, the 1st of T'ien-fu in the Great T'ang dynasty." T'ien-fu began in the fourth moon of this year.

902 (T'ANG).

S. 1604. (1) A letter from the Governor of Sha-chou (whom we know from other sources to have been 張承奉 Chang Ch'êng-fêng) to the Buddhist "Bishop" of Ho-hsi, calling his attention to the prevalence of plague in the city and attributing it to the negligence of the monks. Certain religious rites, such as the lighting of lamps and the recitation of the Buddhanāma Sūtra, are therefore enjoined on the monasteries and nunneries under his charge. The document bears three impressions of a square red seal, reading 沙州節度使印 "Seal of the *chieh-tu-shih* of Sha-chou", and at the end is a large character 使 ("Commissioner," an abbreviation of *chieh-tu-shih*) with a vertical line beneath it terminating in a kind of star. We find something similar after the character 張 in S. 5747 (see under A.D. 905, below), so it would seem to be a mark peculiar to this Governor. The handwriting is clear and fairly good. (2) A reply to the above from the Bishop in a rather more cursive hand, promising a continuous service of confession and prayer in the establishments under his control, as well as a nightly recitation of a section of the *Fo ming ching*. This is dated the 20th of the 4th moon of the 2nd year of T'ien-fu [30th May, 902] and signed by "the Bishop 賢照 Hsien-chao". There are three impressions of a smaller seal reading 河西都僧統印 "Seal of the Bishop of Ho-hsi". The roll is about 2¾ feet long.

902 (T'ANG).

S. 5927. A mutilated fragment containing prayers for a dead child and a dead brother, apparently left unfinished. On the back are two account notes, of which the upper one is dated the 9th of the 11th moon of *jên-hsü*, the 2nd year of T'ien-fu [11th Dec., 902].

904 (T'ANG).

S. 5495. A memorandum of the amount of oil consumed in a monastery at certain dates of the 4th year of T'ien-fu [904], from the 1st of the 2nd moon [19th Feb.] to the 20th of the 10th moon [29th Nov.]. The measures employed are the 斗 *tou* and the 勝 *shêng* (a homophone of 升), roughly corresponding to gallons and pints.

905 (T'ANG).

S. 5747. This is a fragment of another letter from Chang [Ch'êng-fêng], who is described as Imperial Commissioner for 沙瓜伊西州 Sha-, Kua-, I-, and Hsi-chou, with a string of other titles. The date comes at the beginning: [天]復五年歲次乙丑正月壬口朔四[日] "The 4th [day] of the 1st moon, the first day of which was *jên*-[ ], of *i-ch'ou*, the 5th year of [T'ien]-fu" [10th Feb., 905]. On the back are a number of laymen's names, perhaps a subscription list.

905 (T'ANG).

S. 5534. 金剛般若波羅蜜經 **Chin kang pan jo po lo mi ching*, sections 12–32. This is our first example of the Diamond Sūtra divided into thirty-two 分 chapters or sections, each with its own title. Of the forty copies in the Collection only a few are complete. The version is Kumārajīva's, but the chapter headings were added after his time. Bodhiruci's version is divided into twelve chapters only. At the end is a note: 西川過家眞印本 "From the true printed text of the Kuo family in Hsi-ch'uan". Then come three short dhāraṇī and a colophon: 時天復五年歲次乙丑三月一日寫竟信心受持老人八十有二 "Copying completed on the 1st of the 3rd moon of *i-ch'ou*, the 5th year of T'ien-fu [really the 2nd of T'ien-yu: 8th April, 905]. Accepted with a believing heart by an old man of 82." This is a booklet of fifteen leaves, 11 × 16 cm., made of rather coarse yellowish paper.

905 (T'ANG).

S. 5444. *Chin kang pan jo po lo mi ching.* The Diamond Sūtra in thirty-two chapters. Another copy in the same hand as the preceding, only this is complete with the exception of a leaf of introductory matter, consisting of eight invocations of the Vajra Buddha or Vairocana, directions to readers, and a closing prayer. At the end

we find the same note and dhāraṇī, with the following colophon: 天祐二年歲次乙丑四月廿三日八十二老人手寫此經流傳信士 "On the 23rd of the 4th moon of *i-ch'ou*, the 2nd year of T'ien-yu [29th May, 905], an old man of 82 copied this sūtra with his own hand for circulation among the faithful." Booklet of twenty-nine leaves, 11 × 16 cm.

905 (T'ang).

S. 2575 contains a number of proclamations, letters, etc., to and from Buddhist dignitaries. On a separate sheet attached to the main roll is a petition to the Bishop Jên-ên (都僧統和尚仁恩) from the monks of the 靈圖 Ling-t'u Monastery, asking for the promotion of the Abbot (大行充寺主). This is dated in the 8th moon of the 5th year of T'ien-fu [Sept., 905].

906 (T'ang).

S. 5965. 金剛般若波羅蜜經 **Chin kang jo po lo mi ching*, sections 29 (end)–31 (begin.), 32 (end), with dhāraṇī and colophon: 天復 [mistake for 祐] 二年乙丑十二月廿日八十二老人手寫流傳 "Copied for circulation by an old man of 82 with his own hand on the 20th of the 12th moon of *i-ch'ou*, the 2nd year of T'ien-yu" [17th Jan., 906]. The "old man", of course, is the same as in S. 5534 and 5444 above, and the two following MSS. (S. 5451 and 5669). *Verso:* Part of a gāthā from another sūtra in a better hand which was cut up to form this folding booklet. Four leaves only remain, 12·5 cm. square.

906 (T'ang).

S. 5451. **Chin kang pan jo po lo mi ching*, sections *13–32. Colophon: 天祐三年丙寅二月二日八十三老人手自刺血寫之 "Copied by an old man of 83, who pricked his own hand for blood to write with, on the 2nd of the 2nd moon of *ping-yin*, the 3rd year of T'ien-yu" [27th Feb., 906]. A booklet of seventeen leaves, 13·5 × 11 cm.

906 (T'ang).

S. 5669. **Chin kang pan jo po lo mi ching*, sections *28–32. At the beginning there is a coloured drawing of Vajrapāṇi, and prayers. Colophon: 天祐三年丙寅二月三日八十三老人刺左手中指出血以香墨寫此金經流傳信心人一無所

願本性實空無有願樂 "On the 3rd of the 2nd moon of *ping-yin*, the 3rd year of T'ien-yu [28th Feb., 906], an old man of 83 pricked the middle finger of his left hand so as to draw blood, with which he mixed fragrant ink and copied out this *Chin* [*kang*] *ching* for circulation among men of believing heart. There is nothing for which he wishes to pray, his nature having attained absolute vacuity, free from any desire for pleasure." Six leaves of a booklet, 13·5 × 11 cm., brittle and discoloured.

907 (T'ANG).

S. 2630 contains part of a popular romance, incomplete at both ends, dealing with a visit paid by the T'ang emperor T'ai Tsung to the Underworld, where he converses with the Judge 崔子玉 Ts'ui Tzŭ-yü. On the back there are two short passages in the same hand, one of which appears to contain the colophon to the text *recto*: 天復六年丙寅歲潤[for 閏]十二月廿六日氾善威[?]書記 "Copying recorded by Fan Shan-wei on the 26th of the 12th intercalary moon of *ping-yin*, the 6th year of T'ien-fu" [11th Feb., 907].

The legend of T'ai Tsung's descent into the land of shades appears in the tenth century compilation 太平廣記 *T'ai p'ing kuang chi*, which took it from 朝野僉載 *Ch'ao yeh ch'ien tsai*. This work was written by 張鷟 Chang Tsu, who lived in the seventh and eighth centuries, but it is not believed to have survived in its original form. At any rate, the passage quoted in the *Kuang chi* is not to be found in the book as we have it to-day. The story is told there as follows: "When the T'ang emperor was still in the plenitude of health and strength, the Grand Astrologer 李淳風 Li Ch'un-fêng (Li 乾 Ch'ien-fêng in our MS.) approached him with tears streaming from his eyes but without saying a word. The Emperor questioned him, whereupon he said: 'This evening Your Majesty will pass away.' T'ai Tsung replied: 'Man's life-span is pre-ordained: wherefore should one grieve?' He kept Li with him for the night, and in the course of it suddenly fell into a trance. A figure appeared to him and said: 'Your Majesty is to go back with me for a time; we must start at once.' 'Who are you?' asked the Emperor. 'Your servant was once a mortal who now acts as Judge in the realm of shades,' was the reply. T'ai Tsung was then brought before a tribunal which questioned him about the events of the 4th day of the 6th moon [of the year 626, when he had slain his rebellious brethren at the 玄武 Hsüan-wu

Gate], and finally bade him return to earth. He was again met and escorted out of the underworld by his previous visitant. Meanwhile Li Ch'un-fêng had been inspecting the Diagram of Heaven, and had forbidden any lamentation for the deceased. A little later the Emperor awoke from his trance. As soon as the next day dawned he inquired about the person he had seen, and commanded the authorities to confer on him an official post. So he was formally designated Governor of the Province of Shu."

The name of Ts'ui Tzŭ-yü does not occur in the above, but many details concerning him will be found in the 崔府君祠錄 *Ts'ui fu chün tz'ŭ lu*, "Record of the Shrine of the Prefect Ts'ui", by 鄭烺 Chêng Lang.[1] His personal name was 玨 Chio, and in the Sui and early T'ang period he distinguished himself as magistrate of 滏陽 Fu-yang (which later became 磁州 Tz'ŭ-chou) in Hopei. Afterwards the Emperor T'ai Tsung made him prefect of 蒲州 P'u-chou in Shansi (his native place according to the present text), where he died in office. His remains were brought back to Fu-yang, and to commemorate his many virtues the local people erected a shrine where they "ministered to him assiduously as though he were alive". His name does not appear in the standard histories, though one account identifies him with Ts'ui 瑗 Yüan, the son of Ts'ui Yin (*Hou han shu*, ch. 82), for no other reason, apparently, than that his *tzŭ* was also 子玉. A Ts'ui Chio who lived in the Chêng-kuan period and was noted as a tiger-killer has also been confused with our hero. See *T'u shu chi ch'êng*, xiv, 112, f. 2[b], and *Ts'ui fu chün tz'ŭ lu*, f. 16[b]. In 918 his image was transferred to a Taoist temple, and in 1035 he was accorded the posthumous title of 護國顯應公 "Divinely manifesting Lord Protector of the State".

According to the story told by 毛奇齡 Mao Ch'i-ling in 1690, Ts'ui's father was named 讓 Jang. Being still childless at the age of 50, he prayed for offspring to the Northern Sacred Mountain, and afterwards dreamed that God gave him two pieces of jade. Hence the son that was born to him was named 玨 "Double-jade", with the literary name 子玉. This was on the 30th June, 583, or as others say, the 8th July, 585. In the Sung dynasty, Ts'ui Tzŭ-yü himself became the divinity to whom emperors turned when praying for posterity, and two temples were erected to him at Hangchow. From

[1] See 武林掌故叢編, Ser. II, no. 10. Chêng Lang compiled this record in 1832 out of gratitude for having obtained a son in response to prayer.

the 神異錄 *Shên i lu* we learn further that Ts'ui took the 孝廉 *hsiao-lien* degree in 601 and was appointed tutor to the Heir-Apparent in the following year, a position which he resigned because of the disobedience of his pupil. He died on the 10th of the 10th moon of the 22nd year of Chêng-kuan [31st Oct., 648]. Another account is given in a little illustrated volume in the British Museum library entitled 三教源流聖帝佛帥搜神記 *San chiao yüan liu shêng ti fo shuai sou shên chi.* The story of the Emperor in Hades is also told, with much embroidery, in the 西游記 *Hsi yu chi*, chap. 11, where the reason given for summoning him before the tribunal is the execution of a dragon king.

The roll consists of two strips of dark brownish paper, each about 4 feet long and mutilated along the bottom. The handwriting is fairly good and clear. A very short extract is printed in 沙州文錄 *Sha chou wên lu*, f. 7, where it is wrongly stated that nothing more has been preserved. The notes that follow are by 王國維 Wang Kuo-wei, and are reprinted in chapter 21 of his collected works.

907 (T'ang).

S. 6254. A mutilated fragment of the end of a letter which was afterwards used as a patch for another roll. It bears the date 天復柒年丁卯歲 "The 7th year of T'ien-fu, *ting-mao*". The last emperor of the T'ang dynasty was placed on the throne in the autumn of 904 and assumed the year-title 天祐, but was deposed in May, 907. The extinction of the dynasty led to such confusion that T'ien-fu was still used for dating these MSS. as late as September, 909. The 7th year of T'ien-fu (really the 1st of K'ai-p'ing) began on 15th Feb., 907, and ended on 4th Feb., 908.

908 (Later Liang).

S. 6253. Apparently the end of a list of characters, also used as a patch. The date is in another hand: 天復七年丁卯歲十二月十日燉煌郡金光明寺口 "... at the Chin-kuang-ming Monastery in Tun-huang Chün on the 10th of the 12th moon of the *ting-mao* year, the 7th of T'ien-fu" [16th Jan., 908].

909 (Later Liang).

S. 5613. A model letter-writer in a booklet of six leaves, 18·5 × 14 cm. It contains eighteen letters, the sixth of which is dated thus in very small characters: 開平己巳歲七月七日口題德

深記之 "Indited on the 7th day of the 7th moon of the *chi-ssŭ* year in the K'ai-p'ing reign-period [26th July, 909]. Note by Tê-shên." This is a neat, well-spaced MS.

909 (Later Liang).

S. 2174. A deed relating to the sale of their family estate by the three brothers 董 Tung, dated at the beginning: 天復玖年己巳歲閏八月十二日 "the 12th day of the intercalary 8th moon of *chi-ssŭ*, the 9th year of T'ien-fu" [28th Sept., 909]. The names of brothers and witnesses, also three in number, with their "marks", appear at the end of the roll, the former according to seniority, from left to right, and reversed: 兄董加盈 Tung Chia-ying; 弟董懷子 Tung Huai-tzŭ; 弟董懷盈 Tung Huai-ying. Note how each shares an element in his personal name with another. The deed is carelessly written in ink that varies much in blackness. 2¾ feet long.

918 (Later Liang).

S. 3054. 觀世音經 **Kuan shih yin ching*, 1 ch. This is *Miao fa lien hua ching*, p'in 25: see under A.D. 696. The roll is of rather thick brownish buff paper, 4¼ feet long, and the handwriting is only mediocre. Colophon: 時貞明叁年歲次戊寅十一月廿八日報恩寺僧海滿發心敬寫此經一卷奉爲先亡考妣不溺幽冥承此善因早過彌勒現存之者所有業障並皆消滅永充供養比丘僧勝智手寫 "This sūtra in one roll has been reverently copied with pious intent to the order of Hai-man, a monk in the Pao-ên Monastery, on the 28th of the 11th moon of *mou-yin*, the third year of Chêng-ming [13th Jan., 918], on behalf of his deceased parents of previous incarnations, so that they may not be submerged in the realm of darkness, but that, availing themselves of this act of merit, they may speedily pass into the presence of Maitreya; also in perpetual dedication for his parents now living, that the hindrances of their past karma may be entirely dispelled. Copied by the hand of the bhikṣu Sêng Shêng-chih." *Mou-yin* is really the 4th year of Chêng-ming; assuming the cyclical year to be correct, the date works out as the 2nd January, 919.

919 (Later Liang).

S. 692. 秦婦吟 **Ch'in fu yin*, 1 ch. *The Lament of the Lady of Ch'in*, a narrative poem by 韋莊 Wei Chuang (d. A.D. 910) describing the sack of Ch'ang-an in 881. There are three copies, all defective,

in the Stein Collection, and a small fragment. The present roll is 4½ feet long, and contains lines 40 to 238 (end). There are also several copies of the poem in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, one of which, P. 3381, is complete and dated as early as 906. Colophon: 貞明五年己卯歲四月十一日燉煌郡金光明寺學仕郎安友盛寫訖 "Copying completed by An Yu-shêng, lay student at the Chin-kuang-ming Monastery in the prefecture of Tun-huang, on the 11th of the 4th moon of the *chi-mao* year, the 5th of Chêng-ming" [13th May, 919]. This is followed by a piece of doggerel by the scribe, who was evidently smarting under a sense of injustice: 今日寫書了合有五升麥高代不可得還是自身灾. It may be freely rendered thus:—

Now I have made this copy fair,
  Five pints of good wheat should be mine;
But wheat's so dear that in despair
  I must my secret hopes resign.

For a complete translation of the ballad, with text, introduction, and notes, see *T'oung Pao*, xxiv, pp. 305–380.

This is an indifferent MS., full of mistakes, on coarse drab-coloured paper.

920 (Later Liang).

S. 4240, 3691. 佛說佛名經 *Fo shuo fo ming ching.* These companion rolls of the Buddhanāma Sūtra, containing respectively ch. 4, nos. 2381–3427, and *ch. 15, nos. 1848-12250, both have coloured vignettes of Buddha at intervals of a hundred names, and practically the same colophon: 敬寫大佛名經貳伯[for 百]捌拾捌卷惟願城隍安泰百姓康寧府主尚書曹公己身永壽繼紹長年合宅支羅常然慶吉于時大梁貞明六年歲次庚辰五月十五日寫記 "288 rolls of the *Ta fo ming ching* have been reverently copied, with the prayer that the tutelar deity of the city may peacefully flourish, and the people be tranquil and prosperous; that the *shang-shu* and Lord of the prefecture, Ts'ao [義金 I-chin], may personally attain enduring longevity, that his line may be carried on for all time, and that his whole house and the scions of his stock may constantly enjoy the blessings of fortune. Copying recorded on the 15th of the 5th moon of *kêng-ch'ên,* the 6th year of Chêng-ming in the Great Liang Dynasty" [4th June, 920]. In S. 4240, a roll of thick buff paper 52 feet in length, the characters are heavy and black, but not particularly well written.

S. 3691 is 25 feet long and written in a bold, clear hand on rather coarse whitish paper.

920 (Later Liang).

S. 6417 is a composite roll, 26 feet long, containing a number of prayers of different kinds and three official letters. The first prayer (mutilated at the beginning) appears to have been copied by the monk 戒榮 Chieh-jung of the Chin-kuang-ming Monastery on the 12th (?) day of the 2nd moon of *kêng-ch'ên*, the 6th year of Chêng-ming [5th March, 920]. The fifth, verses to accompany the scattering of flowers in honour of Buddha, was copied by the monk 寶印 Pao-yin of the same monastery on the 1st of the 2nd moon of that year [23rd Feb., 920]. The letters comprise (*a*) a petition dated 931 from the nuns of the 普光 P'u-kuang Convent to the bishop 海晏 Hai-yen, and his reply; (*b*) a petition to the same by two monks of the Chin-kuang-ming Monastery, dated 926, and his reply; (*c*) a letter to the same from the abbot 神威 Shên-wei, dated 935 and signed by six ordinary monks, with his reply.

921 (Later Liang).

S. 2614. 大目乾連冥間救母變文 *Ta mu ch'ien lien ming chien chiu mu pien wên*, 1 ch. "The Story of Mahā-Maudgalyāyana rescuing his Mother from the Underworld." This is a popularized version of the Buddhist sūtra 佛說盂蘭盆經 *Fo shuo yü lan p'ên ching* (Nanjio, no. 303) in alternate prose and verse. Colophon: 貞明柒年辛巳歲四月十六日淨土寺學郎薛安俊寫張保達文書 "Composition by Chang Pao-ta. Copied by Hsieh An-chün, lay student at the Ching-t'u Monastery, on the 16th of the 4th moon of *hsin-ssŭ*, the 7th year of Chêng-ming" [26th May, 921]. With the exception of a slight mutilation at the beginning, the text is complete. The National Library of Peiping possesses three long fragments which were published with notes by 向達 Hsiang Ta in the *Library Bulletin*, vol. v, no. 6, pp. 53–80. The MS. is bold and clear, and occupies the whole length of a 20 ft. roll made of crisp buff paper. Traces of characters after the colophon show that another half-column has been torn away.

The back of the roll is taken up with a list, written in large characters, of the inmates of nine monasteries and five nunneries, all presumably at Tunhuang. The monks are classified as 僧 those who have taken the full monastic vows; 舊沙彌 senior novices;

and 新沙彌 junior novices. For women, the classes are: 大戒尼 fully qualified nuns; 式叉尼 śikṣamāṇas, who for want of a better term may be called female neophytes; and 沙彌尼 female novices, senior and junior. There is little in the names to distinguish the sexes except the recurrence of such terms as 妙 and 花, which are commoner among the nuns, as 神 and 智 are among the monks. The numbers in each institution are summed up in red ink, and it may be of interest to reproduce these statistics in tabular form.

Monastery	*Monks*	*Senior Novices*	*Junior Novices*	*Total*
1. [Name missing]	16	2	17	35
2. 開元 K'ai-yüan	37	7	4	48
3. 乾元 Ch'ien-yüan	20	0	7	27
4. 龍興 Lung-hsing	42	2	6	50
5. 大雲 Ta-yün	27	4	0	31
6. 報恩 Pao-ên	36	10	1	47
7. 淨土 Ching-t'u	19	1	2	22
8. 蓮臺 Lien-t'ai	20	1	6	27
9. 三界 San-chieh	17	0	3	20

Nunnery	*Nuns*	*Neophytes*	*Novices*		*Total*
1. [Name missing][1]	103	59	27		189
			Senior	*Junior*	
2. 大乘 Ta-shêng	115	36	8	14	173
3. 安國 An-kuo	100	23	16		139
			Senior	*Junior*	
4. 靈修 Ling-hsiu	99	29	2	12	142
5. 聖光 Shêng-kuang	34	10	5		49

921 (Later Liang).

S. 5834. A mutilated fragment from the end of a copy of the *Ch'in fu yin* (see above, under A.D. 919), with the date 貞明陸年歲在庚辰拾貳月口 "... 12th moon of *kêng-ch'ên*, the 6th year of Chêng-ming" [Jan.–Feb., 921].

[1] There is a gap here where two sheets join, and the names of 78 of the 103 nuns are wanting.

923 (Later Liang).

S. 4359. *Recto* is chüan 1 of the [楞 嚴 經 *Lêng yen ching**], Śūraṅgama-sūtra [N. 446]. On the other side, in a very careless, sprawling hand, a prayer and two short paragraphs in which Khotan and 賀 蘭 山 Ho-lan Shan (near Ninghsia) are mentioned. The writer is given as the 尙 書 *shang-shu* 盧 潘 Lu P'an, with this concluding note: 維 大 梁 貞 明 九 年 四 月 日 押 衙 乞 首 [for 己 手 ?] 寫 流 □ "Copied with his own hand for circulation . . . by the *ya-ya* on a day of the 4th moon of the 9th year of Chêng-ming in the great Liang dynasty" [April–May, 923]. Chêng-ming ended in 920, but the Liang dynasty went on until 923, the last emperor committing suicide in the 10th moon of that year. There is also a more neatly written note in red concerning Buddhist matters.

924 (Later T'ang).

S. 1897 is a copy of a contract, dated the 1st of the 2nd moon of *chia-shên*, the 4th year of Lung-tê [8th March, 924], in which 張 厶 甲 a certain Chang of Tun-huang Hsiang, a man of the people, "lacking able-bodied young men in his own family" (爲 家 內 闕 少 人 力), hires the services of 陰 厶 甲 a labourer named Yin, of the same district, from the 2nd to the 9th moon inclusive, and promises to give him by way of payment a suit of spring clothes with long sleeves and a pair of unlined leather shoes (春 衣 一 對 長 袖 并 褌 皮 鞋 一 量). At the end, space is left for the names of the hired man (雇 身), his employer (口 丞 人), and two witnesses (見 人). The document is slightly mutilated, and measures 30 × 40 cm.

924 (Later T'ang).

S. 5981. A prayer, followed by an account of Śākyamuni Buddha and his disciples, with the heading 大 唐 同 光 貳 年 三 月 九 日 時 來 迎 礼 "Ritual of [the Buddhas] coming to welcome [the dying believer]: 9th day of the 3rd moon of the 2nd year of T'ung-kuang in the Great [Later] T'ang dynasty" [15th April, 924]. Two mutilated fragments, not continuous, together measuring 29·5 × 60 cm.

924 (Later T'ang).

S. 4793. 大 寶 積 經 *Ta pao chi ching*,* Mahāratnakūṭa-sūtra, ch. 101, pt. 34. On the back is the following note: 時 當 同 光 二 載 三 月 廿 三 日 東 漢 國 鄜 州 觀 音 "[Dedicated to ?] Kuan Yin of Lu-chou in the Eastern Han State on the 23rd of the 3rd moon

of the 2nd year of T'ung-kuang" [29th April, 924]. Lu-chou is in Shensi, north of Ch'ang-an.

924 (LATER T'ANG).

S. 529. Five letters or reports from the monk 歸文 Kuei-wên of the K'ai-yüan Monastery in Ting-chou (Hopei), dated in the 5th and 6th moon of the 2nd year of T'ung-kuang [June–July, 924]. Kuei-wên seems to have been sent on a journey to India in order to collect Buddhist scriptures. A neat, well-spaced MS. *Verso* are notes on famous mountains written in a small, cramped hand, beginning with Wu-t'ai in Shansi and ending with Hua Shan in Shensi. The roll is of thin, light buff paper, and about 5½ feet long.

925 (LATER T'ANG).

S. 707. 孝經 **Hsiao ching*, 1 ch., chaps. 9–18 (the first of the remaining chapters is mutilated). Colophon (reproduced in *BSOS.*, VII, 3, pl. 6): 同光三年乙酉歲十一月八日三界寺學仕郎郎君曹元深寫記 "Copying recorded by Ts'ao Yüan-shên, lay student and *lang-chün* of the San-chieh Monastery, on the 8th of the 11th moon of *i-yu*, the 3rd year of T'ung-kuang [26th Nov., 925]. Ts'ao Yüan-shên, son of the Governor Ts'ao I-chin, succeeded his brother Yüan-tê in 942, and was made *chieh-tu-shih* in the following year. He was succeeded by another brother, Yüan-chung, in 945 or 946. The end of a letter written by him when he was *liu-hou* of Kuei-i Chün is preserved in S. 1286 v°.

The handwriting of our present text is neat and regular, the paper very coarse and dull buff in colour. The roll is 2¼ feet long.

926 (LATER T'ANG).

S. 6230. 閻羅王授記經 **Yen lo wang shou chi ching*. An apocryphal sūtra on the Ten Rulers of the Underworld: a modified and shortened version of 佛說預修十王生七經 *Fo shuo yü hsiu shih wang shêng ch'i ching*: see *Kyōto Supplement*, C. xxiii, 4 (9). Another copy of this sūtra, S. 3961, has vigorously executed drawings in colour interspersed throughout the text, representing typical scenes in the Courts of the Ten Rulers. Colophon: 奉爲慈母病患速得詮[for 痊]口免授地獄壹爲在生父母作福二爲自身及合家內外親因[for 姻]等无知口長病患不侵常保安樂書寫次[for 此]經免其[地獄?]業報 同光肆年丙戌歲六月六日寫記之耳 "On behalf of my gracious mother,

now afflicted with illness, that she may be speedily cured and escape the apportionment of purgatory [in the next reincarnation]; firstly, to produce happiness [resulting from merit acquired] for my living parents, and secondly for myself and my whole family and kinsmen by blood or by marriage [. . .] that we may not be attacked by disease but may constantly preserve our health and happiness, I have caused this sūtra to be copied out, in order to escape the karmaic retribution of the underworld. Copying recorded on the 6th of the 6th moon of the *ping-hsü* year, the 4th of T'ung-kuang" [18th July, 926]. This is a fairly good MS. on coarse drab-coloured paper, 4¼ feet long.

928 (Later T'ang).

S. 2575. This composite roll has already been noticed under A.D. 905. It contains an official letter from 海晏 Hai-yen, Bishop of Ho-hsi, enumerating articles such as umbrellas (傘), banners (幡), wrappings for sūtras (經巾) and the like, required by different temples in his diocese. It is dated the 12th of the 10th moon of the 3rd year of T'ien-ch'êng [26th Nov., 928], and bears the impression of the bishop's seal: 河西都僧統印.

929 (Later T'ang).

The principal text in the preceding roll, S. 2575, is a long proclamation (牓) by the bishop, in fine bold handwriting, with several seal-impressions, exhorting the temple-directors of the 普光 P'u-kuang Nunnery to follow Buddha's teaching. This was probably meant to be pasted on a wall. It is dated the 6th of the 3rd moon of the 4th year of T'ien-ch'êng [18th April, 929]. The reply, dated the 21st April, contains the programme of services in the temple from the 11th to the 28th day of the 3rd moon. The whole roll is about 14¼ feet long, and is made of rather soft buff paper of inferior quality which has the defect of letting the ink show through.

929 (Later T'ang).

S. 4012. A short dithyrambic composition on 五臺山 Wu-t'ai Shan is followed by the names of temples on the northern and southern divisions of this mountain. Note at the end: 天成四年正月五日午際孫 [mark resembling a star with a curved, upward-pointing tail] 書 (?) "Written by Sun [ ] at noonday on the 5th of the 1st

moon of the 4th year of T'ien-ch'êng" [17th Feb., 929]. The MS. consists of large characters, well-spaced and carefully written on an unusual kind of paper, described by Mr. Clapperton as "made from well bleached fibres. Thin, tough, and strong. . . . Very soft-sized, and almost impossible to write upon with pen and ink." 28 × 34·5 cm.

931 (LATER T'ANG).

S. 4920. 太公家教 **T'ai kung chia chiao*, 1 ch. "Family Teachings of T'ai Kung." This is not the same work as S. 479 (see under A.D. 879). The best way to give some idea of its contents will be to quote a few passages: 他弓莫挽、他馬莫騎、弓折馬死、償他無疑 "Do not bend another man's bow; do not ride another man's horse: if the bow breaks or the horse is killed, beyond doubt you will have to make good the loss." 羅網之鳥悔不高飛、吞鈎之魚恨不飢口 "The bird that is caught in the net regrets that it didn't fly higher; the fish that swallows the hook is sorry that it didn't go hungry." 其父出行、子則從後、路逢尊者、齊脚斂手、尊者賜酒、卽須拜受、尊者賜肉、骨不與狗 "When the father goes out for a walk, the son should follow behind. If on the road you meet a man of high standing, put your feet together and draw your hands into your sleeves; if he gives you wine, you must accept it on your knees; if he gives you meat, don't throw the bones to a dog." 養男之法、莫聽強言、育女之法、莫聽離母、男年長大、莫聽好酒、女年長大、莫聽遊走 "The way to bring up a son is not to let him use strong language; the way to rear a daughter is not to let her leave her mother's side. When your son grows up, do not allow him to get fond of wine; when your daughter grows up, do not allow her to go gadding about." The handwriting is mostly clear enough, but otherwise rather poor. There are five other copies of this treatise in the Collection, but all are imperfect or fragmentary.

Verso: (1) a short letter from the *ya-ya* 曹善達 Ts'ao Shan-ta inquiring after the unnamed recipient's health. It begins with a common formula: 孟秋猶熱 "First month of autumn: weather still warm." The date "2nd year of Ch'ang-hsing" [931] has been added in another hand. (2) A note concerning an allotment of land to three householders in 龍勒鄉 the country district of Lung-lo. (3) Further scribblings, rather faint and indistinct, including the date "14th day of the 1st moon of the *ting-wei* year" [947 ?]. This is a roll of coarse, drab paper, 2¼ feet long.

931 (LATER T'ANG).

S. 5952. A kakemono paper scroll inscribed in large characters, each from 20 to 30 cm. square, 忍辱波羅蜜[多] "Kchānti Pāramitā." This is the third of the six cardinal virtues: patient endurance, or equanimity under persecution. *Verso:* Fragment of an account note of agricultural produce, also a date: 長興二年八月十六日弟子檢校左僕射兼御史大夫曹 "16th day of the 8th moon of the 2nd year of Ch'ang-hsing [30th Sept., 931]: the Buddhist disciple Ts'ao, Comptroller, Left P'u-yeh, and Censor."

931 (LATER T'ANG).

S. 1181. Badly mutilated fragment of a special prayer, in thick black characters, for the peace and welfare of the Tunhuang region, to accompany a donation of cloth by the Governor of Ho-hsi on the occasion of the erection of an altar. With a note at the end bearing the impression of a square red seal (illegible): 長興二年十二月廿六日口[河]西歸義等[軍]口 "On the 26th of the 12th moon of the 2nd year of Ch'ang-hsing [5th Feb., 932] . . . the Kuei-i and other military districts of Ho-hsi . . ." *Verso:* Another mutilated prayer for peace in a somewhat better hand. At the end: 道口口記 "Note . . . by Tao-[ ]". The sheet is 1⅓ feet long.

932 (LATER T'ANG).

S. 6207. This is another mutilated fragment, about 1¼ feet long, containing three texts in different hands: (1) the end portion of a didactic composition, with colophon: 長興三年壬辰歲三月廿六日畫資員記 "Recorded by Hua Pao-yüan on the 26th of the 3rd moon of *jên-ch'ên*, the 3rd year of Ch'ang-hsing" [4th May, 932]. (2) 呪願新郎文第十二 "No. 12. Prayer-formula for a bridegroom". Only a small part of this remains. *Verso:* Scribbled honorific titles of Buddhist priests and *chieh-tu-shih*.

934 (LATER T'ANG).

S. 76. Nine brief official reports or memorials, the first of which is dated the 1st of the 1st moon of the 5th year of Ch'ang-hsing [18th Jan., 934], and the last "in the intercalary first moon" [17th Feb.–17th March, 934]. These, like most documents of this nature, are clearly written and widely spaced. Some of them are cut away along the top, which shows that the sheets were subsequently used to

make a roll for the text on the back. The latter is a series of *medicinal notes* on various fruits and other articles of diet. Their names (written in red) are: 木瓜 *Cerica papaya* (?), 胡桃 walnut; 軟棗 persimmon (*Diospyros kaki*); 棐子 *Torreya nucifera* 蕪夷 *Ulmus macrocarpa*; 榆莢 elm-seeds; 吳茱萸 *Evodia rutaecarpa*; 蒲桃 grape-vine; 甜瓜 water-melon; 越瓜 pumpkin; 胡瓜 cucumber; 冬瓜 white gourd; 瓠子 calabash or bottle-gourd; 蓮子 lotus (*Nelumbium speciosum*); 鸐蕧子 fruit of the 木通 (*Clematis sp.*); 樝子 quince; 藤梨 *Actinidia chinensis*; 羊梅 Arbutus (*Myrica sapida*); 覆盆子 wild raspberry; 藕 lotus root; 雞頭子 *Euryale ferox*; 菱實 water-chestnut; 石蜜 refined sugar; 沙糖 raw sugar; 芋 taro. Some queer facts are brought to light. For instance, the juice expressed from the pounded leaves of a water-melon will, if rubbed on the scalp, cause hair to grow where none was before (生瓜葉搗取汁治人頭不生髮者塗之即生). And the seeds and root of the lotus plant, if eaten after being stored for a thousand years, will prevent hunger and so etherealize the body that it is able to fly in marvellous fashion (有貯石蓮子及藕經千年者食之不飢輕身能飛至妙). This fragment is discussed at length by Dr. M. Nakao in the Japanese scientific journal 上海自然科學研究所彙報, vol. 1, no. 3. The roll is about 8 feet long. The paper is soft and fibrous; some of the sheets are almost white, the others a light buff colour.

934 (Later T'ang).

S. 548. [**Fo ming ching**], nos. 926–1388. After every hundred names the total number of Buddhas is summed up in this wise: 從此以上一千三百佛. A fine MS. in large clear characters. *Verso*: A Life of Śākyamuni Buddha, also in large characters, but in a somewhat inferior hand, occupying more than three-quarters of the roll. Parts of it are in metrical form, but not consistently rhymed. Colophon: 長興伍年甲午歲八月十九日蓮臺寺僧洪福寫記諸耳 僧惠定池[for 持]念讀誦知人不取 "Copying recorded by the monk Hung-fu of the Lien-t'ai Monastery on the 19th of the 8th moon in the *chia-wu* year, the 5th of Ch'ang-hsing [30th Sept., 934]. Kept for reading and recitation by the monk Hui-ting. His friends are asked not to take it away." The roll is made of stiff brittle paper of a brownish buff colour, unevenly stained, 18 feet long.

934 (Later T'ang).

S. 5373. 佛說八陽神咒經 **Fo shuo pa yang shên chou ching.* Aṣṭabuddhaka Sūtra, an uncanonical work printed in the *Kyōto Supplement*, C. xxiii, 4 (6). Colophon: 清泰元年甲午歲九月日寫 "Copied on a day in the 9th moon of the *chia-wu* year, the 1st of Ch'ing-t'ai" [Oct.–Nov., 934]. A mediocre MS. on soft whitish buff paper, 10½ feet long.

934 (Later T'ang).

S. 5838. A mutilated fragment of some sort of composition, probably by a Buddhist monk. Another small fragment attached to it bears the date "5th year of Ch'ang-hsing".

935 (Later T'ang).

S. 5584. 開蒙要訓 *K'ai mêng yao hsün**, 1 ch. For a description of this primer in verse see under A.D. 851 (*BSOS*. IX, p. 1024). The text, left incomplete, is written on the first five leaves of a booklet of 9 ff., 15 × 11 cm., and is immediately followed by a 患文 prayer for the sick, in a bolder hand. As no room was left for the colophon, it has been inserted before the title: 後唐清泰貳年乙未歲二月十五日蓮臺寺比丘願丞略述寫記 "Copying recorded of an abbreviated version made by the bhikṣu Yüan-ch'êng of the Lien-t'ai Monastery on the 15th of the 2nd moon of *i-wei*, the 2nd year of Ch'ing-t'ai in the Later T'ang dynasty" [22nd March, 935].

936 (Later T'ang).

S. 3875. 諸雜齋文 *Chu tsa chai wên.* Miscellaneous forms of prayer: 啓請文 Opening prayer [continued *verso*]; 結壇文 prayer on the erection of an altar [3 cols. only]. Then come official titles and a note: 清泰三年丙申歲十一月十一日新造筆一管寫此本 "On the 11th of the 11th moon of *ping-shên*, the 3rd year of Ch'ing-t'ai [27th Nov., 936], a new pen-brush was made for copying out this text." A fairly neat MS. on stiff buff paper, 28 × 41 cm.

936 (Later T'ang).

S. 1285. An agreement relating to the sale of a house by 楊忽律哺 Yang Hu-lü-pu and his mother, *née* 張 Chang, to 薛安子 Hsieh An-tzŭ and 薛富子 Hsieh Fu-tzŭ. At the end, the names of the vendors are

followed by those of two 同院人 members of the same monastery (?), four 見人 witnesses, and three 隣見人 "neighbour witnesses". Dated the 23rd of the 11th moon of *ping-shên*, the 3rd year of Ch'ing-t'ai [9th Dec., 936]. The Later T'ang dynasty came to an end in this month, and was succeeded by the Later Chin.

938 (LATER CHIN).

S. 2710. 王梵志 **Wang fan chih*, 1 ch. A long series of precepts on the right conduct of life, written in verse, by the Brahmacārin Wang. Some specimens may be quoted at random: 欲得兒孫孝、無過敎及身、一朝千度打、有罪更須嗔、養兒從小打、莫道怜不笞、長大欺父母、後悔定無疑 "If you wish for filial sons and grandsons, your teaching must be enforced by physical correction: every day should witness a thousand beatings, and wrongdoing should be met with stern rebuke. To bring up a child, begin beating him from an early age, and don't let pity prevent you from using the cane. If he deceives his parents when grown up, you will certainly repent too late [of your lenience]." This is King Solomon with a vengeance! But Chinese children are notoriously over-indulged, and these harsh precepts are not likely to have been obeyed to the letter. 貧親須極濟、富眷不須饒 [for 撓?]、情知蘇蜜味、何用更添膏 "Poor kinsfolk you should do your utmost to help, but avoid troubling your rich relations. If you know the taste of thyme-honey, what need to add further to its sweetness?" The connection here is not obvious; but I take the meaning to be: if you have enough money to enable you to enjoy simple pleasures, why try to get more? 得言請莫說、有語不須傳、見事如不見、終身無過愆、無親莫充保、無事莫作媒、雖失鄉人意、終身無害災 "When you are told a secret, pray do not blurt it out; if you hear gossip, it should not be repeated. When you see trouble, make as though you saw it not; ever beware of taking too much upon yourself. Do not stand security for those who are not relations; do not act as go-between where you have no business. Although you may disappoint a fellow-townsman, you will be free from calamity to the end of your life." 但知依道行、万里無迷錯 "Once you know you are on the right road, you can travel a thousand *li* without going astray." The orthodox Buddhist peeps out in the following couplet: 飲酒是癡報、如人落糞坑 "Besottedness is the retribution that falls on the wine-drinker: he is like a man who has fallen into a cesspool." And in the closing quatrain: 惡

事惣須弃、善事莫相違、智意求妙法、必得見如來 "Evil courses must one and all be renounced, and virtuous principles not violated; whoso with wise heart seeketh the Good Law, to him it shall surely be given to behold the Tathāgata."

There is one complete copy of this text in the Collection (S. 3393), entitled 王梵志詩, as well as three imperfect copies of the 王梵志詩集, in 3 chüan, which though similar in character appears to be a different work. Here is a specimen couplet from the latter: 寶物積如山、死得一棺木 "You may pile up a mountain of riches, but you will only have a coffin when you die". Colophon to S. 2710 (in a very careless hand): 清泰四年丁酉歲十二月舍書吳儒賢書從頭自續氾富川 "Fan Fu-ch'uan's continuation, copied from the beginning by the official scribe Wu Ju-hsien in the 12th moon of *ting-yu*, the 4th year of Ch'ing-t'ai" [Jan.–Feb., 938]. After this come five columns of execrably scrawled characters, apparently the first part of a contract which Fan Fu-ch'uan, "a man of the people from the district of Hung-jun" (洪閏鄉百姓) drew up for the disposal of his mother's house. My interpretation of the last five words of the colophon, 自續氾富川, is at first sight open to question; but it is confirmed, I think, by another title on the back of the roll: 氾富川王梵志詩一卷. The work in three chüan would thus be the original poem by Wang Fan-chih, and our present text only a continuation or imitation of it by Fan Fu-ch'uan. It is written in a fairly clear though undistinguished hand. The roll is of coarse drab paper, 3½ feet long.

938 (Later Chin).

S. 4291. An official letter from the *chieh-tu-shih* of Kuei-i Chün Ts'ao [I-chin], dated the 10th of the 2nd moon of the 5th year of Ch'ing-t'ai [13th March, 938], giving formal permission for 勝蓮 Shêng-lien, the eleven-year-old daughter of 張留子 Chang Liu-tzŭ of the country district of Hung-jun, to enter a Buddhist nunnery. Written in very large bold characters, with the Governor's own mark after his surname and three faint impressions of a square red seal, on a sheet of thick, stiff paper, 47 × 31 cm.

938 (Later Chin).

S. 2701. 淨名經關中疏 *Ching ming ching kuan chung su*, ch. 1, p'in 3–4. This is a commentary by 道液 Tao-i on the 注維摩

Chu wei mo: cf. S. 3475 (A.D. 776). Colophon: 戊戌年四月一日比丘神威記 "Recorded by the bhikṣu Shên-wei on the 1st of the 4th moon of the *mou-hsü* year." This cyclical date can be determined exactly as the 3rd May, 938, as we know from S. 6417 (see A.D. 920) that Shên-wei was active in this period. The handwriting is only mediocre, as in most commentaries as opposed to sūtras. The roll is 38 feet long and slightly damaged at the beginning.

938 (LATER CHIN).

S. 1625. A memorandum of supplies bought for a monastery at different times in the two years *ting-yu* (937) and *mou-hsü* (938). Written in red and black, dated the 6th of the 12th moon of the 3rd year of T'ien-fu [30th Dec., 938], and certified by five monks. The total amounts are given as: Wheat, 161 碩 *shih* or piculs, 8 斗 *tou*. Millet, 105 *shih*, 8 *tou*. Yellow Hemp, 14 *shih*, 4 *tou*, 5 升 *shêng*. [10 *shêng* make 1 *tou*; 10 *tou* make 1 *shih*.] *Verso* (in large, clear handwriting): (1) 佛圖澄和尚因緣 A memoir of the Buddhist priest Fo-t'u-ch'êng or Buddhasingha. (2) An anecdote about the monk 智興 Chih-hsing of the 大莊嚴 Ta-chuang-yen Monastery and the supernatural power manifested in the sound of a bell: cf. S. 381 (A.D. 873).

939 (LATER CHIN).

S. 1185 (1). 救諸衆生苦難經 *Chiu chu chung shêng k'u nan ching*. See *BSOS*. IX, p. 22 (A.D. 793).

939 (LATER CHIN).

S. 1156. The official report (*recto*) has already been discussed under the date 887. *Verso:* 季布 *Chi pu*, 1 ch. This is the concluding portion of a ballad, perhaps the nearest approach to an epic in Chinese literature, celebrating the exploits of the popular hero Chi Pu who fought for the Ch'u State in the civil wars that followed the disruption of the Ch'in empire. In the cold light of history he must be regarded as something of a swashbuckler; but at any rate he possessed the redeeming virtue of loyalty to his cause in spite of overwhelming disaster. According to a proverb current in Ch'u, Chi Pu's pledged word was worth more than a hundred catties of gold (得黃金百斤不如得季布一諾): see 史記 *Shih chi*, chap. 100. This is a quality that has always appealed strongly to the Chinese.

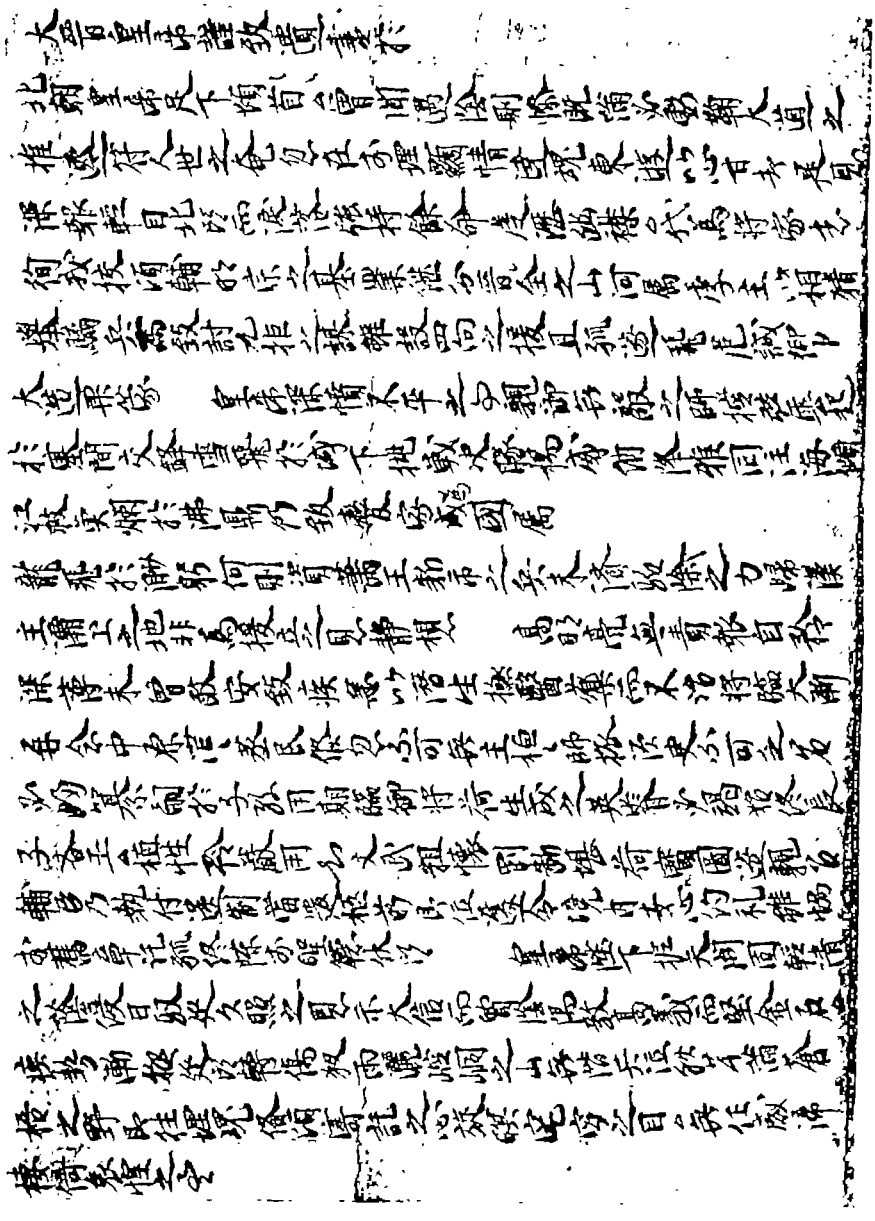
There are four other copies of the poem in the Collection, one of

them complete, though the text is very corrupt, and several at Paris. A fuller title, given in S. 5441, is 大漢三年楚將季布罵陣漢王著耻群臣 "The Ch'u general Chi Pu cursing the Prince of Han in the field of battle and putting the imperial ministers to shame, in the third year of the Great Han dynasty" [204 B.C.]. Colophon: 天福肆年口口日十四日記沙彌慶度 "Recorded on the 14th day . . . of the 4th year of T'ien-fu [939]. The novice Ch'ing-tu" [copyist ?]. I append a few extracts: 是時漢帝興王業、洛陽登極獨稱尊 . . . . 心念未能誅季布、常是龍顏眉不分、遂令出勑於天下、遣捉艱兇搜逆臣、捉得賞金官萬戶、藏隱封刀砍一門 . . . . 季布得知皇帝恨、驚狂莫不喪神魂、唯嗟世上無藏處、天寬地窄大愁人、遂入歷山嶲谷內、偷生避死隱藏身、夜則村裡偷飡饌、曉入林中伴獸羣.

"Thereupon the Han monarch, elevated to regal state,
Ascended the throne at Loyang and received undivided homage . . .
But now he bethought him that he had not yet been able to destroy Chi Pu,
And the Dragon Countenance continued to wear a frown.
So he sent forth an edict over all the realm
That the evil foe was to be captured and the rebellious subject hunted down,
Offering as a reward ten thousand homesteads to be held in fee,
While any who concealed the fugitive should be put to the sword with all his kin. . . .
Chi Pu, hearing of his sovereign's wrath,
And driven to despair because his life was at the mercy of all,
Could only lament that no refuge was left for him in all the world,
And everywhere, under the expanse of heaven and in the confines of earth, trembled to meet his fellow-men.
So he fled into a deep valley of the Li mountain
Where, grasping at life and shunning death, he lay in hiding.
By night he snatched sustenance from neighbouring hamlets,
But at dawn he retired into the forest to keep company with wild beasts. . . ."

However, all came right in the end: Chi Pu gave himself up and threw himself upon his enemy's mercy.

皇帝登時聞此語、廻嗔作喜却交存、怜卿計策多謀掠、舊惡些些惣莫論、賜卿錦帛並珍玉、兼拜齊州爲太君、放卿衣錦歸鄉井、光榮祿重貴宗親.



LETTER FROM THE EMPEROR CH'U TI TO THE KHITAN EMPEROR IN A.D. 942.

"The Emperor upon his throne gave ear to this appeal.
His anger turned to joy, and he received his old enemy in friendship.
'I will have compassion on thee,' he said, 'despite thy many schemes of robbery.
Let no more heed be paid to ancient grudges.
I will bestow upon thee embroidered silks and precious stones,
Raise thee up to be Prince of Ch'i-chou,
And let thee return, nobly clad, to the home of thy ancestors,
Where thy kinsfolk shall enjoy splendid honours and emoluments.'"

941 (Later Chin).

S. 4812. This short document, measuring only 30 × 12 cm., places on record a debt of 6 piculs, 7 *tou* of corn and 3 piculs of millet, none of which had been delivered on the 21st of the 2nd moon of the 6th year of T'ien-fu [21st March, 941]. The defaulter is a monk with the somewhat inappropriate name of 善得 Shan-tê (Quality of Virtue), who is described as 像司 Keeper of Images. The statement is followed by the names and marks of four 社人 "club members", all of whom appear to be laymen: 李員住 Li Yüan-chu and 李賢定 Li Hsien-ting, both cavalry officers, 氾賢者 Fan Hsien-chê, and 張奴奴 Chang Nu-nu.

942 (Later Chin).

S. 4473. (1) 大晉皇帝祭文 *Ta chin huang ti chi wên.* Prayer to accompany funeral sacrifices in honour of the Emperor Kao Tsu who died in the 6th moon of the 7th year of T'ien-fu [July–Aug., 942]. The abbreviated tabu form of 民 should be noted in cols. 3 and 5. This was introduced to avoid the personal name of Li Shih-min (the T'ang emperor T'ai Tsung), but one would hardly expect to find it still in use at this date. (2) A letter from the Emperor出帝 Ch'u Ti (942–6) to the Emperor of the Northern (Khitan) dynasty 耶律德光 Yeh-lü Tê-kuang, announcing his predecessor's decease. [See Plate I.] (3) 大行皇帝謚狀 *Ta hsing huang ti shih chuang.* Panegyric preceding the canonization of the emperor Kao Tsu, who was then accorded the posthumous title of 文彰武昭德孝皇帝 Wên Chang Wu Chao Tê Hsiao Huang Ti. 大行, "Greatly Virtuous," was the term applied to a deceased emperor before his canonization. Or, taking 行 in another sense, it may indicate that he has set off on the "great journey" from which there is no return. (4) Six memorials and four rescripts. (5) Another 祭文 sacrificial composition

or prayer. Colophon: 晉國天福六年歲次辛丑十二月廿七日秦國太夫人薨皆至壬寅歲二月十九日集賢相公李起復表 "Memorials by Li Ch'i-fu, member of the Chi-hsien College, from the death of his lady mother of the Ch'in State on the 27th of the 12th moon of the *hsin-ch'ou* year, the 6th of T'ien-fu in the Chin dynasty, to the 19th of the 2nd moon of the *jên-yin* year" [16th Jan.–8th March, 942]. This is a good, clear MS., occasionally lapsing into semi-cursive. *Verso:* Letters from three officials: 張進遇 Chang Chin-yü, 王謙 Wang Ch'ien (formerly district magistrate of 南皮縣 Nan-p'i Hsien in the prefecture of Tientsin), and 譚蒙 T'an Mêng. A neat, widely spaced MS., with characters getting smaller from right to left. The roll, 9¾ feet long, is made of whitish paper of better quality than usual.

942 (Later Chin).

S. 6667. *Fo shuo pa yang shên chou ching*, 1 ch. An 11 ft. roll containing a complete copy of the uncanonical Aṣṭabuddhaka Sūtra (see S. 5373, above). It is a fairly good MS. on soft buff paper, much discoloured. The first sheet, made of coarser paper, has been supplied in an inferior hand. Colophon: 天福柒年歲在壬寅五月廿八日口賓之月萌芽(?)十五葉弟子令狐富昌敬寫八陽經一卷奉爲龍天八部長爲助護盲者聾者顛見顛聞跛者瘂者能行能語次願父母日增日盛亡過父母不歷塗之難永充待念 "On the 28th of the 5th moon of the *jên-yin* year, the 7th of T'ien-fu [14th July, 942] . . . the disciple Ling-hu Fu-ch'ang reverently copied the *Pa yang ching* in one roll as a help and protection to the eight tribal elders of Lung-t'ien, praying that the blind may see and the deaf hear, that the lame may be able to walk and the dumb to speak; next, praying that his parents may increasingly prosper day by day, and that his parents of previous incarnations may not undergo the suffering of the [evil] paths of transmigration, and that they may be held in perpetual remembrance." I cannot make sense of the nine words that follow the date.

942 (Later Chin).

S. 4363. An official order from the *chieh-tu-shih* of Kuei-i Chün, Ts'ao [Yuan-tê], dated the 21st of the 7th moon of the 7th year of T'ien-fu [4th Sept., 942], promoting one 史 Shih to the post of *chieh-tu ya-ya*. Ts'ao Yüan-shên seems to have succeeded his brother Yüan-tê as Governor in 942, but he was not made *chieh-tu-shih* until the

beginning of the following year. A fine, bold MS. on stiff orange-brown paper, 3 feet long.

943 (LATER CHIN).

S. 1774. An inventory* of articles for religious and domestic use belonging to a monastery, dated the 10th of the 12th moon of *jên-yin*, the 7th year of T'ien-fu [18th Jan., 943]. Among the 供養具 articles used for worship we find 長柄熟銅香爐貳內壹在樓 two long-handled incense-burners of wrought bronze (one upstairs); 蓮花座壹 one lotus-flower throne; 破木香盒壹 one wooden incense-box (broken); 新木香盒壹在樓 one new wooden incense-box (upstairs); 銅鈴壹并鐸 one bronze hand-bell with clapper; 黑石枕叁 three black stone pillows; 黃布經巾壹條 one yellow cloth wrapper for sūtras. And among the 家具 domestic articles: 小黑牙盤子壹 one small black ivory dish; 木盆大小五 five wooden bowls, large and small; 五尺花牙盤壹无連蹄 one 5 ft. ornamental ivory dish with separated feet (?); 隔 [for 鬲] 子壹件在北倉 one cooking-pot (in the north store-room); 斗壹量 one peck measure. *Verso:* 寺行首立禪師頌 "Memoir of the Dhyāna Master Li, travelling director (?) of the Monastery", whose surname was 氾 Fan and religious name 惠淨 Hui-ching.

943 (LATER CHIN).

S. 1386. 孝經 **Hsiao ching*, 1 ch. The Classic of Filial Piety. A 6 ft. roll in which the text is complete but the preface is badly mutilated and imperfect. It is also torn at the end, but the colophon is quite legible: 維天福柒年壬寅歲十二月十二日永安寺學仕郎高清子書記了 "Copying recorded by the *hsüeh-shih-lang* Kao Ch'ing-tzŭ of the Yung-an Monastery on the 12th of the 12th moon of *jên-yin*, the 7th year of T'ien-fu" [20th Jan., 943]. The handwriting varies a good deal, but none of it is really bad. Its main characteristic is the exaggerated thickness of the down strokes from left to right. *Verso* (in an unformed hand): a club circular (cf. S. 1453 v° under A.D. 886) ending, strangely enough, with the name of the famous Taoist magician of the Han dynasty 東方朔 Tung-fang So.

943 (LATER CHIN).

S. 395. 孔子項託 *K'ung tzŭ hsiang t'o*, 1 ch. This dialogue between Confucius and the boy Hsiang T'o has survived to the present

day independently of our Tunhuang manuscripts, appearing for instance in the 東園雜字 *Tung yüan tsa tzŭ*, a small illustrated book designed for the instruction of youth. Among other texts it contains the 小兒論 *Hsiao êrh lun*, which tells the same story that we find here, though in somewhat different words. Confucius is driving out in his carriage when he comes upon some children playing together; with them is this small boy of seven, who however does not join in their games. Asked why he keeps aloof, he replies that games are no good: they lead to quarrels and torn clothes which are not easily mended. Then he goes on building a miniature city-wall with potsherds in the middle of the road. Confucius rebukes him, saying: "Why don't you get out of the way of my carriage?"—"Ever since the world began," replies the boy, "it has been the rule for carriages to avoid city-walls, not for walls to get out of the way of carriages." Struck by such precocity, Confucius alights and enters into a long conversation with the youngster, who gives acute answers to all the Sage's questions. Thus, when asked if he knows of the existence of fire without smoke, of water without fish, . . . of men without wives, of girls without husbands, he cites the firefly, the water from a well, 仙人 "hsien" or immortals, and 玉女 fairy maidens. Quite baffled (according to the modern version), Confucius at last drives away, exclaiming to his disciples: "We ought to have a wholesome respect for our juniors; for who knows but that by and by they may prove themselves equal to the men of to-day?" The earliest mention of Hsiang T'o is in chapter 71 of the 史記 *Shih chi*, where 甘羅 Kan Lo says: 夫項橐生七歲爲孔子師 "Hsiang T'o at the age of seven became the teacher of Confucius." It is on this passage, apparently, that the legend was built.

There are five other copies in the Collection, two of them more or less complete, but all in poor condition; the present roll is badly damaged throughout. Colophon: 天福八年癸卯歲十一月十日淨土寺學郎張延保記 "Recorded by Chang Yen-pao, lay student at the Ching-t'u Monastery, on the 10th of the 11th moon of *kuei-mao*, the 8th year of T'ien-fu" [9th Dec., 943]. Two columns of a club circular follow, and the rest is torn off. On the back are various scribblings of no importance.

944 (Later Chin).

S. 4537. A 4½ ft. roll made up of odd sheets of different sizes, each containing a prayer in a different hand. *Verso:* End of a letter

from the Buddhist priest 善光 Shan-kuang, dated the 1st moon of the 9th year of T'ien-fu [Jan.–Feb., 944].

945 (LATER CHIN).

S. 560. A title only, on the outside of a roll: 天福十年具注曆日 "Fully annotated calendar for the 10th year of T'ien-fu". Below: 壽昌縣令 "Magistrate of the district of Shou-ch'ang" (south-west of Tunhuang). This person may have been the owner of the calendar.

945 (LATER CHIN).

S. 5718. A short letter, badly mutilated, from the bhikṣu Ch'ing-sui of the Chin-kuang-ming Monastery, who describes himself as the 衷姪 "devoted nephew" of his correspondent. It is dated the 22nd of the 5th moon of the 10th year of T'ien-fu [4th July, 945], and mentions the 龍興 Lung-hsing Monastery and the names of several 法律 doctors of the Law. This letter was used as a patch on the back of another roll.

946 (LATER CHIN).

S. 4452. An account note for wheat, millet, oil, yellow hemp, beans, and cloth, on a sheet of coarse thick paper, 1⅔ feet long. With two dates: the 15th of the 2nd moon of the 3rd year of K'ai-yün [20th March, 946], and the 1st of the 3rd moon of the 3rd year of K'ai-yün [5th April, 946].

946 (LATER CHIN).

S. 1931. *Buddhist prayers, mutilated at the beginning. A mediocre MS. on brownish paper, 4 feet in length. Colophon: 天福叁年丙午歲四月廿二日蓮臺寺僧李保行手記之耳 "Recorded by the hand of Li Pao-hsing, a monk in the Lien-t'ai Monastery, on the 22nd of the 4th moon of *ping-wu*, the 3rd year of T'ien-fu". There is evidently some confusion here. *Ping-wu* was not the third year of T'ien-fu [938] but of K'ai-yün [946]. In the next year, 947, the first sovereign of the Later Han dynasty reverted to the old *nien-hao* T'ien-fu, making it the 12th year. On the whole it is more likely that the cyclical characters are correct and that the date is the 25th May, 946. As regards Li Pao-hsing, it

is very unusual for a monk to denote himself by his surname and personal name instead of by his religious appellation. *Verso:* A carelessly copied composition on 无常 Anitya or Impermanence, with date: 壬子年十一月五日蓮臺寺 "Lien-t'ai Monastery, the 5th of the 11th moon of the *jên-tzŭ* year" [24th Nov., 952 ?].

(To be continued.)

A Grammar of the Language of Lobaha, Lepers' Island, New Hebrides, Melanesia

By W. G. Ivens

Abbreviations

adj. = adjective	prep. = preposition
adv. = adverb	pron. = pronoun
pers. = person, personal	sing. = singular
pl. = plural	v.p. = verbal particle(s)

References

Lam. = Lamalanga. "A Grammar of the Language of Lamalanga, North Raga, New Hebrides," *BSOS.*, Vol. IX, Part 3.
MIL. = *Melanesian Island Languages.* Ray, Cambridge Press, 1926.
ML. = *Melanesian Languages.* Codrington, Clarendon Press, 1885.

BI. = Banks Islands.	Bugotu, Santa Isabel, SI.
NH. = New Hebrides.	Florida, SI.
SI. = Solomon Islands.	Sa'a, Mala, SI.
MM. = Melanesian Mission.	Ulawa, SI.

THE island of the Northern New Hebrides which the French explorer Bougainville named Isle of Lepers is uow usually known as Oba (Omba), and to this the locative preposition *a* is prefixed, Aoba. One is inclined, however, to question the accuracy of the name Oba as applied to Lepers' Island, since on Raga, the nearest island eastward, the name given to the island is Bai, A Bai. Also on Atchin and its neighbouring islets to the westward, off the coast of Malekula, places that had a considerable connection with Lepers' Island for ceremonial as well as for trading purposes, Ba and Bai are the names by which it is known. Bishop Patteson, of the MM., who frequently visited the island, always wrote of it as Lepers' Island. The later name of Opa given to it by members of the MM. would seem to be due to mission scholars from the island of Mota further north, where *p* replaces *b*, and the article *o* precedes the names of islands. This would point to Ba (Mba) being the name of the island.

Dr. R. H. Codrington published a grammar of the Oba language,[1] using the dialect of that portion of the north coast of the island which is known as Walurigi. This grammar was founded principally on information derived from scholars from that part of the island in the MM. school at Norfolk Island. Owing to his close touch with his informants, Codrington is undoubtedly correct on two points of

[1] ML., pp. 420–431.

pronunciation, viz. that the final letter in *ginew*, thing, *inew*, *new*, I, is *w* and not *u* as printed in the Oba texts; also that the nasal sound *mw* occurs in the language, e.g. *mwere*, as, *mwera*, male; *tamwata*, peace. In the earliest printed book in the language *mw* is used; but it is dropped in the later texts, owing doubtless to the fact that in the Mota texts from which the translations into Oba were made the *mw* sound is not marked.

The first book translated into the Oba language [1] contained Mattins and Evensong of the Book of Common Prayer, the English Litany, certain prayers, the Church Catechism, three psalms, with a few hymns. Psalm c in Codrington's grammar was drawn from this source.

The second book [2] was an enlarged edition of the existing book, and both books were in the Walurigi dialect.

The present grammar has been compiled from a study of the later texts in the language, viz. (1) a set of extracts from the four Gospels,[3] and (2) the liturgical collects, epistles, and gospels of B.C.P., together with a translation of the rest of that book, with fifth-nine psalms and a number of hymns.[4] These two books are in the dialect of Lobaha, not of Walurigi, Lobaha being some two miles east of Walurigi on the northern face of the island.

An outstanding difference between the two dialects is that the *ngg* sound of Walurigi is represented by *k* in Lobaha. Both of the later books convey the impression that they contain a mixture of the two dialects, e.g. by the use of two copulative conjunctions *ko*, *ba*, the latter being called by Codrington an adversative in Walurigi, and only appearing sporadically in the later texts. One may instance also the two dehortatives *vese*, *mese* which are used interchangeably, the former, according to Codrington, being the Walurigi use. There appears also to be a mixture of usages in the case of the demonstrative pronouns.

I. Alphabet

1. Vowels: *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*. The vowels have the usual sounds found in Melanesian languages.

Diphthongs: *ae*, *ai*, *ao*, *au*, *ei*, *eo*, *eu*.

Consonants: *k*, *g*; *t*, *d*; *b*, *v*, *w*; *q*; *m*, *mw*, *n*, *ng*; *r*, *l*; *s*, *h*.

[1] MM. Press, 1876.
[2] MM. Press, 1886.
[3] MM. Press, 1906.
[4] MM. Press, 1930.

II. Sounds

2. The *ngg* sound of Walurigi is replaced here by *k*; e.g. *nggo*, *ko*, and. *B* and *d* are both nasalized; the sound of *g* is *kmbw*[1]; in the texts *ng* is printed *n* (italic). The *g* is the 'Melanesian *g*', not a hard *g*.

Although the language is fairly open in sound, yet many words may end in a consonant, and syllables may be closed by *g*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *ng*, *t*, *w*: *toa*, *toag*, to flee; *melmelu*, shade; *nom*, thy; *non*, his; *rong*, to hear; *matmaturu*, to sleep; *lawlawua*, big; *ginew*, thing.

3. There is a more or less regular modification of the vowel *a* to *e* in certain words, and in the adjectival prefix *ma*. This generally occurs after a preceding *i* or *u*, or, in a few cases, after *o*: *vanue*, *venue*, land; *gai*, *gei*, tree; *rani*, *reni*, daylight; *tau*, *teu*, to do, make; *lai*, *lei*, to take; *tahi*, *tehi*, sea; *malue*, *melue*, gone out. In this grammar, in all known cases, an *a* changing thus to *e* is printed *ä*. This change may take place independently of a preceding vowel. It frequently occurs in cases of reduplication: *bälubelu*, to steal; *häuheu*, to rejoice. A similar change of *a* to *e* after a preceding *i* or *u* takes place in certain words in the language of Sa'a, Mala, SI.; and many of the words that show this modification of the vowel are the same in both languages: Lobaha *vänue*, *gäi*, *räni*, *tähi*, *täu*, are Sa'a *hänue*, *'äi*, *dängi*, *äsi*, *däu*.

4. In the case of independent nouns ending in the diphthong *ei*, e.g. *limei*, hand, the addition of the suffixed possessive pron., 3rd pers. sing. and pl., *na*, *ra*, changes the *e* of *ei* to *a*, *i* being dropped; see § 11: *na limana*, his hand; *livugei*, midst, *lol livugara*, in their midst. A similar use occurs in Sa'a: *nime*, hand, *nimana*, his hand, *nimada*, their hands; *nike*, mother, *nikana*, his mother.

5. There is an interchange of consonants, in a small degree, similar to what obtains in Lam.: e.g. *k* to *g*, *kalikeli*, *galigeli*, to deceive; *v* to *b* after a preceding *v*, or after *h*, *m*, *n*: *vava*, to give birth to, *vi bava na maresu*, she shall bring forth a son; *ra he bababa te tau*, they had not yet borne children; *vora*, *bora*, to become; *vava*, *bava*, to speak.

6. A contraction of *ie* to *ē* occurs in *lehē* for *lehie*, see it; *huē* for *huae*, find it. Codrington prints *lehee* for *lehē*. A similar contraction occurs in Sa'a: *leesē* for *leesie*, see it. Contractions also appear in the case of the pronouns used with the v.p. *i*, *u*: *dori* for *doro i*; *dari* for *daru i*; *neri* for *neru i*; *nu* for *no u*; *gu* for *go u*.

III. Articles

7. Demonstrative: *a*, *na*.

These two articles are in general use with nouns. The distinction in their uses is plain enough in the case of noun subjects, *a* being always used except in the case of nouns of the first class, § 10, in the genitive, when *na* is used instead: *a leo*, the law; *a limei*, the hand, *na limana*, his hand. Nouns under the government of a verb or of certain prepositions have *na* as the article, except in the case of a second noun object of the verb or prep. introduced by the copulative conj. *ko*, when *a* is used instead. The reason for the exception appears to be that the second noun, as Codrington says, is 'at such a distance from the governing word that its influence cannot reach so far': *u luge goro na limana ko a karune*, he bound up his hands and feet. While the evidence from the texts is not quite clear on the point, it seems probable that the intervention of a phrase or a word, and the consequent separation of the object from the governing word, entails for the same reason the use of *a* and not *na* as the article: *nge u sere lue lawe gideru a revereve*, he explained to us the writings; *nge mo veve lawe na vao a gato tavalu*, he spoke to the people (in) parables; *nge u lei vun beno a leo*, he gave the law in full; *mo lingi siu lolona a nubugi ko a waen*, he poured in oil and wine.

The article may be omitted in a general use: *mo lei wei*, he took water; *a dodo mo gao goro vanue*, there was darkness over the land. No article is used with a vocative.

[1] ML., p. 421.

8. Plural Article: *ire*: *ire netui*, the children; *ire non rorongtai*, his disciples. The pers. pron., 3rd pers. pl. *ra* (*rara*), or a modified form, *re*, is used as an article with nouns of relationship: *retehiu*, brethren; *retuei*, *iretuei*, brethren; *ravavine*, *raravavine*, women; *ra*, *ira* are used as plural signs with *hine*, who?

9. Personal Article: *i*, used with names of persons, male or female; and also with relationship terms when speaking of a definite person, and also generally: *i mama*, father; *i ide*, mother; *i garuei*, mother; *i tamai netui*, husband; *i garuana*, his mother; *i tamamu*, your father. The article *i* is used in the phrase *i gineu*, the person, etc.; see § 12; and appears in the personal pronouns *ineu*, I, etc.; *ihine*, who?

IV. Nouns

10. There is the usual Melanesian division of nouns into two classes: (*a*) those that take, and (*b*) those that do not take the suffixed pronouns of possession. The first class consists of (1) names of parts of the body, or personal possessions (not including *uhu*, bow); (2) certain relationship terms; (3) words denoting part or position, e.g. top, underneath, end, beginning; (4) words like *vui*, master; *walu*, hole, valley; *gavu*, cloth.

11. Form. Words which are verbs may be used as nouns without any change of form, and words which are nouns may also be used as verbs.

Noun Suffixes. The noun suffixes appearing in the texts are *ana*, *na*, *ä*, and the detachable suffixes *i*, *gi*, *ui*, *iu*.

The suffixes *ana*, *na* are more gerundival in meaning, while *a* is more nominal. These three suffixes are added to verbs: *tarani*, to desire, *taraniana*, desire; *laqa*, to speak, *laqaana*, speech; *maso*, to be alive, *masoana*, life, health; *vora*, to be born, *voraana*, birth; *vulu*, to count, *vi he vuluana te lai*, cannot be counted; *hava*, to dance, *havana*, dancing, a feast; *maraga*, to rise, *maragana*, resurrection. The noun *he*, name, appears also in the forms *hena*, *hegi*: *henana*, his name.

The suffix *ä* changes to *e* after a preceding *i* or *u*: *lalako*, to work, *lalakoa*, work; *maso*, to be alive, *masoa*, life; *lagi*, to marry, *lagie*, marriage; *maturu*, to sleep, *maturue*, sleep.

The detachable suffixes *i*, *gi*, *ui*, *iu* are found in use with what Codrington calls 'Independent substantives'. When possession is indicated the suffix is dropped, and the pronouns of possession are added to the stem. The suffix *i* is used with the names of parts of the body: *qoroi*, ear; *nagoi*, face; *matai*, eye; *wuwai*, mouth, etc.: *turiai*, body, *na turiana*, his body. This *i* is the suffix attached to certain nouns in order to denote a genitive, and also to certain nouns used as prepositions; see §§ 16, 46.

The suffix *gi* appears in *mahogi*, time, space; *hegi*, name; *limegi*, hand; *retehigi*, brethren; *vara taugi*, covenant; *menagi*, power, shows *gi* added to the common Melanesian word *mena*, *mana*, power, and figuring as a non-detachable suffix; *iu*, *ui* appear in *netiu*, *netui*, child, son; *tehiu*, brother.

12. Noun Prefix. There is one instance in the texts of the common instrumental prefix *i*: *iri*, a fan; Fiji *iri*; Mota *rivriv*.

A prefix *gai* is seen in *gaitawe*, reward, *tawe*, to reward; *gaikuqaga*, *kuqaga*, wedding feast. A second prefix *gāi* is formed from the word *gāi*, tree, stick: *gāiligo*, anchor; *gāimenu*, spear; *gāitigo*, staff; *gāiweli*, bier.

The noun *gineu*. The form *i heno*,[1] person, so-and-so, which Codrington quotes,[2] does not appear in the later texts, its place being taken by *i gineu*, where *gineu* = 'thing'; *i gineu* means 'the person', 'he who', 'so-and-so'. A plural form *ire gineu*, is found; *a hava gineu*, what thing? what?

13. The reduplication of a noun denotes inferiority: *vusi*, mountain, *vusivusi*, hill.

14. Number. The plural of nouns is denoted by adding *teri*, 'thousand': *na non tangaloi teri*, his men; and also by the use of *vunu*, *vun*, 'completely,' 'all'[3]; but the plural signs need not necessarily be used, and the plural may be denoted by the context, or by the use of *ra*, pers. pron., 3rd pers. pl., which practically amounts to a plural sign: *a wei rau lehigo*, the waters saw thee; *a neti wiriu ram gan*, the puppies eat.

The two nouns *ngaraha* (*ingaraha*), *vao*, are collective nouns denoting 'people'; *ngaraha*, may be used as a vocative, 'you'!

15. Gender. When it is necessary to denote gender the nouns *mwera*, male, *vavine*, female, are added after the noun.

16. Genitive. There is no genitive particle. A genitive relation is denoted, (1) by the use of an independent noun followed by a second noun generally of the second class. There are several methods of usage; (*a*) if the noun termination is *gi* it is replaced by *i*, itself a noun suffix: *toligi*, egg, *tolii toa*, a hen's egg; *gologi*, end, *goloi ure*, end of the world; *tanogi*, place, *tanoi gaganie*, place of eating, table; (*b*) the termination in *ui* stands: *i Netui Tangaloi*, the Son of Man; *netui Simon*, Simon's son; (*c*) if the termination is *u*, *u* is dropped: *tehi Peter*, Peter's brother; *neti David*, David's son; (*d*) the termination *i* stands: *a matai tuemu*, thy brother's eye; *i garuei i Jesus*, the mother of Jesus; (*e*) the termination *i* is added to nouns of both classes: *a matai valei i Tagaro*, the door of Tagaro's house; *mwerai homu*, man of money, rich; *hawanai bread*, feast of bread; *garoi tamata*, bond of peace. The addition of *i* to a noun in order to denote a genitive is found in Tasiriki[4]: *ra'ui 'au*, leaf of tree; *na valui rope*, outside the fence; and in Espiritu Santo[5]: *na vanuai Meri*, the town of Mary;

[1] See § 21, *hen*. [2] ML., p. 421, 2. [3] See § 44.
[4] MIL., p. 374. [5] MIL., p. 405.

na peai Peter, the house of Peter. See § 25, *i*. (2) The pronouns of possession, 3rd pers. sing. and pl., are added to nouns of the first class governing a noun of the second class: *matain aho*, eye of the sun, sunrising, sky; *mateanan mavolo*, danger; *lo livugara huhui*, in the midst of the teachers. This use occurs also when the noun under government is followed by a demonstrative: *i taman taqalugu hingei*, the father of the girl; *lo tagune tangaloi hingei*, after that person.

V. Pronouns

17. Personal.

Sing. 1. *ineu, neu, na, no*
2. *iniko, niko, go*
3. *ingeie, ngeie; ingei, ngei; inge, nge*

Pl. 1. incl. *igide, gide, da*
excl. *igamai, gamai, ga*
2. *igimiu, gimiu; igemiu, gemiu, ge; mi; ne, nge; tulu, tul*
3. *ingere, ngere, rä*

Dual 1. incl. *gideru, däru, daro, doro*
excl. *gamaru, maru, goro*
2. *gimiru, miru; neru, nero, niru*
3. *iraru, raru; ru, ro; aru; ra garue, garue, ngere gairue, ngere ru, ingere ro, ingere raru*

Trial 1. incl. *gide gaitolu*
excl. *gamai gaitolu*
2. *gimtol, gimiu gaitolu*
3. *ra getolu, ra tolu, ngere gaitolu*

The longer forms in sing. and pl. are followed by the shorter forms: *ineu neu; ineu no; ngere ra; gimiu ne; gimiru nero; gideru doro; gimtol nero*. It does not seem that there is any special emphasis attaching to the use of the forms beginning with *i*. The short forms may be used alone with the v.p. in conjugation: *nom veve*, I said. The plurals *ne, nge*, 2nd pers., are used of both indicative and subjunctive moods, and of the imperative. They appear to be demonstratives in origin. The forms *tulu, tul*, 2nd pers. pl. (Mota *tur*), are used of the imperative only. The forms in the 3rd pers. pl. and dual are used of things as well as of persons: *a vihigogi tona dai aru hi vei vagawetegi lawego*, flesh and blood did not reveal it unto you. This is a SI. use also. One may call attention also to the similarity of the pronominal forms in Sa'a, 1st and 3rd pers. sing., to those in the above list.

According to Codrington, no dual forms are used with the v.p. *u*; but the v.p. *mo, na* are found used with the dual and trial forms *miru, raru, ingere ro, ngere gairue ro, ragetolu ra*, but not necessarily so: *raru va meie*, they two went with him.

There is a use of the pronominal forms to denote possession: *i Lord iniko*, thy Lord; *na karume gamai*, our feet. The former example is found in Mota also.

18. Forms suffixed to verbs and prepositions as object.

Sing. 1. *ău*	Pl. 1. incl. *gide*	Dual 1. incl. *gideru*
2. *go*	excl. *gamai*	excl. *gamaru*

Sing. 3. *ā*	Pl. 2. *gimiu*	Dual 2. *gimiru*
	3. *rā*	3. *ra garue*

The forms *ā, ra,* 3rd sing. and pl., are used of things as well as of persons. There is a use of *e* with certain verbs, *ilo,* to know, *lehi,* to see, *dodomi,* to think, *haro,* to be ignorant of, where we ourselves would not use an object in English : *gom dodomie,* thinkest thou ? *gu iloe taqangire tangaloi,* thou knowest the hearts of men. This latter example approximates to the use of the anticipatory or secondary object in Sa'a. Ordinarily the pronoun of the object, *e,* is only added to the verb or prep. at the end of the sentence.

19. Short forms suffixed to nouns to denote possession, or to the possessives *ga, me, no.*

Sing. 1. *ku*	Pl. 1. incl. *dā*	Dual 1. incl. *dāru*
2. *mu*	excl. *mādi*	excl. *māru*
3. *nā, n*	2. *miu*	2. *miru*
	3. *rā*	3. *rā*

There is one instance in the texts of *n,* 3rd pers. sing., used as the object of a verb : *mo tauvuin,* it began.

The trial forms given above are added to a noun with the pronominal suffixes *n, da* : *na garun ratolu,* the legs of the three of them ; *na limada gide gaitolu,* the hands of us three.

20. Demonstratives : *ngaha,* this, these ; here : *mwere ngaha,* like this ; *ta ingaha,* here ; *nge hi,* this, that ; precedes another demonstrative : *ngehi ngaha,* this ; here ; *ngehi hingei,* this very.

nge, inge, nge ngaha, inge ngaha, that, this ; *nge hingaha,* this, this person ; *ngeie,* here ; *ngi hingeie,* this person ; *ngi ngaha,* this.

hi has an explanatory use, following a pronoun ; when used with a verb it denotes completion of action : *ingeie hi,* he it is, it is he ; *lo bongi teri hi,* in those very days ; *ineu hi,* it is I ; *mwere hi,* thus ; *mo rovo hi,* after that, then, of narrative ; *u vei vagamate vunu hi,* when all was ready ; *hi ngaha,* this ; here ; *hingeie,* that, follows a noun : *hi ngaha hingei,* this very ; *ta hingaha,* here. Bugotu *hi.*

lehe, that, follows a noun or other demonstrative : *nge lehe,* that, this.

21. Interrogatives : *ihine, hine,* who ? anyone, someone ; *irahine, rahine,* pl. ; *i hen, hen,* who ? what person ? what is his name ? *rahen,* they who. The use of *hano,* " what ? " [1] does not occur in our texts ; but *hano* is used as meaning ' here '. Cf. Lam. *hen, hano.*

The common Melanesian *hava,* what ? is used in Lobaha in conjunction with a noun or pronoun : *a hava gineu,* what thing ? what ? anything ; possessions ; *a hava leo,* what law ? *hava hine,* what ? *hava hine tea,* whatsoever.

22. Indefinite Pronouns : *tea,* some, any, follows a noun or pron. : *ihine tea,* whosoever, anyone ; *a hinaga tea hano,* is there any food here ? *te,* some, precedes or follows the word qualified ; the instances found of its use are not many : *ne lai te nubugi,* give us some oil ; *dena ute te vea,* from some place. For the use of *tea, te* with negatives,

[1] ML., p. 424.

see § 40 ; *hala*, various ; *a halai gineu teri*, various things ; Mota *sale* ; *i tuana*, another, the one . . . the other ; *i tuegi*, *tuegi*, another, a certain, the second ; precedes a noun, and the pl. pronouns may be suffixed : *i tuegira*, some of them ; *tavalugi*, the other side, the other : *a tavalui wei*, the other side of the stream ; *a tavalui vuro*, the enemy ; *tavala*, other : *tavala henana*, his other name ; *lavasi*, *a lavasigi*, some, certain : *a lavasire*, some of them ; *wai*, other, different : *wai tangaloi*, a stranger ; *lo wai venue*, in another country.

23. Distributives : *vataha*, each ; *vatahana vale*, every house ; *vataha rani*, every day ; *vatahara*, each of them ; *vatahagi hine*, every one ; *vatahagi gimiu*, each of you. Lam. *vataha*.

24. Emphatic Pronouns : *sibo*, a noun, with the pronouns of possession always added, denotes ' of own accord ', ' self ' ; *ineu siboku*, I myself ; *lo tanona sibona*, in its own place ; *u vei vagamate sibona*, he killed himself ; *gahe*, used similarly, denotes ' alone '. Forms found are *gaheau*, *gahego*, *gahea*, *gahera* ; *gahea* is used adverbially to denote ' only '.

25. There are two possessive nouns, *ga*, *me*, used respectively of things to eat and drink ; they precede a noun, and the pronouns of possession may be added ; the articles *a*, *na* may precede : *na gara maresu*, the children's food ; *na meku wai*, water for me to drink ; to *ga* may be added the noun suffix *i* : *gai ngaraha*, the people's food ; *a gai boe*, pigs' food.

A third possessive *no*, *ano* denotes general possession, the article *na* may precede *no*, and the pronouns of possession may be added to both *no* and *ano* : *na nom tataro*, thy prayer ; *na nomiu*, yours ; *nona tegui*, his master ; *gin noku*, for mine ; *ano i Christ*, belonging to Christ ; *a gineu teri anona*, his things ; *noku*, *nomu*, etc., following a verb, denote ' for my part ', etc. ; the noun suffix *i* may be added to *no* : *a doridori noi hawana*, the custom of the feast.

VI. Adjectives

26. Adjectives follow the nouns. A few simple adjectives, used without a v.p., appear in the texts : *lawua*, big, large, loud ; *gara*, new ; *biti*, little, small ; *garea*, good ; *ăsiesi*, bad ; *gogona*, holy.

When the adjective is used predicatively the v.p. *u* precedes. There is no example in the texts of the use of the v.p. *mo* with adjectives.

27. Adjectival Prefixes. There are four prefixes denoting condition : *mă*, (*mama*), *ta*, (*tata*), *tava*, (*tatava*), *vei* : *mautu*, broken off ; *mahanga*, forked ; *mălue*, come forth ; *a tanoi melue*, exit, entry ; *mavolo*,

across; *tavola*, wide; *tawaga*, open; *tatugi*, come loose; *tatavaulu*, unloosed, come undone; *veisiaga*, rather strong; *veilawlawua* rather big.

There is a single instance of a prefix *ga*: *gamadidi*, cold. Cf. *ga*, numerical prefix.

The words *hava*, *masi*, real, true, precede the word qualified; both are nouns, and the suffixed pron. *na* may be added: *havana tangaloi*, a righteous man.

28. Adjectival Suffixes: *e*, *gä*, *gi*, *se*.

e is added to nouns and verbs ending in *a* or *i*: *vataha*, *vatahae*, every, each; *lado mamarae*, to despise; *tatugi wagae*, come open; *gabisie*, beautiful; *garie*, glad; *gä* is added to verbs or adjectives: *ango*, *angoga*, yellow; *gara*, *garaga*, new; *mamatoluge*, thick; *gi* is added to verbs or adjectives: *siaga*, *siagagi*, strong; *talele*, *talelegi*, overturned; *taligu*, *taligugi*, back, again; one example occurs of *se*: *tatarise*, equal.

A suffix *i* appears in *maigoigoi*, (*igo*), *maiweiwei*, staggering. Lam. *i*.

29. Comparison. Comparison of adjectives is made (1) by a positive statement: *u garea*, it is good, i.e. is better; (2) by the use of the verb *liu* 'to pass', 'go beyond', 'exceed'; *liu* may be used as verb or prep. or adv.: *mo lawua liu*, greatest; *u liure doluegi*, greater than them all; *liu hage*, highest, most excellent; *mo lawua liu na gineu teri*, greater than all things; the prep. *de*, from, may be added: *ram lai u liu dena tuegi*, they received him more than the other; *u siaga liu denie*, greater than he.

Degree of adjectives may be indicated by reduplication: *lawua*, big, *lawlawua*, very big.

VII. Verbs

30. Transitive Verbs. Certain verbs are transitive in themselves, i.e. the pronouns of the object may be suffixed to them. This suffixing of the pronoun generally occurs when the verb comes at the end of the sentence.

Transitive terminations. There are certain terminations which when added to a verb make it transitive, or determine its action upon some object. These terminations may be added to verbs which are transitive in themselves.

The terminations found are, (1) Simple, *i*, or a consonant with *i*; (2) Compound, consisting of *agi* with a preceding consonant, *ni* being added in some cases to the compound.

Simple: *i*; *gi*, *g*; *hi*; *ni*, *n*; *ngi*; *ri*; *si*; *ti*; *vi*.

Compound: *hagi*; *nagi*; *ngagi*; *rägi*; *tägi*, *tagini*; *vagi*, *vagini*.

I: *vosa*, *vosai*, to slap; *hua*, *huai*, to reach, arrive at; *reve*, *revei*, to write; *bulu*, *bului*, to be in addition, to help; *i* is used of compounds consisting of causative or reflexive prefixes and verbs: *vagamasoi*, to heal, save; *vatui*, to establish; *vuisudui*, to dispute, wrangle.

Gi: *dara, daragi,* to answer; *hora, horagi,* to send; *dige, digegi,* to walk; *gi* is used with compounds: *veve gareagi,* to bless; *vaiesiesigi,* to harm; *vaimasaragi,* to cleanse; *vuingutugi,* to murmur.

Hi: *vara, varahi,* to tread; *le, lehi,* to see; *tangi,* to cry, *tangihi,* to cry for, lament; *hi* is used with compounds: *vailuehi,* to cause to come out; *vaituhi,* to establish; *vagaradahi,* to awaken.

Ni, n: *mea, meani,* to lick; *horo, horon,* to fill; *sungu, sunguni,* to betray; *ni* is added to compounds of verbs and adverbs: *tun taligugini,* to redeem; *sire vohogini,* to put away, dismiss; *hora sasawagini,* to send immediately; the suffix *gini,* a compound of *gi* and *ni,* is treated below.

Ngi: *horo, horongi,* to fill; *teve gigilegingi,* to circumcise; *hongi,* to broil, boil.

Ri: *tabari,* to pluck out; *vugeri,* to spread out; *buguri,* to pelt.

Si: *maraga,* to rise up, *maragasi,* to raise up; *hike, hikesi,* to seek; *vono, vonosi,* to fill; *si* is used with compounds: *lado hogosi,* to believe.

Ti: *bulu, buluti,* to stick.

Vi: *tango, tangovi,* to touch; *halo, halovi,* to lift up; *leo rotovi,* to choose.

Hagi (*ni*): *sivehagi,* to beckon, call; *leoleohagi* (*ni*), to cause to see; *livu talahagi,* to scatter.

Nagi: *taba, tabanagi,* to work; *vai rovonagi,* to bring to an end, fulfil.

Ngagi: *wuwai,* mouth, *wuwangagi,* to proclaim loudly.

Rägi: *lingeragi,* to hide; *taturegi,* to stumble; *gaburegi,* to scatter.

Tägi (*ni*): *labetagi,* to cause to stand; *alatagi,* right through; *vile bulutegi,* to gather together; *duletagini,* to hang. The forms in *tägi* may be intransitive.

Vagi (*ni*): *taqavagi,* to hover, overhang; *vahuvagini,* to give birth to; *totovehavagini,* to fix crosswise.

Gini is compounded of *gi* and *ni*: *sire, siregi, siregini,* to throw, cast; *ware, waregi, waregini,* to summon; *dara, daragi, daragini,* to answer; *tuli, tuligini,* to cast out; *hako, hakogini,* to take.

There is a use of the instrumental prep. *gi, gini,* corresponding closely to the use of the verbal suffixes *gi, gini,* and at times it is difficult to distinguish between the two: *dadari,* to approach, *dadari gi, dadari gini*; *lai gerigeri gini,* to receive joyfully. See § 46.

31. Verbal Prefixes. There are two prefixes denoting spontaneity: *tama, tava*: *tamarurus,* come loose; *tavalanga,* come open.

32. Causative Prefix. The causative prefix is *vaga*: *vagamate,* to kill. The verb *väi,* to make, do, is used as an additional causative prefix: *vai vagamate,* to kill; *vai vagamasoi,* to heal, make alive. For the causative prefix, see § 57.

33. Reciprocal action is denoted by the prefix *vui*: *vuisesei,* in turn; *vuigato,* to talk to one another; *vuihuigi,* to question one another.

34. Reflexive action is denoted, (1) by the use of the adverb *taligu,* back, again; (2) by the use of *sibo,* self, with the pronouns of possession added. See § 24.

35. Passive. The passive is expressed, (1) impersonally, by the use of the v.p. *mo, u, n, vi*: *nen veve lawera u veve vomai beno,* say to them that are bidden; *vin warego,* thou shalt be called; *mo vivigi goro gi tuvegi,* bound about with cloths; *ran vai vagamatera,* shall they

kill them ? i.e. shall they be killed ? The latter example is a common SI. use ; (2) by the use of the pers. pron., 1st and 2nd pers. pl. : *dam huae taligu*, we found him again, i.e. he is found again. This is a Lam. and Florida (SI.) use also ; *nen vai havahine gen gai u qaro*, what shall you do, i.e. what shall be done, to the dry tree ?

36. Reduplication. Verbs are reduplicated, (1) by the repetition of the first syllable : *vono*, to fill, *vovono* ; (2) by the repetition of the whole word : *leo*, to see, *leoleo* ; (3) by the repetition of the first two syllables, with the occasional dropping of the second vowel : *matagu*, to fear, *matmatagu* ; *maraga*, to arise, *maramaraga*.

37. Auxiliary Verbs : *vaa* ; *vano* ; *vāi* ; *eno*.

Vaa, va, to go ; adv., onwards ; follows another verb and increases its sense : *ahu vaa*, to enter ; *mule vaa*, to return ; *toa vaa*, to depart ; *vaa* may precede : *vaa dadari*, to meet ; *vaa mai*, used of motion towards ; the form *vomai* means ' to come ', ' onwards ', ' hither ' ; *vaa* is used with v.p. *mo* to denote ' if ', ' when ', ' should ', ' would ', ' likely to ' : *mo vaa nom mule vomai*, when, if, I come ; *mo vaa goni riqe*, if you loose ; *a gineu teri mo vaa goni veu*, whatsoever you shall bind ; *a havahine vaa hingei*, what would that be ?

Vano, van, to go ; used to denote ' if ', ' when ', like *vaa* : *mo vano nem ahu lo vale*, when you enter a house ; *mo vano ihine mo soi*, if anyone falls ; *ve ihine mo vano mo maraga taligu*, if anyone rose again ; *vanatu, vonatu*, onwards ; *atu* (Mota *atu*, away) has no separate existence in Lobaha.

Vāi, to do, make ; precedes another verb : *vai tau*, to make ; *vai vagamasoi*, to save ; used also to denote ' should ', ' likely to ', like *vaa* : *a gineu teri mo vai gon vau*, whatever you should happen to bind.

Eno, en, to lie, is used to denote ' to be ', ' come to pass ' ; it is also used as a copula : *eno vunigi*, to be hidden ; *a gigilegi vi eno*, there shall be signs ; *a mahogi vi en tau*, there is still a place left ; *u eno mwere mo veve*, it was as he said ; *biti mo eno*, within a little.

38. Compound Verbs : *lado hogosi*, to believe ; *lado wenigi*, to repent ; *leo rotovi*, to choose ; *hi mai*, to ascend ; *ha mai*, to ascend ; *vara tau*, to covenant ; *hike haqe*, to find.

39. Conjugation. The verb is conjugated by means of particles which precede it.[1] The particles are commonly used with the short forms of the personal pronouns, 1st and 2nd pers. sing. and all persons pl., as subjects. They may also be used with the long forms of the pronouns followed by the short forms in the same persons. When used with the short forms of the pronouns the particles occur in their shortened forms, and these forms, as well as the v.p. *u*, *i*, are pronounced and written in one with the pronouns. With subjects other than pronouns the particles are used in their full form. The full forms of the particles, where short forms occur, are used in some

[1] Instances occur in the texts of the use of the verb in a direct statement without a v.p. ; but this use is not common ; cf. ML., p. 415, 4.

cases with the short forms of the pronouns, and also with the pronouns *ineu*, I, *iniko*, thou, *ingei*, he. The full forms used alone denote the 3rd pers. sing.

The particles used are *u* : *mo*, *m* ; *na* ; *ni*, *n* ; *i* ; *vi*.

U is used of both present and past time, and is not used with the dual or trial numbers : *gamai gau rongo*, we have heard ; *u* is compounded with the pronouns *na*, *go* in the forms *nu*, *gu* ; it is the particle used with adjectives : *u siaga*, strong. It is used alone without a subject.

Mo, *m* has no definite temporal significance, and is used equally of present, past, or future tenses ; it may be used of the imperative ; the full form is found used with the pronouns *ineu*, *iniko* : *mo vano*, if, when ; *na qorora mo vono*, their ears are closed ; *ngere ra mo hi rorongtai tea*, they will not listen ; *gom vano*, you went ; *ineu mo mabu hivo na masoaku*, I lay down my life ; *iniko mo maturu*, sleepest thou ?

Ni, *n* is used of the future ; the full form is used with the short forms of the pronouns : *da ni leo*, we shall see ; *ko ve na ni inu na dai sheep*, and that I should drink the blood of sheep ; the forms *ne ni*, *ra ni* also occur. The short form *n* is used with the pronouns *go*, *mi*, *ne*, *nge* to denote an imperative.

There is a use of *ni*, *n*, following the v.p. *vi*, *i* and forming a compound suffix : *nge vini hi inu te mena waen*, he shall not drink wine ; *nge vin horo gen Vui*, he shall be filled with the Spirit ; *vin dadari*, to arrive at, up to, until ; *nain toga*, I shall stay ; the forms *dain*, *rain* also occur.

Na is used of the future ; it may be used with the short pronouns *go*, *ne*, *miru*, to denote an imperative : *ve na maturu*, if he sleeps ; *miru na dige*, go ye two !

Na is used either by itself, or with a subject, to denote 'let', 'to', of purpose : *na vai*, let him do ; *na diri na bisune*, to dip his finger ; *ve na valeku na horo*, that my house may be full ; *ve go na sireginie*, please release him.

I is used of the future : *nai vei na havahine*, what shall I do ? *nai mate*, till I die ; *neu nai veve*, till I speak ; *nai vomai*, when I come ; *ngei vagamasoire*, he shall save them ; *i* is not used without a subject.

Vi is used of the future : *vi vora*, he shall be born ; *ingei vi muegi*, he shall be first ; the v.p. *ni*, *n* may be added : *vin vehe*, how shall it be ? *ihine vini hi hako te nona*, whosoever shall not receive for his part.

According to Codrington [1] *vi* is not used after pronouns, but in the later texts it is used after *ingei*, *nge*, he.

40. Negative Particles.

The negative particles are of two kinds, (1) *ha* or *he* with *te* or *tea* following immediately without a verb : *hate*,[2] *hatea* ; *hete*, *hetea* : *ko hete neture*, and they had no children ; *ineu hate havaku*, I have no one belonging to me ; *hatea gara hinaga*, they have no food ; *vena hetea gato tavalu*, if there were no parable ; *lolo walu hetea wotogi*, in the pit with no bottom ; (2) *he*, *hi* followed by *tea* or *te* with a verb. Whether to use *he* or *hi* with a verb seems to be largely a matter of euphony. On the whole it seems that *he* is used after a preceding *a* or *o*, and *hi* after a preceding *e*, *i*, or *u* ; but this is not invariably so in the texts. A v.p. need not necessarily precede *he* and *hi* : *na he leo hogo tea*, I have not found ; *natuku hi mate te mo sigei*, while my son is not yet dead ; *nu hi toga tea*, I did not stay ; *vin he muremure te lai denire*, he shall not be stronger than them. No v.p. is used in the plural.

The order of the negative sentence is subject (or v.p. denoting 3rd pers. sing.), negative particle, verb (adverb or phrase), object, *tea* or *te*. The sentence may be closed with *tea*, but not with *te*. *Te* is used preceding the particle *tau* to express 'yet', 'still' : *a bongi hi sao te tau*, not many days hence.

[1] ML., p. 426. [2] Cf. Mota *gate*.

Vi is the only v.p. used in a negative sentence with a subject in 3rd pers. sing. or pl.

Codrington regards *te* in Oba and North Raga languages used after the verb in negative sentences as being a negative particle. In certain BI. languages *te* is used, preceding the verb, as a negative particle; but to regard *te* as a negative in the Oba and North Raga languages would mean that a double negative particle is in use in those languages, and this would be an unusual feature in a Melanesian language.

The use of *tea* following the verb in a negative sentence in Mota and other BI. languages, and meaning 'at all', would seem to point to *tea* of Lam. and Lobaha negative sentences as also meaning 'at all'. And since there is a use of *te* meaning 'any', 'some' in both Lobaha and Lam. (while in other Melanesian languages *te* = 'one'), it seems fair to assume that *tea* and *te* used in Lobaha and Lam. negative sentences are the same as *tea, te,* indefinite pronouns.

41. Dehortatives. The dehortatives used are *se, mese, vese*; these also serve as strong negatives, 'shall not': *go se balubalu,* do not steal; *vena ra se vano,* that they should not go; *mese no,* do not! let it not be! *ngere ra mese dadari,* they shall not reach; *ihine vese vano,* let no one go; *a gineu hi vese lawego,* this shall not happen to thee. The v.p. *na* may be used with *vese,* of 3rd pers. sing.: *ihine na vese toga,* let no one stay.

It is tempting to suppose that *mese, vese* are connected with *se,* which may be thought to be the common NH. negative particle *se*; but both *mese* and *vese* are used as verbs, *mese* bearing the meaning 'to be at a loss': *mo mese lawera,* they were at a loss, and *vese* meaning 'to be of no effect', 'come to naught': *a ligoligogi mo vese beno,* the promise is of no effect. This meaning puts *vese* on a level with the Lam. dehortative *vina* 'to come to naught', 'perish'; and with the Maewo dehortative *karea* 'to do away with', and the Mota *pea* 'come to naught'.

42. Mood. The simple verb may denote an imperative: *vano,* go. A second method is by the use of the v.p. *n, m*: *gon veve,* speak! *nem tataro,* pray!

An infinitive is denoted by the use of the particle of general time *mo*: *ingeie mo taran mo uhie,* he desired to ask him. This is also a Mota use. A subjunctive is denoted by the use of *ve*; see § 49.

43. Potential verb. The verb *lāi* is used following another verb to denote 'be able', 'can'. In a negative sentence *tea* follows *lai* while *te* precedes: *vi hi vagasile lai tea,* it cannot fail; *vi hi valuana te lai,* cannot be numbered.

44. Completion of action. A past or a pluperfect is denoted by the use of *tāu,* to do, make. In a negative sentence *tāu* following *te* denotes 'yet', 'still', 'while': *na he vora te tau,* I was not yet born; *na he van te tau,* I have not yet gone; the phrase *mo sigei* may follow; *go he iloeu te tau mo sigei,* has thou not yet known me?

The adverbs *beno, ben, be* are used following a verb to denote past time. The verbs *rovo, siu,* to be finished, complete, following a verb,

denote completed action: *mo huae siu*, when he found it; *siu* and *mo rovo* are also used as copulatives; see § 49. The verb *vunu*, *vun* following another verb denotes completion of action or number: *ram leo vun*, they all saw; *mo rovo vun*, it was finished.

VIII. Adverbs

45. The adverbs usually follow verbs.

Time: *bagataha, hi bagataha, bagatehe*, now; *hi bagataha*, to-day, of time to come; *ngi ngaha, hi ngaha, mamou, mamou ngaha*, now; *hibi raga*, from now on; *gagarigi*, to-day, of future or past time; *nainoa*, yesterday; *mavugo*, to-morrow (Sa'a *hu'o*, to be early); *lo ro bong*, next morning; *ro bong siaga*, early morning; *revirevi*, evening; *hi logo, higi logo, ta (te) hi logo*, when? of future; *tagaha, te tagaha*, when? of past time; by and by; *lu, lune*, time when; *hitaga*, hereafter; *gesegi, hogonga, tu meuri*, always; *siusiu, tahatahagi*, from time to time; *muegi*, first; *tomue*, before; *tomue ineu*, before me; *tagu*, back, behind; *tu tagu*, afterwards; *a tagugi*, at last, afterwards; *na taguku*, after me, in my absence; *vagi tegulu*, behind, after, me; *lo tagui maragana*, after the resurrection; *tuei*, of old, before, for ever; *vi (vin) tuei*, for ever; *ta tuei*, of old, long while; *gaegaregi*, the first time; *vagasigi*, last; *rädu, tutu redugi*, straight onwards, continuously, for ever; *hou, hougi*, onward, very; *siseri, siserigi*, quickly; *siseri ngaha*, now immediately; *mese be, mese beno*, in a little while: *mo toga be aiie*, he stayed there a little while; *toga kali*, to stay a little while; *a kaliana*, a little while; *vage*, again, also; *taligu, taligugi*, back, again, also; has a reflexive use; *sao, saosao, saogi*, many; *vagasao, vutu sao*, often; *mo sigei*, still, yet: *mo toga mo sigei*, he still stayed; see § 44.

Place: *vea, evea, higi vea, logo, hi logo, higi logo, ta (te) logo, ta hi logo*, where? wherever; *na tehe, hano*, here; *ta ingaha, ta hi ngaha*, here, of here; *vomai, vomavomai*, hither, here; *su vomai*, on this side; *ta vomai*, here; *mai* has no separate existence in Lobaha; *eie, aiie*, there; *vanatu, vonatu*, to go away, away; *vano, vanvano*, away, east, south; *hivo*, to go down, down, away, west; *hage*, to go up, up, east; *hagegi, tahage*, up; *ha mai*, to go up, up; *hi mei*, to descend, down; *raga*, up; *vagahao*, afar off; *kakarani*, near; *vui*, beginning, real; *vuine*, underneath, bottom, down; *vava, vavagi*, below, underneath; *ulu*, head, above; *e ulu, na mawe*, up, above; *vuhungei*, top, above, on top; *lue, mälue*, out; *varea, su varea*, outside; *su*, up to; *su dadari*, to meet; *su lo masoa*, into life; *su e ulu*, up, on high, aloud; *varavasi*, across; *vohogi*, apart, away, separate; used to strengthen a statement, 'very': *hatie vohogi*, not at all; *ineu vohogi*, I indeed.

Manner: *vahava, vahavagi*, how? *vahavagini*, how do to? *huri hano*, why? *vehe*, how? why? *lehi* (to see), at all: *ne he vangan lehieu tea*, you never fed me at all; *doluegi*, all; follows word qualified; *daga*, haply, perhaps; *gesegi*, only, entirely; *hogosie*, entirely, only, merely; *biti geni*, nearly, almost, tiny, least; (*gäni*, very much); *garagara, garagaragi*, very much, exceedingly; *vuregegi*, properly, carefully; *vurogi*, for no reason, only, merely; *mwere*, as, like; *ta mwere hingei*, like this; *mwere ngaha*, thus; *tau mwere*, thus, as; the suffix pron. *na*, 3rd pers., may be added: *mwerena aho*, like the sun; *mweren rani*, like light; used also as a verb: *mo mwere hingei*, it was thus, thus; the verbal suffix *i* may be added: *mwereire*, like them; cf. *lobe, lu*, prep.; *sioli, samalegi*, in vain, to no purpose; *vagalegale, vagalegalegi, bulutegi*, together.

Negative: *hatie*, no; *ineu hatie*, not I; *sige hatie*, or no; *na tanora hatie*, they had no place.

Affirmative: *io*, yes.

IX. Prepositions

46. Many of the following prepositions are nouns, taking the suffixed pronouns of possession.

Three prepositions, *lolo, lo ulu, nābe*, have a second form with *i* added: *loloi, lo ului, nabei*. It would seem that the added *i* in these cases is the noun suffix *i*; see § 11. Two other prepositions, *lobe, lu*, have a second form with *i* added: *lobei, lui*, to which the pronouns of the object may be suffixed, *lobe* and *lu* being themselves nouns. In this case it would seem that the added *i* is a transitive verbal suffix. Three languages in the NH. show a similar use: *ta'u*[1] (*tagu*, back), to follow; after: *ta'uku*, after me; *ta'ui komim*, after us; *ta'uira*, after thēm; *velu*,[2] with, along with, *velui rire*, with them; cf. Mota *valu*, to match, *valui*, a match, *valuna*, his fellow; *valui*,[3] with, *valuiau*, with me; cf. *mwere*, as, § 45, *supra*.

This addition of the transitive verbal suffix *i* to nouns rather suggests that the suffix *ni* added to the prepositions *de, gi*, as below, is a verbal suffix also, *de* and *gi* both being nouns, as is shown by the forms *den, gina, gen*, where *n, na* is the suffixed pron. of possession, 3rd pers. sing., added to nouns.

Codrington states[4] that there is no prep. in the Walurigi dialect expressing motion to place or person; but *huri* is used in our later texts of motion to a place, while *lobe* is used of motion to places and persons, and *lobei* of motion to persons.

A, E, locative: *a* is used of the names of places, but it may be omitted: *a Raga*, Raga; *a iie, e iie*, there; *e vea*, where? anywhere; *e ulu*, above, on top.

Vagi, locative: *vagi tegugu*, behind me; *vagi Raga*, at Raga.

De, deni, denote 'motion from': *de igamai*, from us; *me kalo vomai Galilea de vanue vutugao a Nasaret*, he came up from Galilee from the village of Nasareth; *u siaga denire*, stronger than they.

There is a use of *den* in the texts as the equivalent of the Mota prep. *nan*,[5] from: *den tuei lo tuei*, from everlasting to everlasting. The forms *deneu, denigo, denie, dena, denire* appear in the texts. The form *denie*, from it, him, occurs only at the end of the sentence: *mo ahu hage denie*, he went out from it; *navu denie*, to make request of him.

Gi denotes (1) 'for', of purpose, 'to be,' 'to,' dative: *gi noku*, for mine; *gi talune*, to be his garden; it is used of the name given to a person: *gon warea gi i gineu*, you shall name him so-and-so; *mese vai muremure gi rāhine*, do no hurt to any; (2) 'with', 'by', of the instrument: *gi hine*, by whom; *mo vivigi goroe gi tuvegi*, clothed with a garment; (3) *gi* is used after words denoting 'become', 'change into', 'begin': *vora gi*, to become; *dori gi*, to change into; *tauvui gi*, to begin; (4) *gi* is used as a transitive suffix with intransitive verbs: *leo rorongo gieu*, have me excused; *ram lado hogo gi i Lord*, they believed on the Lord; *ran he matagu tea gi matean haqe*, they will not fear danger.

Gina denotes 'for', 'to be', 'with', of instrument; it is used after *dori*, to change into, become: *gom teueu gina tangaloi hora*, make me to be a servant; *mo mengi na karune gina valune*, she wiped his feet with her hair; *mo dori gina waen*, changed into wine. The form *gin* does not appear in the texts, *gen* being used instead. *Gina* is a compound of *gi* and *na*, suffixed pron. 3rd sing. *Ginie* denotes 'thereby', 'withal', 'therewith', of the instrument; it occurs at the end of the sentence. The final *e* is the suffixed pron. of the object, 3rd pers. sing., and the form *gini* is not used alone: *vi vei maraga taligu ginie*, to raise him again withal; *vi vora vahavagi taligu ginie*, how shall he be born again? *mo vei vagamate na tangaloi ginie*, he killed a man with it; *ginie* is used after *dori gi*, to change into: *a aho vi dori gi dodo ginie*, the sun shall

[1] MIL., p. 381.
[2] MIL., p. 399.
[3] MIL., p. 414.
[4] ML., p. 428, 3.
[5] See ML., pp. 155, 294 (5). *Nan* adds a suffix *i* with certain suffixed pronouns.

be turned into darkness; *dadari ginie, ginire,* to approach him, them; *kakaran ginie,* near to him; *meromero ginie,* to be angry with him; for this use see *gi* (4), *supra.*

Ge, gena, gen are changes from *gi,* etc.; they denote 'with', of the instrument, 'for', 'to be': *gena wai,* with water; *nem vaie gen valei belu,* you have made it a den of thieves; *gen bue,* with a sword.

Lawe, to, dative: *lawe na vao,* to the people; *lawea,* to him; cf. *lap,* to give; MIL., p. 399, 62.

Lo, lolo, loloi, in, on to, on; no article follows: *lo vavamu,* underneath you; *lo ulure,* above them; *lo ului wei,* on the water; *su lolo,* up to; *loloi wei,* into, in, the water; *lolona,* within, in it. There is a common use of *lo, lolo,* in place names: *Lobaha*; *Longana*; *Lolowai*; *Lolovoli.*

Lo ulu, lo ului, lo ulugi, above, on: *lo ului tanoi gaganie,* on the table; *lo ulure,* above them.

Lobe, lobei, motion to, of persons or places: *lobe ituegi venue,* to another country; *lobena,* to him; *ram vaa lobeire,* they went to them. *nābe.*

Lu, lui, in, upon: *lune, lun,* when, at the time when; *lu i Netune,* in his Son; *luie,* he has; *lumai,* we have, with us.

Me, mena, men, with, of accompaniment or location; used also of the instrument: *vano me, vonatu me,* to go with, take, bring; *kakarani me,* near to, of place; *a vao me angel hingei,* a company with the angel; *me i Mama,* with the Father; *me gamai,* with us; *me bue,* with a knife.

The *na, n,* of *mena, men,* is the suffixed pron., 3rd pers. sing.: *men hine,* with whom; *mena iloilo,* with wisdom; *u tatarise mena leo,* in conformity with the law. Mota *men.*

Mei, with, of accompaniment, to, of motion: *vaa mei,* to take; *dadari mei,* to approach a person; *me toga mei tamai netune,* she lived with her husband; *me qalo mei na mata,* he fought with the serpent. The pronouns of the object may be suffixed: *meigo,* with thee; *nam lai kalo na tamateku meigo,* I lift up my soul to thee. *Mei meie, meire,* are all used to denote 'and', of persons.

It is probable that *me* and *mei* are two different words; *me, men* being the Mota *men,* 'with, from'[1]; and *mei* the Lam. and Ulawa *mai,* with, and. See MIL., p. 272, 40, *mai.*

Na, by, beside: *ram tino na tahi,* they abode by the sea shore; *na mawe,* up above, heaven; *na tehe,* here. Lam. *aṅ*; Duke of York *na*; ML., pp. 155, 448, *ne*; MIL. pp. 326, *en*; 368, 380, *na.*

Nābe, nabei, with, of location, motion from: *na vei tabana nabemu,* to work for you; *nabena,* he had; *nabei havara,* with their brethren; *nabei eivi,* by the fire; *nabei matahala,* beside the path; *ram vanai vanvano nabei matan aho,* they came from the sun-rising. The *nā* of *nābe* is presumably the demonstrative article *na*; it is written in one with *be. lobe.*

Ta, belonging to, of; used of places: *ta tuei,* formerly, from a long time; *vanue ta Maewo,* the island of Maewo; *ta* (*te*) is seen in *tā tagaha, ta vomai, ta hingaha, tā hi logo,* etc.

Talo, talolo, in, into, of: *talo aka,* into the ship. *ta.*

Talu, talulu, in, upon: *talu i God,* in God; *talure,* on them; *talumai,* on us. *ta.*

Taulu, on, on top. *ta.*

47. Verbal Prepositions. *Goro,* to shut; in the way of, before, in front of, over, across: *goro na matahala,* in the way; *goroe,* against him. NH. *nggoro*; Mota *goro.*

Huri, to follow, to get; after, about, concerning, according to, because; used of motion to, of things; denotes purpose: *huri havahine,* why? *ram van huri na walu,* they went to the tomb. The pron. *e* of the object may be suffixed. Both *huri* and

[1] ML., p. 153, *me.*

hurie occur at the end of the sentence and denote 'about', 'thereto', 'concerning it'. Mota *sur*; Sa'a *suli*.

Dali, dadali, to surround: *dalire*, round about them; *dali bulu*, round about.

48. Nominal Prepositions. *Livugei*, middle, midst: *lol livugara*, in their midst, among them; *mamarai*, side, beside; *ulu*, head; up; see *ta ulu*, § 46; *vuhungei*, top, above; *lo vuhungana*, above it; *vava*, bottom, below: *lo vavaṃai*, under us. Sa'a *haha*.

X. Conjunctions

49. Copulative: *ko, ba*, and; *tāu*, to do, may be added to *ko*; *ba* is not in frequent use.

Connective: *tau*, then, now, in narrative; and, but[1]; *siu*, then, afterwards; *mo rovo, rovo taú*, thereupon; *maraga* (to rise), then, and. With *maraga*, cf. Florida *sakeragi*, to rise, which is also used as a connective. The texts show *vena, ven*, as a connective.

Introductory: *nge, ngei*, and, but; *nge tau*; *tau nge*. Sa'a *nge*.

Conditional: *ve*; *se*; *sige*; *tare*. *Ve* denotes 'if', 'in order that', 'to', 'for', of purpose, 'that,' declarative: *ve gimiu ne gagani*, that you may eat; *ve gide da gani*, if we eat; used before a proper noun by way of explanation: *gon suri henana ve i Jesus*, thou shalt call his name Jesus; used for politeness: *ve gona sireginie*, please release him; used as a mark of quotation: *a lavasigi ve i Elia*, some say that it is Elijah. Lam. *be*.

The v.p. *na, n*, is added to *ve*: *vena, ven*; and the meanings are 'about to', of purpose, 'so that,' 'in order that,' 'that,' declarative, 'if': *vena, ven* is also used of reported speech and as a mark of quotation: *mo vena*, he said, saying. No v.p. necessarily follows *vena*, but *mo, na, vi* occur. *Ve* may be added to the conj. *tare*, if, and the v.p., except *u, i*, may follow. *Sige* denotes 'or' as well as 'if'. Conditional circumstance is frequently shown by the use of the v.p. *n*: *gon sisieqau*, if you bow down; *nen he vora te taligu*, if you be not born again.

Illation. The illatives used are *be, bei*, with the meanings "therefore, then, just now, for the first time", *bei* being in commoner use than *be*: *na be veve lologasi vena*, then said I in my wrath; *ko bei tauvui revereve hingei*, and this was first written; *na bei mate*, till I die; *ra bei vora vanai*, they were just born. No v.p. need necessarily precede; but *mo* is in use: *mo be nan veve*, then shall I speak. The *i* of *bei* may possibly be the v.p. *i*.

50. 'Till,' 'until' is rendered by *vava* (*vaavaa*), 'to go,' and *lololi*: *vava mo rani*, till daylight; *lololi* is used with any of the v.p. except

[1] See § 44.

i : *lololi na ni mule vomai*, till I return ; *lololi nge vi huae*, till she finds it. 'Until' is also rendered by the use of the v.p. *n, u, vi* : *gimiu nen veve*, till you say ; *a ute noi God vi dadari vomai*, till the kingdom of God comes ; or by a co-ordinate clause with v.p. *mo* : *he toga te meie tau mo lei netune*, she lived not with him till she brought forth her son.

51. 'Lest' is rendered simply by *va*, which is probably the Mota *wa*,[1] a word of warning. To *va* may be added *vai, te, te vai, teu vai*. Of these *vai* may possibly be *va*, to go, with *i* v.p., and *teu* the verb meaning 'to do' : *va te vai mo he tatarise tea*, lest there be not sufficient ; *na va sebe wahe gimiu*, lest I cut you in pieces ; the uses may be combined : *te vai a havagineu va te sala*, lest anything be lost.

52. 'Because' is rendered by *a vevenagi*, 'the reason,' or by *vai venagi*, where *venagi* is the simple form of *vevenagi*.

53. A noun form *to* denoting 'accompaniment' in the case of persons and things is used as the equivalent of 'and'. The pronouns of possession are always added to *to* : *igamai tomai renetuku*, I and my children ; *i meri ton Joseph*, Mary and Joseph ; *a vihigogi tona dai*, flesh and blood. Mota *ta*.

XI. Numerals

54. Cardinals : one, *gätegale, gäitegale* ; two, *gairue, garue* ; three, *gaitolu* ; four, *gaivesi* ; five, *gailime* ; six, *gaiono* ; seven, *gaibitu* ; eight, *gaiwelu* ; nine, *gaisiwo* ; ten, *hangvulu, hangvul, ngavulu, ngavul*.

For the prefixes *gai, ga*, see ML., p. 426 (6), Verbal Particles.

The cardinals are used (1) as adjectives : *ngavul gaiono*, sixty ; (2) as verbs : *na higaona mo hangvulu*, his years were ten.

Hangvulu is used of the first ten, and *ngavulu, ngavul*, for all succeeding tens, as in Lam.

The number over ten is *domwagi*, a noun (Mota *numwei*), used with the articles *a, na*. 'Hundred' is *vudolue*. The numbers over a hundred are represented by *avigi*, a noun (Mota *avaviu*), used with articles *a, na*.

55. Ordinals : first, *muegi* ; second, *tuegi, vagarue* ; third, *gaitoligi* ; fourth, *gaivesigi* ; fifth, *gailimegi*, etc. ; tenth, *hangavulugi*. For *muegi* see Adverbs, § 45.

56. Distributives : *gagategalegi*, one at a time, one apiece, severally ; *gagaruegi, gagaruei*, two at a time, two apiece ; *gagaivesi*, four at a time. No further instances are found. It would seem that the usual method of forming distributives is to double the prefix *ga* and to add

[1] MIL., p. 415, *va*.

the noun suffix *gi* to the cardinal forms; but exceptions occur, as above. Lam. shows exceptions also in its method.

57. Multiplicatives: *vagategale*, once, together; *vagategalegi*, once; *vagatuegi*, *vagaruei*, twice; *vugerue*, both; *vagatoligi*, three times, third time; *vagavesi*, four times; *vagahangavul*, ten times; *vagahangavul gaiono*, sixty times; *vagavudolue*, hundred times. The prefix *vaga* is used to form multiplicatives, and the suffix varies between *gi* and *i*, or is absent altogether. The causative prefix *va* is seen in *vahava*, how?

58. Interrogatives: *gaivihe*, *gevihe*, how many? as many as; *vagagaivihe*, how many times?

59. There is a particle *ta* used with numerals which is found also in Maewo, NH., and may be compared with Ambrim *te* and Mota *ta*[1]: *ta tol*, three; *te gailime*, it might be five; *te gaivihe*,[2] how many soever it might be; *homu te vudolue vagatolu*, it might be three hundred pence; *te biti tea*, ever so small.

XII. Exclamations

60. *āi*, address; *aiie*, there! well done! *e*, vocative; precedes a personal name: *eke*, ha! *ida*, come on! *hei*, don't know! can't say! *hogo*, *a hogo*, *hogo a hogo*, verily! *ko*, well then! sums up; *nge siu*, assent, yea; *wi*, address; *a hogo wi*, verily! *nigo wi Netui God*, art thou the Son of God?

[1] MIL., p. 346, 54.
[2] Mota *ta visa*.

Rāma

By H. W. Bailey

PRESENT difficulties have induced me to publish in the form of an article the text of the Khotanese Rāma poem. It is of interest to both Indian and Iranian scholars, not least perhaps to our confrères with whom we are not at present in contact. It is hoped to publish a commentary and translation in a subsequent paper.

A description, with short summary, of the contents of the poem was given in a lecture to the American Oriental Society in Baltimore, April, 1939, and will be shortly published in the Journal of that Society. Reference for the present may be made to that account.

The text is contained in three MS. rolls numbered 2801, 2781, 2783, written on Chinese paper, in cursive Khotanese script, and now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale. I first read them in December, 1937, and subsequently obtained photostatic copies. I wish once again to thank Professor Paul Pelliot for his permission to use them.

Tibetan fragments of the Rāma story, to which the Khotanese text is akin, are described by Professor F. W. Thomas in the *Volume of Indian Studies in honor of Charles Rockwell Lanman*, 1929, and by M. Lalou in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1936.

Most of the text is now intelligible, but a commentary will be needed. Here only a transcription is offered. The lines are numbered according to the lines of the MSS. It is evident that short lacunae exist between the three MSS.; the handwriting, almost certainly of the one scribe, indicates their kinship.

As in the Introduction to the volume of *Codices Khotanenses*, I have used *ä* for the late form of the double dot, which I have elsewhere indicated by *i̱* (*BSOS*, ix, 523 and *ZDMG*. 92 (1938), 592 [1]). Professor Konow has expressed himself in agreement with this practice, and the sign *i̱* becomes unnecessary. It will, however, be remembered

[1] I take the opportunity to refer to the somewhat misleading remarks on p. 595. The alleged mistakes were taken from uncorrected first proofs and do not represent the original MS. of my paper. Note too that on p. 598 and 609 the Chinese 樂 = (in Brāhmī script) *ha:*bhuā* has been confused with the different Chinese 我 = (in Brāhmī script) *gatā, ga*. I should add that no "quasi-t" exists: the variant forms are due to the hands of different scribes. The use of *-t-* beside *-v-* is a further example of the inverse historical spelling familiar in many languages, as in Latin, Old Singhalese, Old Javanese, or Middle Persian.

that with the akṣara *la* the two dots are always written separately one above the other. As before, I have used the subscript hook as in ą for the non-etymological anusvāra. To save trouble I have adopted the raised comma to indicate the subscript curve; and the comma on the line for the MS. punctuation sign ⁀.

P[*elliot*] **2801**

| || siddhaṃ 1
tta tta khu bhadrrai kalpa,
krrakasūṃdä sarvąña ba'ysä,
kanakamu̯nä kāśa|vi ba'ysä, 2
ba'ysūśtä busta dūrā,
haudamye salye ṣi' ttyāṃ,
sadharmä aṃdarahī
| śākyämu̯nä sarvąña ba'ysä, 3
śara bāḍa karya sahye:,
śūka ttye śāśaṃ ki̯ṇa,
khvaṃ | éṣṭa bu'ysye bāḍna, 4
paḍāṃda hīṃdva kṣī'ra,
mahaiśvara bahyą: tta
gauttrrai,
mą̄ṇavai ṣṭā | ye śau, 5
phara śāstrra sīya u ṣṭīka,
ṣi' vā ttī carya ūsthīye,
mahaiśvarä pajsaṃ prra- 6
|caina,
garvā ttrraṃdä mąṇḍalä
ṣkāṃde,
salī parye dvāsä pabastä,
khu ṣṭāṃ vara pajsaṃ | yuḍe, 7
hamye ttye pajsaṃ ūspurä,
vistāvai pyamtsä pīchaṣṭä,
mahaiśvarä deta
raṣa'|yä jastāṃ mūrä, 8
pajaistaṃ jsa brrąma saidä,
hauḍai ra dī̯nva gūha:,
upakaraṇa prra|cāṃ vaska, 9
cvai kṣā'ṃḍa tta ttai hamīya,
ṣi' mī̯ ttī gūttairä nvaiya,
nārä nāta jvą̄me va|ska, 10
bāśa' tsve nera jsa haṃtsa,
phara bāḍa vara ṣṭāṃ mūṃde,
ttiña kṣī'rä śūrä pū̯ñūṃdä
| rre ṣṭā ye daśarathä ną̄ma, 11
ttye hīvī pūrä ysā śūrā,
ṣi' cu sahasrrabāhā:|ną̄ma 12
hamye,
ṣi' ṣṭāṃ rre rruśtä yuḍe,
ą̄mācāṃ hārvāṃ haṃtsa,
ṣi' vā rre byaha buḍe
| pharākye hīña jsa haṃtsa, 13
hasūrä jsāṃ vara vaṣṭā ā
kūṣṭa mūṃda brrąma ysāḍā,
brrą|mąnāṃ padaṃja ṣą̄', 14
khvaṃ kvā'śa' hīsīṃdā satta,
āgaṃdūka vrraitti yanīṃdä,
na pa|śīṃdā avajsama hāysa, 15
ṣi' mī saṃ aysmya hī̯ña,
ciṃdą̄mana ciṃdye tvā,
rre parye | avąjsaṃ kvā'śa', 16
khu vā ttī paskyāṣṭä íste,
yanū mī brrū̯na pajsaṃ,
ciṃdą̄manä jsai | ṣä hamīra, 17
hvaḍa khaṣṭa ysaujsa prraṇī̯tta,
saṃ khu rre āṣaṃ' yaṃde
bāysa jsāṃ raṣṭa ṣi' | śirkä, 18
rruṃda va kūṣṭa ye khāśe',
khu hā rre paskyāṣṭä íṣṭä,
stā khajauttä pavaṃ biṃda
| namamdrrye brrąma rruṃdä, 19
vistā rre tti pasta ciṃdye,
śūka ye brrąma ysāḍä,
na ma distä|khaysą ūryāṃ, 20

cā'yä ṣṭāṃ yaṃda ṣi' ysāḍä,
ąmāca hārva brraṣṭe
ama ra ṣṭām ciṃ|dya ränị, 21
didrrāṃ herä ca ma na ye
yuḍāṃdä hāvūīyā rruṃdä,
mahe pu'sąma|na jasta, 22
jsaiṇa vīra khvai ye bvāṃ,
caṃda ñaśä ỉye hve',
numadrrūna paḍā tsūñai,
jauya usta tsūñai,
ustaṃ vā bvąma pa'tte,
brraṣṭāmdä brrąmaṃ ysāḍä
khve na ya paḍā phara,
| rre baḍa byaha vaña 23
na jsāṃ pā prracā haiysda,
gūḍa hā brrąma prrara,
saiddha śarā | tta tta vā 24
byaude,
guha: hā pyaṃtsä najsauṣṭe,
ąmāca hārva hvāṣṭa,
aủrāsä tta tta | hvāṃdä 25
rruṃdä,
tti ra khu mī khaysą parye,
rre bvestā kūṣḍi vīrāṣṭa
svąna hā hārva haṣṭe,
aḍa gūha: jaitta | vāṣṭä, 26
ỉṇāva parśa'rä yāṃdā,
naiśtä nąma salā na śtāka,
rausta tvā brrąma gū|ha:, 27
hamye drrāṃ maiysdyūṃ
kṣuna,
pajī tsve haḍai haḍai,
hūṣāvai pūrakā kvā'śa',
| ṣai' tta hve khu ra mą 28
jvai,
cve na khāysä ne jsāṃ bīsä,
gūḍa hā brrąma prrara,
adā | yuḍā mąnī rre, 29
sahasrrabāhä: rruṃdāṃ rre,
gūha: ysye tcaṃną jveṃ,
hamyai drrāṃ mai | ysdyūṃ 30
pūra,
vistā ṣīkä aysmya vīra,
paraśva rąmä brrąmanaṣai,
saṃ ttanī prracā | hauṣṭe 31
kārṣa' va ca burai śtāka,
ṣi' pā saṃ ttū padī tsve,
garvā ttrraṃdā mąṇḍalä
ṣkāṃde
| dvāsamye salye ṣi' pātcä 32
bīda tvā saidä śarā
āvāhye: brrahmāṃ: jastä,
ṣa'sta | paraśä' āvai nvaiya, 33
ṣi' mī saṃ paraśä' usthīye,
pūṣa pastā kuṣḍä' vīrāṣṭa,
| vara vīra kūṣḍi vistā, 34
tta bajsąna śaṃdā hvaste,
rathä dirye mista tta hve,
naḍa na | ḍāṃ vaska vadiṃdä, 35
khvai bvāra naḍa ye dahā:
narada hārva spāṣṭāmdä,
mū grra|hastä āsta ṣi' sattä, 36
cū ṣṭāṃ vā śaṃdā dyū,
haṃdāra hvaṃdä tta hvāṃdā,
ṣi' mu sa|ttä hera ỉṃdā śau, 37
aủraṣṭāṃdä hārva rruṃdä,
rre ttiṃdä śaṃdā spāṣṭe,
pyāsta hā pa|rau tta paste, 38
pvai'syarai kūṣṭa yai satta,
khu vā tsvai ca ttū bījeṣa,
ṣi' hā saṃ mistä | tti hve lo 39
vā ā,
paraśva rą̆mä brrąmanaṣai,
ca ttū pūḍä mūnai pye,
ca vā ysyai | mūnā gūha:, 40
narąma vā phara vā ỉdä,
āmarṣa'-prrāpttai ṣṭąna,
rre pa|sta hastä vā bāyara, 41
dūna ra jsāṃ rrijsā pūna
ỉṃda maṃ dasta pharāka

ṣve' ṇā'|yūṃ śaṃde biṃdā, 42
naraṃdä hā pyaṃtsāṣṭä rre,
hastä biṃdā hīña jsa haṃtsa,
rruṃda | ysīra śūrī pa'jsä, 43
vañai saṃ biṃda paśū'
baysgä pūṇīnai bārä,
paraśva rą|mä ttye jsāṃ ya, 44
āhau:rrji sidhā śarā,
*gachaṃdā śūje kvā'śa',
paraśva rąmä | hastä śąṇḍä 45
murrde,
paraśa'nai bāysve krrīye,
rre pastä jsīna paśāte,
para|śva rąma paskyāṣṭä 46
ṅṣṭä,
kṣī'rañvā kaṃthvā tsve,
rruṃda jse brrąmana ṇā'ste,
sa|hasrrabāhä: pūra harya, 47
dī śaṃde pacena pyūva,
cvaṃ pacā pāḍā rīna
| dvāsamye salye tta ṣika, 48
pūnä hīye rrūṃdakyä nvaiya,
natca khṵṇe vāṣṭä na|raṃda, 49
tti ṣika śau rąmä hamye,
śe' ra jsāṃ rraiṣmaṃ nąma,
busta baiśä prracai vī|rä 50
paraśva rąmä cvāṃ jse pyarä,
khu pyūṣṭāṃdä kṣīrva hvąṇḍä,
rrąmä hamye | śūrāṃ myąña 51
cu bura saṃ uhyasta ṅye,
vilau pūnä gvąna na tsīya,
| rraiṣmaṃ ṣi' ñanau rrāśa', 52
tti mī dva haṃtsa panava,
kūysdāṃdā paraśva rąmä,
brra|ṣṭāṃdä kūṣṭa tta daitte, 53
garvā aśtä vara ṣṭāṃ mūñye,
tti khu āta śūje pyaṃtsa,
na | paysāṃdāṃdä hvastāna 54
parya,
tti khu āta haṃdā garāṃ,

paraśva rąmä kū|ṣṭa ya 55
mūṃja,
ttūśā diśa' na ja vaṣṭīya,
bijeṣyāṃdä brrātara hatsa,
a|ḍarä ye cvāṃ pyatsa ā, 56
varī saṃ paskyāṣṭā ṅṣṭa,
tti khu haṃgvāṃdä śūje
drraya | hvāṃdai vara ṣṭąna 57
salāta,
ysīra ysaiṣa'ga cvaṃ ya
haṃtsa,
rąmā paraśva | rąmä biysīye, 58
haṃgrrautta śaṃdya hvaste,
vahaṃdä nāṣṭä aūdä tcījsāṃ,
va|ḍāṣṭai pūna jsa uhya:ste, 59
paraśva rąmä uysna narada,
hamye va jabvī dara ttūryāṃ | 60
dīśta,
saṃ ttanī brrąmana jsāṃdä
haṣṭū ysāra pharāka,
kṣīrañvā brraṣṭāmda sa | tta, 61
śūra tta kūṣṭa ṅṃdä mū,
tti ra khu mī samavāyā khaste,
rakṣa'ysāṃ ṇā'styā jiṃga,
| daśagrraivä rakṣaysä ysāta, 62
dūva śā rrīña jsa hvāṣṭye,
spāṣṭāmdī jauttaiṣā nvaiya
hauḍāṃ|dī vyāraṇä tvā, 63
tvā kaṃtha jiṃdä padaśdä',
padīmai raysau ttūśā,
daśagrraiva ra|kṣaysä paste, 64
savayai pyąnarä śīña,
parauśa'rä miśtaña ttāja,
jiṃga saṃ ttūrye | śtāka, 65
pyaṃdāmdī ra miśta savaya,
nīśāṃdī miśtaña ttāja,
na vahaṃda pī|rma ka tsvā, 66
vira biṃda ttāja gvahąña,
raṣa'yā ye śāstrrī daśtä,
vrraitta vaśtara|ṇyāṃ bvākā, 67

khu dye ttū sava parauṣṭä,
bīysīyai natcai vistāte,
uysgaustai spāṣṭai ttū
| cu ṣi' hirä aśtä mara, 68
ṣi' va śā jīśaka ya,
raṣa<'>yī mu'ś<d'>i<jsa>
pāḍe,

End of roll **2801**

P. **2781**

| 1
| khu hamya kṣuṃdāṃ bāḍva, 2
ttiña ba'ḍa jsāṃ hā āva,
rriṣma rą̃mä tti haṃtsa,
khu dyāṃdä | tvā strrīya da 3
śirka,
parauṣṭūṃ aysmū pa'jsä,
brrīye jsa basta vistāta,
na na tsvą̃ | saṃ vara ṇā'sta, 4
pajaistāṃdā nāra ja tvā,
bāstāṃdä diśa' vī hāysa,
śe' bāysa | hastarä myą̃ñä, 5
haṃtsa jsa samāṃ yuḍāṃdä,
prrahajanauśtä agapya ñaśa,
karavī̃nā | karā yuḍāṃdä, 6
haṃdrrauysī murä na aśti
cu hā tvā byāśda' karā,
mara mū̃ña | myą̃ña kare, 7
gi'jä murä cu vara paśāṃdä
ttye jsa va bū̃ñakya pherde,
aravī na <p>a|śä viṃ [1] 8
hugvą̃na,
khu śau ttrraima haṃtse kiṇa,
vīra va paraśi' viśtīya,
khu mą̃nī | śūje vīra, kṣārma 9
gaṃjsa na hama hūgvą̃na,
śe' ra jsāṃ khu ṣā viśtīya,

vara vī|ra tta tta ya hąṭha, 10
bisavą̃nū khu ṣä usthīye,
śūje ną kṣārmi padiṃde,
| ṣą̃' hąṭha na hamya raṣṭa, 11
jaṣṭāṃdī ttū vara ṣṭą̃na,
ssa tcị'mą'ña ahā vijsyāṃde,
| tta tta ra vā haudva ttī, 12
bāysañvā byaha yanīra,
kṣī'rañvā kūysdāṃdä śūra
| ttiña ba'ḍa jsāṃ hā ā, 13
daśagrraiva rakṣaysä pīrma,
haṃdrrauysī āśa' pathī,
spā|ṣṭa vā śaṃde biṃdāṣṭä, 14
vara strrīya ṣṭīya da śirka,
vahaiṣṭa hā śadyāṣṭä ttī
| karā hā na byāṣṭä yuḍe, 15
strrīya jsāṃ hāṣṭä na tsvā,
parajausta mura jsa haṃtsa
| ttī vistā pa'jsa khajauttä, 16
gaijä murä hamthrrī kṣuṇa,
ṣai' vaska haṃphve muṇḍa,
ttrra|lī̃nā hū̃ña jsa rausta, 17
murä rauṭe jsa ttrramaste [2],
garkhä hamye jsī̃na paśāte,
| ṣū'rä jsāṃ saṃvarä nātc, 18
laṣṭa pāttara dīśta biysīye,
hāṣṭä tsve piṇḍvā | kiṇa, 19
nūḍā hā piṇḍvā strrīya,
biysīyai dastäna tvā,
haṃdrrauysī āśa' pa|ną, 20
ttā ra khu mī rriṣmaṃ rrą̃mä,
āta vara haudva daṃña,
na va ya sījsa bīśa,
ī|-garśä nvāsāṃdä ysairkä, 21
dyakya hvastāṃdā u ysairä,
natca-uṇa hamya śatcaṃ|pha 22
tti ra khu mī jabvī' darā
raistāṃdä kūysdāṃdä biśä,

[1] *viṃ* crossed out.
[2] *ttrra*, scribal error or variant sign for *ttu*.

pa'jsārga kāṣcya jsa
| tsvāṃdä, 23
nai busta kūṣṭai vijsyāṃ,
tti khu āta makalāṃ kṣī'ra,
vara makala ṣṭā ye | mistā, 24
ysāḍakä haphva-jseṃ,
tta tta nvastä śaṃde biṃda,
khu ja garā hīya ttrraikha,
| brraṣṭāṃdai khu ra ṣṭāṃ jvī, 25
khu hamyai da ysaṃgarä ñaśä,
ṣą' tta hve uma
ca vaña cai|staka ṣṭīrau, 26
haṃgrrīhya:rä brraukala maṃ,
vaṣkaista haudva pasta,
kṣā'rma bīdāṃdä | pharākä, 27
śūrī vą aphārä hamye,
ysāḍä makala hautaṃ ye,
hāysa tsvāṃdä | kṣārmana 28
haṃtsa,
śūje jsa hva hva tsvāṃdä,
murrdāṃdä diśa' vī tcaḍä
bāysą|ña caṃbva kuṣḍa, 29
paśa' kālä naḍa dyāṃdä
grrąña,
cu ṣṭą̃ve kuṃjsa ttīma,
dvāsa|mye salye tta ṣīka, 30
vara āva śūje pyaṃtsä,
kāṣcya ja vara śūje kvā'śa',
ṇā'|sta ciṃdą̃mana vīra, 31
pātca ttikye diśa' vī ṣṭą̃na,
kūṣṭa makala ṣṭā ye ysāḍä,
| makala dyāṃdä brrātara 32
jauysa,
ttą hvāṃdä sa jau ra na
jvīrau,
vistarana hvą̃|ñarä vāṣṭä, 33
tti hā ttī gūḍāṃdä raṣṭä,
mahe dva brrātara ṣṭāṃ,
ysāḍa pye jsīna | paśāte, 34
rruśta kaṇāṃ śa'vakṣä paną,
śau sūgrrīvä ną̃ma makalā,
śe' ra jsāṃ | naṇḍä makalä, 35
hama-śą̃mä śūje mūṃdāṃdä,
naṇḍä makala jsāṃṇe' ṇā'|stä, 36
ama śūra ṣṭīrau haṃtsa,
aḍarä vā gīhya:rä jse,
aysāṃ śirką̃ña yanūṃ
| khu aysä byehīme rruśtä, 37
śūka ttyāṃ makalāṃ biṃda,
amājai parau yanūṃ
| tti makala śūje mūṃdāṃdä, 38
na ñāpye kāṃ jve āste,
ttai hvāṃda sä āyeṃ bą|ña, 39
paysą̃ña hama aḍārä jsanāṃ,
uhya:stai pūna jsa rą̃mä,
muḍä pastä | pve'ha: jsa 40
śaṃdya,
naṇḍa makala aska jsā rruśta,
yūḍa pajsaṃ rriṣma rrą̃mä,
ttai | hvāṃ:dä sä mą̃nī pā, 41
ysīra aśtä khīrai kāṣcya,
sījsa kiṇa cvai na vijsyāṃ,
ama | diśvā' vidaśvā' tsūta, 42
paṃmarai bvīrau aśka,
naṇḍa makalä parau tta paste,
jaṃbvī|ya sījsa panaṣṭa, 43
hauda haḍā kūśa'rä yāṃdä,
khvai byehya:rä phara vā 44
yaṃ|da,
ttī na byehā:va sījsa,
nai ra jsāṃ paṃmara bvāta,
haṃgrrīsyarä harbaiśä vāṣṭä
| tcī'mą'ñūṃ thaṃjūṃ baiśä 45
ṣāṃdāṃ va khāysa ja haurūṃ,
makala baiśä diśa' vī tsvāṃ- 46
|dä,
kūysdāṃdä pharai na busta,
kūṣṭai byehą̃:mana sījsa,
haḍā ja haṃgāṃ | ā, 47
viñāṃ svī tcī'mą'ña thajīṃdä,

laphūṣa śā makala panava,
phūḍa śā sū|nāha: kūysdā, 48
vara jsāṃ va sūnāha: biṃdä,
aủska vī ṣavarakä ye,
śe ṣāṃ|da hīvī ttī, 49
ṣāṃdä tsvā khāysä va baṣṭa,
biṇāsä ṣāṃdala ṣīka,
mera va | nvāśāṃdä kṣūna, 50
ṣą' tti hvā ā'ṣṭyara ttā,
makalīña tcī'mą'ña grrą̃me,
svī hva|ḍa khaysą hamye, 51
ttai hvādä sa kūṣṭa vā byeha:,
makalīña tcī'mą'ña | grrą̃me, 52
ṣą' tta hvā sījsa panaṣṭa,
sījsa jsāṃ dajagrraiva hauṣṭe
lagāpūrā kī|[kī]thai bāste, 53
āḍa ra makala hamāre
tcīmañūṃ thaṃjīṃdä ttyāṃ,
cī phūṣa maka|la ttū hirä 54
pyūṣṭā,
varī saṃ natcāṣṭä naraṃda
saṃduṣṭa maśpya tsvā,
na kaistā | mistä tta hvā, 55
phūṣa makala butta hirä,
nai ṣa haḍa gva're,
ṣai khvai gva'rī
rruṃdä | pyaṃtsai gva're, 56
hadarai makalakä pyūṣṭe,
varī hā kvā'śā'ṣṭä haiṣṭä,
ttai hve | sä maṃ vā gva'ra, 57
ca ttū pyūṣṭāyä da śirkä,
makala hvā biṃdāṃ byūṣṭā,
sī|jsa kiṇa paṃmara bve, 58
ė kañai haṃphve styūdä
pūmye vaī tcī'ṃą̃'ña ttūrä,
ttai | hve sa maṃ vā gva'ra, 59
paḍā a rruṃdä vī tsūṃ,

sarvaṃdai nāsūṃ stą̃na,
haṃtsakā gāṃ | gāṃ tsvāṃdä, 60
biṃda ttāja raṃgä vistāva,
makala hā na darvā ūca,
ṣai' ma|kalä dasta jsa bīysīye, 61
aysā ttā ttrrvāyūṃ [1] ūca,
tha jsāṃ vā raṣṭakä gva'ra,
gū|ḍā hā makalakä pyaṃtsä, 62
ṣū'rä ttrraṃdä makala na
ttrrvāsti,[2]
aḍārīna ttājā khu | ā, 63
harbīśai hą̃murä tsve,
varī hā paskyāṣṭä īṣṭä,
ttai hve sa ūtca parāṃdeṃ,
| khu na pyą̃mana haudva ūca, 64
parya ṇā'śta sve biṃdä maṃ
vañā ttā ttrrvāyūṃ [3] ū|ca, 65
myāṃ ttāja khvai ājiṃde,
vara ṣṭą̃nai tta tta hve hāṣṭä,
aḍa hirä cvaṃ vā hvā|yä, 66
harbiśūṃ hą̃murä tsve,
māta maṃ brra vī pa'jsa,
ca ttū ṣṭāṃ' rahāsä paciña
| ca burā ye pvīstä rahāsä 67
harbīśī gūḍā hāṣṭä,
aḍārī ttāja khu ā
varai | ṇā'sta ṣū'rä parye, 68
khu haṃgva' rriṣma rrą̃ma
gūḍa hā raṣṭa phara,
bijeṣyāṃdä | brrātara haṃtsa, 69
hīna hā bāyāṃ baysga,
sarautāṃ āstaṃ birga,
jabvīya pa|rau paśāṃdä, 70
haṃgrrīsyarä harbaiśä vāṣṭa,
jabvīyā makalā haṃtsa,
katha | biśä jiṇä būrvą̃, 71
tvā rakṣa'ysāṃ hīya aủska,

[1] *ttrrv-* error or variant form of *ttuv-*.
[2] *ttrrv-* error or variant for *ttuv-*.
[3] See Footnote (1).

usthīyāṃda hīna bīysāṃ|ja, 72
pastāva mistye vyūha:na,
mahā-samṵdrri raṃgā vī āva,
vara ṇā'sta na ttrraṃ|da 73
hamya,
bijeṣyāṃdā vara ṣṭāṃ ttī,
khu ttrrą̄māṃ mahā-samāṃdrrā,
naṇḍā makala va|ra ṣṭāṃ 74
hve,
vilakā ṣṭāṃ sīyeṃ ka',
brrąmanāṃ pārśa' yuḍeṃ,
passeyāṃ haṃbāḍā | biśā 75
pīsāna ma ñūvā vāṣṭā
khu ma jsa vā hatsā yaṃde,
bą̄ñāṃ jsa hā|ṣṭā u vāṣṭā, 76
parauṣṭūṃ aysmū ūvī,
tta ra khu mī pīsai bustā,
makala ṣīkā āra | hanaṣṭe, 77
jaysarą̄mā tvā vą hauḍe
ūca tvī maraṃ hamāte,
brrąmanāṃ tta|ka bura
krrāra, 78
cu varttīṃdā avarī yāṃdā,
ysīrā *ttū gūha: ra jsīṃdā
pī|są̄na avajsama yaṃde, 79
ttī rahāsa nvīḍā natcāṣṭā,
tta varttą̄ña tcaura ṣa kṣā'te
| aṵdā maraṃ khvai ṇa 80
hatcyāre
khvaṃ mijṣye' hauḍā ysairā,
hamyeṃ drrāṃ kamala hana
| haysgama byauḍeṃ pa'jsa, 81
kiṇa ttrraikṣa' maraṃ jsa mīre,
mą̄ṇavāṃ ṣanāṃ yuḍeṃ,
| habā dyāṃ pīsai kiṇa, 82
khvai vasuśtā aysmū vāṣṭā,
khvaṃ īśā śā paraṃjsa,
| ttai mą̄ṇavā ṣanāṃ 83
yuḍāṃdā,
nai patsa śāvai haura,
āhaurrda ma paskyāṣṭā | ttū 84
ca burā hīra īde garkha,
saṃgā hīśaṃ ttrralau śā,
ūca tvī na vahanīṃde,
| na jsāṃ tha vahą̄nā gvą̄na, 85
ttai hvāṃdā vaña ttā saṃ,
hī ṇā'ya sagyau ūca,
| khu mī hī ṇā'stā yuḍe, 86
hī̱na jsāṃ harbiśā ttrraṃda,
hī ūstaṃ buṣṭāṃdā | biśā 87
khu na pahaiśtā hī̱na nama'śā,
tti ra khu mī īñaka āva,
naysdā lagā | pūrā kaṃthe, 88
tta ttai dyāṃdā aḍa vā daitte,
āṣanvā pyaurvā āśa',
nīśāṃda ha|lahaja biysāṃja, 89
pajsabrrīyāṃdā cakrra u kūsa,
padāṃdāṃdā būysa ṣve 90
| śaṃga,
makalą̄nā hīvī chadā
hvīyaṣāṃ hīvī rathā,
birgāṃ ttrralaphāṃ
ttyāṃ | hīvī nāya maysairkā, 91
hastą̄na hīvī bāsā
aśāṃ hīvī rachanai,
bī|rīysya śamdā mista, 92
gara ttrraikhye harbaiśa vaṣṭe,
burṣṭe nāṣṭi śadya paste,
cī ra|kṣa'ysa ttū hirā busta, 93
jambvīyā āva bīysaurrja,
aṵraṣṭāṃdā vara ṣṭāṃ ttī
| daśagrraiva rakṣaysā rruṃdā, 94
rrīṣma rrą̄ma jsa haṃtsa
hī̱na ājiṃdāṃdā ....

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fragments of lower parts of 1
akṣaras.
| gaistā pvā'styūṃ tvare, 2

paṇą rathä nvāsä u dāṃmä,
nadāṃ ṣkalä śaṃdā tsau,
| bīsai jāṃdä rakṣaysa biśä, 3
nai busta cāṣṭa ra tsāṃ,
ą̃māca miśtara dva,
grra | hvāṃdä pū ttä jasta, 4
jabvīya thyautta rruṃde,
strrīyāṃ kiṇa janave jāṃdä,
| paḍāṃda jabvī myą̃ña, 5
rre ṣṭā ye nahauṣa purä,
ṣi' ṣṭāṃ rre paṃcābhaijña
ra.[1] | jsa ātaṃ aṻde, 6
khu phara bve' ttrrīyaśū'ną̃na,
hauḍāṃdai āvaṃ ttye,
phara bustä | ttrrīyaśū'ną̃na, 7
nahauṣä rre parau tta paste,
ąysa ṣṭāṃ jastvā sarbūṃ,
aśa pa|sta haiysda viśtarä, 8
hūvathāta tcarṣva ttuṃna,
ṣa' vā rre ūryą̃ña tsve
| <na> haryūnāṃ tcarkyāṃ 9
kiṇa,
dī bahya: pārautta śe,
māṃją̃na khuṇaka dye,
ha|ysgamastä māṃjä naradä 10
pyaṃtsī hā muṃjakä ā,
brraṣṭai sa kūṣṭa āṃ tsai
haysga|mastä ma vā gvera, 11
ṣai' tta hve sä nārą ysā
puṣṭaka va āṃ tsūṃ,
ḍaha kaṃsa | ttakä ṣṭe, 12
khvaṃ na hama ṣkūṭa ragai,
rruṃdä khąnai hamye ttanī,
bijāṣnai ṣa | khatta ṣi' mistä, 13
rruṃda *ra [2] kvā'śä', rrīnaka ya
dvyām tcimañāṃ jsa hamaṃga
| ṣai tta hvā khvai ṣa na ra 14
ttrrvāyīdā [3]

būśarā būśa vaṭākye,
ca ttū dyai khana vī ttrrāṃ
gva' | vā mū̃ña pyaṃtsä, 15
rruṃda jsāṃ śā tta tta ye
khu gvarī varī ṣi' mīḍe,
na ra bustä khu | yanū vą̃ña, 16
āṣṭamda gva'ra ṣi' ttī,
samai byaṃdā jāṃdä rrīne,
nvaiya hā rruṃ|dä va ttī 17
yūṣä' ājiṃdāṃdä ttī,
ttī mā'va ja ṣṭā ya śā
kṣuṃdai ra tta tta hvā ttī,
| maṃ āṃ aḍa yūṣi' kṣame, 18
asthaṃja vā śau ttūrä vāṣṭä,
mā'vī ra tta tta hve hāṣṭä,
| aḍa bīhī ttuda ṣṭa yūṣi' 19
khu hā pī mīra vara ṣṭāṃ
kṣuṃdai ve kāṃṇama ttī
| ttai hvā sä śvera mira, 20
saṃ khu a byehūṃ: yūṣi',
aysdrrauttä mā' pūṣa pastā
| ṃuḍä tti khu ysagarä kurä, 21
rre mā' naṣphūsta natcāṣṭä,
sava hā mā'va ja | biṃda, 22
pharākyāṃ mā'vāṃ haṃtsa,
yūṣi' hvaḍā ttye mā' biṃdä,
arañī dye | vara ṣṭā rre, 23
ṣi' vā rre pasta nariṃde,
hasta śela hastāṃ spāṣṭe,
cu ṣṭāṃ hvaḍāṃ|dä rrīysūtte, 24
aśa ra aśpara hvaḍāṃdä,
khaḍara jsāṃ hauṣka
hvaḍāṃdä,
| khara tti jsāṃ hvāta 25
hvaḍāṃdä,
strrīya khara kharä tti hvā,
aḍa aśparä khaḍa|rāṃ 26
pyaṃtsā

[1] One lost akṣara. [2] Blurred *ra*.
[3] *ttrrv-* error or variant for *ttuv-*.

ma vaska hauśa'ra ttiṃdā,
hvāta ṣṭāṃ na hvaḍā yanū,
kharai ra tta tta | hve hāṣṭä, 27
khaḍarā ttyāṃ prrara viśū'na,
kiṇa mahā gūjsarīṃdä pa'jsa,
| mire a ahvañe [1] ṣṭāna, 28
ṣai' tta hvā śvera mira,
sa khu a aśparā byehūṃ:,
| khu hā haiṣṭa, khaḍarāṃ 29
pana,
haṣkaistai brraihā: khaḍarä,
hatcastai mūḍä | pastä 30
śaṃdya,
ėha: ṣṭānai vā ṣi' khara,
aśpara thīyā ttye, hvaḍā
u | hamdarye ī khari tsvā, 31
rre spāṣṭa kīthāṣṭä bvā'sti,
pātca naḍa maśpya tsve
| kharāṃ biṃdā hvāṣä buḍe, 32
biṃda maśpa va ttī,
būysa ṣṭā ye tvara pharā | kye, 33
śā būysa caukalä tta hvā,
ma vaska vā śau ttūrä thā,
hvāṣä varā | kharä biṃdä 34
ṣṭāna,
caukalī tta tta hve hāṣṭä
aḍi āṃ naḍa na vijsya ā,
nva | kharāṃ śau phvai dīśtā, 35
ṣi' mahā śau phvai dyū,
māstai va biśa bya hauśe',
| ttai hvā sa śverā dyū, 36
paḍā vā hvāṣa varā
khu tha mirā śvera mira,
saṃ khu a bye|hūṃ: hvāṣä, 37
caukalī tta tta hve hāṣṭä,
a na [a] ṇahauṣa pūrre ṣṭe,
ca vaña śe strrī|ya udaiśä, 38
hajaiṣḍi jīyakä rrūyä,
rre pyūṣṭa ysīrai niśäte,
ttā | ṣā pyūṣṭā ṣai'ṣa jsāṃ rre, 39
śaysdā hamye strrīya ūdaiśä,
śakrra jastä alye | kiṇä 40
stęñe gūṇā cairā hamya,
āmāca hā tta tta ttī,
haṣḍi yuḍāṃ|dä prraulye 41
biṃdi,
āyanā vāśāṃ'dā yāṃdä,
na haṃgūṣṭa ysura yuḍa pa'jsa,
khvai | busta na ja ṣṭā nāste, 42
ṣi' dāya mājai rre,
jaṃbvīyāṃ vīrāṣṭä ttī,
pastrrīya hāṣṭä pahai|ya, 43
khvai bustä tta hā pahaiya,
rahāśā mūṇā hvāṣṭa,
ha'śa sa uska bīraśä',
vira | maṇḍalä ṣkāṃda 44
maysairkä,
ūpavāysä hauda haḍā,
si pātte laṣṭāna vā,
rahā | sarba śakrrä hīvī, 45
vālāhyāṃ: aśāṃ jsa haustä,
biṃda śī paṣcī dīsä,
khu ttū bye|hī:ne dīśta, 46
pūrrūṃ tvā hina biysāṃja,
dīsai vā dāśe dyāṃ,
gva aśāṃ hīya ttī,
| jaṃbvīyā jsāṃ hā ttrraṃda 47
biśä laṃgāpūrä kīthe,
haṃdarai pvā'hna: varaira,
stūnä ha'|sā hīye kasvā, 48
hamdarai dīśīra,
haṃdarai hāṣṭä gvahaṃda,
ysura na yuḍe saṃ tta | tta 49
ṇā'stä,
rriṣma rrāmä tta hvāṃdä,
ca ttū īṃdä cu vā na pyāye,
tta hvāṃdä si u|pavāysä 50
yaṃde,

[1] Possibly *ahvarña*.

vīsamāṃ hį̄ña jsa purrdä,
ttye vaska mī hā ttī,
naṇḍä makalä | ha'śa gva- 51
haṃdä,
varai yuḍa nera jsa bų̄ñe,
khvai daśagrrīvä rakṣaysä dye,
nera jsą | bų̄ñe yaṃde, 52
ysurä yuḍä āphiḍä pa'jsä,
saidä ṣai' ttūśį̄ma tsve,
raha: vahaṃdä | dīsai pyū, 53
khvai busta sä ñyauṣṭūṃ
biśnä,
ttī aúska pyaurvā sa,
myāṃ samų̄|drra ṣṭą̄nai ṣi' vā, 54
ba' vūḍä ājavaiṣi' thīye,
cvai skauya sattāṃ biṃda,
tta tta bī|sīra khu bura, 55
khvai busta maṃdrrāṃ bvāka,
gvīhä: rrūṃ ṣa'stāṃdä tte,
biṃdai hā saṃkhai|stāṃdä, 56
ājavaiṣä' gāṃma pahai,
pātcä hā daśagrraiva ttī,
prraharaṃ nīśāta | prrāsä, 57
hairthamai rą̄mi hīye,
ttera biṃdä ttrraṃdä ṣi' ttīñi,
ṣve' ṇā'stä śaṃde | biṃdä, 58
hamīḍakā u makala u hvąṇḍä
haysgama bīdāṃdä pa'jsa,
tta tta hvāṃdä śū|je 59
pyaṃtsä,
rrą̄mā haṃjsaiṣḍi mirāṃ,
hamīḍaka harbaiśā vąña,
rakṣaysāṃ deta ha|myadūṃ, 60
ṣanāṃ yuḍāṃdä jīvai vījā,
khu hama rrą̄ma drrų̄nai
thyau,
ṣą' tta hve éṣṭyara
| ttā aysai vā jehūṃ: thyau, 61
hamavaṃdä garä vī aśtä,
amrratta samjīva arva,
navį̄|mye diśa' hālai, 62
āṣeṃjä aśtä maysairka,
sūpīyāṃ [1] gūhāṃ: kṣīra,
vara bise | uca jsa haṃtsa, 63
raysāyaṃ śū'hyāṃ: ttū,
ttye jsa hama drrų̄nai thyau,
naṇḍā makala bāysvā | hauta, 64
ṣi' mį̄ ttī parvachi tsve,
hamavaṃdä garä vī ā,
arve nāma hą̄muri tsvā,
| ṣi' mį̄ ttī arve udaiśä, 65
gara ttrrairkha pārṣṭa
maysairka,
pūṣai būḍa raysga vī hā
| raysāyaṃ śu'stāṃdä thyau, 66
hūḍāṃdä rą̄mä ttanī,
prraharaṃ cvai ye prrāsä,
ṣai' bura mų̄|ñaṃdä bī, 67
hamya vī drrų̄nā rrą̄mā,
haṃdrrauysī pyaurvā āśa',
daśagrraivä rakṣaysā | ṇā'stā, 68
sījsa jsāṃ éra bīysīye
haṃga'stä rą̄mā ttanī,
ṣve' ṇā'sta pūnyau ttū,
na [2] vā pastä saṃ tta tta
ṇā'stä,
| spāṣṭāṃdī jauttaiṣä nvaiya, 69
jīyi drraivī kūṣṭa aśti mų̄,
dyāṃdai sa pai hīvī,
hva|radai āṣṭī biṃda, 70
ttai hvāṃdä sä khu da śūrā
ā'va,
hvaraṃdai pai hīvī āṣṭī
thaṃ|ji mą̄ñāṃ va, 71
ṣi' hā pai hāṣṭä haraṣṭe,
uhyastai pų̄na jsa rrą̄mä,

[1] *sūpīrayām* with *ra* struck out.
[2] Perhaps *tta*.

pastä vā | pvā'hi:na śaṃdya, 72
garśa jai bastāṃdä thyau,
tcaṃgalai ṇā'stāṃdä dva,
ṣi' vā ttī āṣṭa pa|haisä, 73
haṃdrrauysī āśā'ṣṭä raysga,
haṃgaistä naṇḍä makalä
ṣai' nāṣṭä śaṃdya hvaste,
| varai āṣṭaṃdāṃdä jsąnä, 74
ṣanāṃ yuḍa vara ṣṭāṃ ttī,
na ma jsanyarä bājaṃ nāsyarä,
| harye vara ṣṭāna ajsa, 75
ttī rrą̄mä rraiṣma haṃtsa,
sījsa va hąṭha prracaina,
ssa-salā | mūḍai vistāṃdä, 76
rrą̄mä tta hve a dīda śūrūṃ,
khu ṣṭāṃ śau sattä vijsye
ysurrjä,
| cvaṃ ṣṭāṃ vā biṃdāṣṭä jsāte, 77
ysīrą ṣṭāṃ biśä tta tta rīysde,
khu ja kattalä bahyą̄ | bāgara 78
rīysde,
rraiṣma tta tta hve hāṣṭä
dī śaṃde ā'jsa ysīrä,
ñanau va biśä | maṃ rrāśa', 79
śā mūra khvaṃ hve' heḍä,
ṣą' pharākä hastarä saittä,
sījsa hā pyā|stā hāṣṭä, 80
hagargvā būśä vaṭākye,
ną vijsye hairṣṭai vīra,
naḍa vijsye ttadī ttū
cvaṃ hvą̄ña śirki salā, 81
ssa sala mūḍai būjve,
prrąña jsāṃ pastāṃdi sījse,
khu | hvā saṃ tta tta hamye, 82
vahaṃda varī śadya nāṣṭä,
bakaka drrauta biysīya,
īṣṭa vā hį̄ña jsa haṃtsa, 83
mahā-samu̧drrä raṃgi vī āta,
vara nāta ysurä yu|ḍāṃdä, 84
hvīyaṣā agapya ñaśa,
bidā samu̧drri khu mūrīṃdä
saṃ,
vara mī | hā ttanī niśāṃdä, 85
biṃda padva ajaṃ śaśvāṃ,
nāta biśä bhavana paśāṃdä
| dīśa' vīdaśa' vīra pahaiya, 86
āta va jaṃbvī vīra biśa
pūrauysarmā thyau | rāhä: 87
maraṇą dū są̄nä na purrdāṃdä
ttye jsai śä ñauṣṭą,
aṃbharīṣä u mahāde|ta, 88
ttyą̄na āstaṃna pharāka,
rruda ya śūra pūñūṃda,
cvāṃ saittä ṣamanyau | vąña, 89
cvāṃ rrą̄mä ye rraiṣma haṃtsa
ṣą̄' vaña maittrrai āste,
aysa pātcä śākya|mu̧nä 90
sarvąña ba'ysä,
dīśagrraita rakṣaysä hā,
ba'ysä pyatsä jsą̄ṃṇakya | 91
ṇą̄'stä,
ṣi' hā tta tta haṣḍi yuḍe,
ttą ttą̄ma ttuṣye ba'ysa
çu ma rrą̄mä | pūnyāṃ baista, 92
vaña ma ttā parīja ttrrvāya,[1]
khu ja ra bve ysaṃthāṃ
jiṃga,
| ttye ṣa jsį̄na hama dāya, 93
bu'ysä jve pharāka bāḍa,
vañāṃ mī udvīya | śtāka 94
ba'ysūśtāṣṭä aú'sa yanīrau,
artha-bhaugä hvāṣṭą̄ña
suhä:nāṃ | spyārä hairṣṭai 95
vīra,
hū ttaṃdī pūña tsīṃdä kīra,

Long blank roll.

[1] *ttṛrv-* error or variant for *ttu͡v-*.

A Zervanite Apocalypse I

By R. C. Zaehner

Of all our Iranian sources for that form of Zoroastrianism which recognized Zurvān as the prime principle of the cosmos, the *Selections of Zātspram* are undoubtedly the most important. We have seen (*BSOS.*, IX, p. 573) that in his first chapter Zātspram assigns to Zurvān a decisive rôle in the creative process not found elsewhere; for it was he who handed to Ahriman that "black and ashen garment", "that weapon, like unto fire . . . that containeth the very essence of Āz". In so doing he was making no idle gesture; he was presenting Ahriman with one who was to be at once his most powerful ally and his eventual destroyer. The results of this action are related in the thirty-fourth chapter, an edition of which is offered here. Though our text is at some points exasperatingly corrupt, our chapter does seem to throw additional light on the mysterious figure of Jēh, the Primal Whore, and to support the theory advanced by Professor Benveniste that woman belonged, in the Zervanite system, to the evil creation. We hope in the near future to be able to offer an interpretation of this fascinating chapter: in this article we have confined ourselves to the text and, in the next number of this *Bulletin*, we will add a first translation which we hope will be of use to such students of religion as are unfamiliar with Pahlavī.

For the text, as for my edition of the first chapter, I have used the unpublished edition of Anklesaria (*vide BSOS.*, IX, p. 573). Since the text still remains unpublished—with the exception of a vocalized transcription of § 35 in *BSOS.*, IX, p. 576—and since it is as yet not practicable faithfully to reproduce the Pahlavī script in this country, I have resorted to an unvocalized transcription, adding the vocalized transcription below.

The unvocalized transcription is intended to serve only one end—to enable the reader to turn it back into the Pahlavī script with the minimum difficulty without distorting the phonetic value out of all recognition. For this reason I have avoided Bartholomae's system of always representing ו with *n*, ד with *d*, ܢܢ with *a*. In the main I have followed the system employed by Professor Nyberg in his *Texte zum mazdayasnischen Kalender*, but, believing the prime function of an

unvocalized transcription of an unpublished text to be the exact reproduction of the original, I have been unable to follow him in a number of small points such as his suppression of the *Wāw quiescens* and the rendering of [Pahlavi] by *yy* even when that is its obvious phonetic value. It has been our aim to avoid ambiguity even at the cost of linguistic barbarism. If a true picture of the original is to be presented, linguistic absurdities must be borne with.

For the transcription I have followed the following system :—

(i) [Pahlavi] is transcribed ʾ, *h*, or *χ* : even when representing [Pahlavi] + [Pahlavi] I have written ʾ or *h* to avoid confusion with [Pahlavi] or [Pahlavi]. Thus *štrw̲ʾʾl* for *šaθriyār* ([Pahlavi]), *Šʾʾ* for *ŠYDʾ* (*dēv*, [Pahlavi]), *ʾwhrmʾ* for *Ōhrmazd* ([Pahlavi]).

(ii) [Pahlavi], always *b*, even when representing *β* or *v*, or *y* resp. *1*, e.g. *twbʾn* for *tuvān* ([Pahlavi]), *gbʾ* for *ǰēh* ([Pahlavi]), *GBRʾb* for *mart-ē* ([Pahlavi]).

(iii) [Pahlavi], *y*, *g*, or *d*, not *ǰ*, *ž*, or *z* which are ambiguous, e.g. *dmyk* for *zamīk* ([Pahlavi]), *gʾnw̲* for *ǰān* ([Pahlavi]), *ywyytw̲* for *žōyēt* ([Pahlavi]). With the diacritical marks, [Pahlavi] is represented by *d̲*, [Pahlavi] by *g̲*, [Pahlavi] (which, however, does not occur in our text) by *y*. Thus for [Pahlavi] we must transcribe *TND̲*.

(iv) [Pahlavi] or [Pahlavi], either *s* or [Pahlavi] + [Pahlavi], that is *yy*, *gy*, *dy*, etc., e.g. *hngyč-* for *hangēž-* ([Pahlavi]).

(v) [Pahlavi], *w*, *n*, *r*, and in ideograms ʿ : not *l* even when representing Aramaic *l* ; thus *KRʾ* for *KLʾ* ([Pahlavi], *har*). The *Wāw quiescens* at the end of words appears as *w̲* : in the middle I have usually transcribed *w̲*, but sometimes if it follows a phonetic *n*, I have preferred *n*, e.g. *tnnʾwmnndyh* for *tanōmandīh* ([Pahlavi]).

(vi) [Pahlavi], always *z*.

(vii) [Pahlavi], always *k*.

(viii) [Pahlavi], always *l*, though its phonetic equivalent is overwhelmingly *r*. [Pahlavi] appears as *l̲*.

(ix) [Pahlavi], always *m*. [Pahlavi] usually *mn* (*mw*, *mr*), but when representing Aramaic ה, *H̲*.

(x) [Pahlavi], always *p*, even when representing *f*.

(xi) [illegible], always *č*, even when representing *ž*, *ǰ*, or *z*. The following coupled forms should be noted: (*a*) [illegible], *ʾp* or *ʾč* (resp. *hp*, *χp*, *hč*, *χč*), e.g. *ʾpʾč* for *apāč* ([illegible]). (*b*) [illegible], *y* (*d*, *g*) + *č*, not *p*. (*c*) [illegible] is distinguished from [illegible], e.g. *kypwtw* for [illegible], *kyyčwtw* for [illegible] both equivalent to *kiβōt*. So also *ʾsčw* for *asp* ([illegible]), *sčyhl* for *spihr* ([illegible]).

(xii) [illegible], always *š*.

(xiii) [illegible], always *t*.

(xiv) [illegible], always *γ*.

(xv) For [illegible] representing *ȧndar* I have written *BYN*. On the one occasion when it occurs in this text attached to a verbal ideogram, I have transcribed *yt*. The sign [illegible] does not occur.

The Copenhagen facsimile K_{35} does not include our chapter. Bk. breaks off in § 26, and for the remainder of the chapter we have only TD. A brief account af the MSS. will be found in *BSOS.*, IX, p. 573, and in West, *SBE.*, 47, p. xvi.

The chapter falls into three main parts: the first is closely paralleled in the *Bundahišn*, but the latter two are quite distinctive. Here is a brief summary.

I. §§ 1–20. Colloquy between Zoroaster and Ohrmazd.

(*a*) §§ 1–15. Ohrmazd tells Zoroaster that the Resurrection will be bodily, and that men will not be like shades. Zoroaster asks how men's component parts will be brought together, and Ohrmazd replies that just as it is easier to repair a casket from already existing parts than to make it without wood, so is it easier to bring about the bodily resurrection than it was to create the universe. He will summon the bones of men from the earth, their blood from the River Tigris, their hair from the plants, their breath from the wind. They are unable to give them up, for they cannot distinguish the component parts of one man from those of another.

(*b*) § 16. Ohrmazd speaks of his own omniscience and his ability to distinguish the one from the other.

(*c*) §§ 17–19. Airyaman, the Messenger, is sent to collect the bone, blood, light, hair, and life of Gayōmart, Mašyā and Mašyānē.

(*d*) § 20. Ohrmazd reveals how the bringing about of the Rejuvenation is easier for him than his twelve main acts of creation.

II. §§ 21–29. Comparison of the Rejuvenation to different phenomena :—

(*a*) §§ 21–4. To the building of a house : creation is like the floor, the progress of Religion like the walls, the Rejuvenation like the roof.

(*b*) § 25. To a dark night and the Sun rising in the morning to banish the darkness.

(*c*) § 26. To the Moon which after waning and disappearing, reappears and shines with the light of the Sun.

(*d*) §§ 27–9. To the year and the regrowth of vegetation after the death and drought of winter. All things return to their original state.

III. §§ 30–54. The Zervanite account of the defeat of Ahriman and the Rejuvenation.

(*a*) §§ 30–4. When Ahriman invaded the creation of Ohrmazd, he was accompanied by the Primal Whore whom he made queen of her species : she then had intercourse with the Blessed Man (?). Āz was appointed commander of the demonic hosts.

(*b*) § 35. In the beginning Zurvān gave Ahriman a black garment, a weapon which possessed the essence of Āz ; by means of this Āz will swallow Ahriman's creation, and will herself die of hunger.

(*c*) §§ 36–7. Āz divides her nature into three, desire for food, sexual desire, and the pursuit of pleasure.

(*d*) §§ 38–9. Artvahišt and Airyaman come down to earth and stop men from slaughtering cattle. Men live on milk, and a quarter of the power of Āz is diminished.

(*e*) §§ 40–1. Their children are less troubled by Āz, and cease to drink milk ; a half of the power of Āz is diminished. Their children eat nothing at all.

(*f*) §§ 42–5. Āz, unable to get food from the creatures of Ohrmazd, devours the lesser demons ; she turns against Ahriman who is smitten by Ohrmazd : she herself is smitten by Srōš.

(*g*) §§ 46–8. Sōšyans is born : he will complete the propagation of the Religion which Zoroaster had only partially effected.

(*h*) §§ 49–54. The stars will leave their normal course, and springs of fire will appear on earth. Water was the element of creation, fire is the element of the consummation. Water will dry up and plants wither. As the mighty battle in the beginning was by water, so will that in

the end be by fire. Fire will appear as a mighty horseman, and there will be no more doubt.

From the above summary it should be clear that Zātspram's account of the Rejuvenation differs very considerably from all others including that of the *Bundahišn*. As in Manichaeism Āz is the chief of devils and scarcely inferior to Ahriman himself. Nowhere else do we find her activities so fully described.

The Selections of Zātspram

Chapter XXXIV

MDM plškrtw̱ krt›lyh [1]
apar fraškart-kartārīh

(1) ›YΓ BYN dynw̱ [1] ›wgwn nmwtw̱ [2] ystytw̱ ›YΓ zltwštw̱ [3] MN
[ku] andar dēn ōγōn nimūt ēstēt ku Zartušt hač

›whrm› pwrsytw̱ ›YΓ tnn›wmnd›n [4] PWN dmyk BR› wtwltw̱ HWḪnḏ [5]
Ōhrmazd pursīt ku tanōmandān ⟨i⟩ pat zamīk bē viturt hēnd

PWN [6] plškrtw̱ tnn›wmnnḏ L›WHL YHWWNḏ ›ywpw̱ ›s›yk
pat fraškart tanōmand apāč bavēnd ayāp asāyak

hwm›n›kw̱yh› ∵
humānākīhā ?

(2) ›whrm› ›YΓ [1] tnn›wmnḏ L›WHL YHWWNḏ [2] ›wzynḏ ∵
Ōhrmazd ⟨guft⟩ ku tanōmand apāč bavēnd uzēnd.

(3) W [1] zltwštw̱ pwrsytw̱ ›YΓ ZK MNW BR›[2] wtwltw̱ [3] KLB›
ut Zartušt pursīt ku ān kē bē viturt, sag

W [4] w›y BR› ws›nḏ [5] W gwlg W [6] d›lmnkw̱ [7] BR› bwltw̱ čygwn
ut vāy bē visānd ut gurg ut dālman[ak] bē burt, čēγōn

L›WHL ‹L hm YHMTWNḏ ∵
apāč ō ham rasēnd ?

(0) [1] *krt›l y* Bk.

(1) [1] *y* inserit TD. [2] *nmwtnw̱* TD. [3] *zltwχštw̱* Bk. [4] *tnn›wmn›n* TD. [5] *wtylytw̱ HWHWḪḏ* (𐬯𐬬𐬯𐬬𐬵𐬌𐬛) TD. [6] bis scriptum in Bk.

(2) [1] om. Bk. [2] om. TD.

(3) [1] om. Bk. et postea *zltwχštw̱* legit. [2] om. TD. [3] *wltw̱* TD. [4] om. Bk. [5] *s›nḏ* Bk. [6] om. Bk. [7] *kyhlmn* Bk.

(4) ʾwhrmʾ gwptw̱ ʾYΓ ʾMT LK MNW zltwšt[1] HWH̱ʾh[2] ʾDYNt[3]
Ōhrmazd guft ku kaδ tō kē Zartušt hēh [aδak-at]

kypwtw̱w̱ ʾy[4] y dʾlynw̱ krtnw̱ ʾpʾʾb[5] ʾtwn[6] PWN krtnw̱ čygwn
*kiβōt-ē i dārēn kartan apāyēh, *aδak pat kartan čēγōn*

hwgltl YHWWNʾh ʾMTt dʾl Lʾ[7] bwtw̱ ʾPtw̱ PSKWNtn[8] psʾχt[9]
hugartar bavēh, kaδ-at dār nē būt ut-at brītan passāχt⟨an⟩

ʾpʾytw̱ ʾywp ʾMTw̱ kypwtw̱[10] YHWWNtw̱[11] ʾPš ʾnʾtkw̱ ʾywkw̱
apāyīt, ayāp kaδ kiβōt būt, ut-aš [ān] ātak(?) ēvak

MN TNY BRʾ wšwptw̱ LʾWHL psʾχtn ʾpʾytw̱[12] ∵
hač dit bē višuft, apāč passāχtan apāyēt?

(5) zltwštw̱[1] gwptw̱ ʾYΓ ʾMT dʾl HNʾ tʾkw̱ bwt HWH̱ʾh hwgltl
*Zartušt guft ku kaδ dār-*ē tāk būt hēh, hugartar*

YHWWNtw̱ HWH̱ʾh ʾYΓ ʾMT dʾl Lʾ bwtw̱ HWH̱ʾh W[2] ʾMT kypwtw̱[3]
būt hēh ku kaδ dār nē būt hēh, ut kaδ kiβōt

ʾtkw̱ hwgltl bwtw̱ HWH̱ʾh ∵
ātak(?) ⟨ēvak hač dit bē višuft⟩,[4] hugartar būt hēh . . .

(6) ʾwhrmʾ gwptw̱ ʾYΓ ʾLH̱šʾnw̱ dʾmʾnw̱ ʾMT Lʾ bwtw̱[1] HWH̱d̲[2]
Ōhrmazd guft ku avēšān dāmān, kaδ nē būt hēnd,

ʾm[3] blyhynytnw̱[4] twbʾn bwtw̱ W KʾN ʾMT bwt W wšwptw̱[5] LʾWHL
am brēhēnītan tuvān būt, ut nūn kaδ būt ut višuft, apāč

psʾχtnw̱[6] hwgltl ∵
passāχtan hugartar.

(7) MH̱m HWH̱d̲[1] 5ʾn hnbʾltʾlʾnw̱ ptylptʾl y wtwltʾnw̱[2]
čē-m hēnd 5-ān hanbārtārān patiγraftār i vituртān

tnnʾwmnndyh ∵ ʾywkw̱ dmyḳw̱ MN MDM[3] nkʾsdʾštʾl y[4] BSLYʾ
*tanōmandīh: ēvak zamīk *kē apar nikās-dāštār i gōšt*

(4) [1] *zltwχštw̱* Bk. [2] *HWHWH̱ʾh* Bk. [3] om. Bk. recte. [4] ودام اسه Bk. [5] *ʾpdšb* (ܐܦܕܫܒ) Bk. [6] *ʾtw̱* Bk. [7] *y* inserit Bk. [8] *PSGWtw̱* Bk. [9] *PWNsʾχtw̱* TD. [10] *kyyčwtw̱* TD. [11] *YHWWNytw̱* Bk. [12] pro *psʾχtn ʾpʾytw̱, psʾχtw̱yhytw̱* legit Bk.

(5) [1] *zltwχštw̱* Bk. [2] om. TD. [3] *kypwwtw̱w̱* Bk. [4] ab § 4 restitui.

(6) [1] *HWH̱ʾh* addit Bk. [2] *HWH̱nd̲* TD. [3] *ʾMT*, TD. [4] *blyhynytw̱* Bk. [5] *W̱* inserit Bk. [6] *psʾχtw̱* Bk.

(7) [1] *HWH̱nd̲* TD. [2] *wtltʾn* TD. [3] *MN MDM MNW MDM* TD, pro *MN MDM*: [4] om. Bk.

W ›stw̲ [5] W pyb y ›NŠWT››n ∵ ›ywkw̲ MY› nk›s d›štnw̲ [6] pt
*ut ast ut pīh i martōmān : ēvak āp nikās-*dāštār⟨i⟩ pit*

W χwnw̲ ∵ ›ywkw̲ ›wlwl y [7] d›št›l [8] y wls [9] W [10] mwd ∵ ›ywkw̲
ut χōn : ēvak urvar i dāštār i vars ut mōδ : ēvak

lswšnw̲yyh [11] ptylpt›lyh y ›tχš ∵ ›ywkw̲ hm [12] w›tw̲ ZYm
**ras-rōšnīh* patiγraftār[īh] i ātaχš : ēvak ham vāt i-m*

HY› χwyš›nw̲ [13] d›m›n PWN plškrtw̲ hng›m ∵
ǰān ⟨i⟩ χᵛēšān dāmān pat fraškart hangām ⟨apāč dahēt (??)⟩.

(8) MDM KLYTWm [1] dmykw̲ hčš [2] B‹YHWNtw̲ [3] ›stw̲ W [4]
apar χᵛānam zamīk, hač-iš χᵛāst ast ut

BSLY› W [5] pyb y g›ywkw̲mltw̲ ›p›ryk›nw̲ ∵
gōšt ut pīh i Gayōmart apārīkān.

(9) YMRRWNyt dmyk ›YΓ čygwn YHMTWNynm [1] ›MT L›
gōβēt zamīk ku čēγōn rasēnam kaδ nē

DNH̲ [2] BR› [3] HWYTWNm ›YΓ kt›l [4] ZK y ‹LH̲ [5] ∵
ēn bē dānam ku katār ān i avē ⟨ast ut gōšt ut pīh, ut katār ān i avē ?⟩

(10) MDM KLYTW MY› y ›lng [1] y [2] ›YTw̲ dglytw̲ MN lwt›n
apar χᵛān⟨am⟩ āp i Arang i hast Diglit hač rōtān,

›YΓ MDM YHMTWNynw̲ χwnw̲w̲ [3] y ‹LH̲ y lystkw̲ [4] ›NŠWT› ∵
ku apar rasēn χōn i avē i ristak martōm.

(11) YMRRWNyt ›YΓ [1] čygwn [2] YHMTWNynm ›MT L› DNM [3]
*gōβēt ⟨āp⟩ ku čēγōn rasēnam, kaδ nē *ēn*

BR› HWYTWm ›YΓ kt›l ZK y ‹LH̲ χwnw̲ W [4] kwt›l ZK y
bē dānam ku katār ān i avē χōn ut katār ān i

‹LH̲ [5] ∵
avē ?

(7) [5] *›stwn* TD. [6] om. TD. [7] om. Bk. [8] *d›št›lyh* Bk. [9] *y* inserit Bk. [10] om. TD. [11] [illegible] sic TD : *Wāw* praeponit Bk. [12] om. TD. [13] *χwyššnw̲* TD.

(8) [1] *GLYTTWm* TD. [2] bis scriptum in Bk. [3] *B‹YHWNtnw̲* TD. [4] om. TD. [5] *y* Bk.

(9) [1] *Wāw* ad *m* ligatum adjungit Bk. [2] *DNM* TD. [3] om. Bk. [4] *kt›lyh* Bk. [5] *y* inserit Bk.

(10) [1] *›lwnd* Bk. [2] om. Bk. [3] *›bw̲* Bk. [4] *lystw̲* Bk.

(11) [1] ∵ inserit Bk. [2] [illegible] addit TD ad finem lineae. [3] Bk. mutilatus usque ad primum *kt›l ZK*. [4] om. TD. [5] *‹LH̲w̲* TD.

(12) MDM KLYTWm [1] ›wlwl W MN [2] ‹LH̲ B‹YHWNm̲ wls
apar χᵛānam urvar ut hač avē χᵛāδam vars ⟨i⟩

lystw̲ ›NŠWT› ∵
rist martōm.

(13) [1] YMRRWNyt ›wlwl ›YΓ čygwn YHMTWNynm [2] ›MT L›
gōβēt urvar ku čēγōn rasēnam kaδ nē

›NH̲w̲ [3] BR› HWWYTWNm [4] kt›l ZK y ‹LH̲ [5] wls W [6] kt›l
**ēn bē dānam ⟨ku⟩ katār ān i avē vars ut katār*

ZK y ‹LH̲ ∵
ān i avē?

(14) [1] MDM KRYTWm w›tw̲ MNW ‹LH̲ B‹YHWNm g›nw̲ y [2]
*apar χᵛānam vāt, *hač avē χᵛāδam ǰān i*

‹LH̲ [3] lystkw̲ ›NŠWT› ∵
avē ristak martōm.

(15) YMRRWNyt [1] w›tw̲ ›YΓ čygwn YHMTWNynm ›MT L› [2]
gōβēt vāt ku čēγōn rasēnam, kaδ nē

›NH̲w̲ [3] BR› HWYTWm [4] ›YΓ kt›l ZK y ‹LH̲ HY› kt›l ZK
**ēn bē dānam ku katār ān i avē ǰān, katār ān*

y ‹LH̲ ∵
i avē?

(16) MNW [1] ›whrm› HWH̲wm ›MT ›p›č [2] nkylwm PWN dmyk
⟨man⟩ kē Ōhrmazd ham, kaδ apāč nikīrom pat zamīk

MY› [3] ›wlwl lwšnnyh w›tw̲ PWN lwšnw̲ dhšnw̲ [4] BR› [5] HWWYTWm
āp urvar rōšnīh vāt, pat rōšn dīδišn(?) bē dānam,

›ywkw̲ MN TNY BR› šn›sym ∵ MH̲ PWN wspw̲ [6] d›nšnnyh PWN
ēvak hač dit bē šnāsēm: čē pat visp-dānišnīh, pat

lwšnw̲ mynšnyh ›ywkw̲ MN TNY ›wgwn wčyhym čygwn ›MTw̲
rōšn-mēnišnīh ēvak hač dit ōγōn vičīhēm čēγōn kaδ ⟨mart?⟩

(12) [1] Bk. mutilatus usque ad *lystw̲*. [2] *M*, TD.
(13) [1] *W* praeponit Bk. [2] hic mutilatus Bk. [3] Iranice *az*, "ego," at cf. §§ 9 et 11. [4] *HWWYTWm* TD. [5] *‹LH̲w̲* TD. [6] om. TD.
(14) [1] *W* praeponit Bk. [2] om. TD. [3] *y* inserit TD.
(15) [1] *YMRRWNtw̲* Bk. [2] *ZK* addit Bk. [3] Cf. (13).[3] [4] *HWWYTWm* TD.
(16) [1] ∵ inserunt ambo. [2] *pr›čw̲* Bk.: *nkylytw̲* addit TD. [3] *W* inserit Bk. [4] *dhšnnyh* Bk. [5] ∵ inserit Bk. [6] *wsč* TD.

šyl wNKD›n [7] y PWN dmyk PWN [9] hmywy pr›č tčynd [10]
šīr ⟨i⟩ mātakān ⟨dōχt⟩, [8] *i pat zamīk pat ham-yōy frāč tačēnd*

›ywkw BYN TNY HN› ›YΓm [11] kt›l NKD ›wgwn BR› šn›sym čygwn
ēvak andar dit, ēt ku-m katār mātak: ōγōn bē šnāsēm čēγōn

›MT GBR›y 30 ›sčw HWH›h KR› ›ywk l›d y›mkw [12] ›y y [13]
kaδ mart-ē 30 asp hēh, har ēvak rāδ yāmak-ē i

nyš›n [14] ›y ptš ›YΓ kt›l ›sčw L› ›Mt šyl dwχtw ZK 30 y›mkw [15]
*nišān-ē pat-iš ku katār asp *rāδ, [kaδ šīr dōχt,] ān 30 yāmak*

›knyn YK‹YMWNd ›YTw YČBHWytw HWYTWstnw [16] KR›
*aγnēn ēstēnd, *aδak kāmēt dānastan, har*

y›mkw y [17] MDM ‹HDWNytw nyš›n y PWN y›mkw BR› šn›sytw
yāmak-ē apar gīrēt, nišān i pat yāmak bē šnāsēt

›YΓm kt›l ›sčw ∴
ku-m katār asp.

(17) MDM Y›TWNm ›ylymnw plystkw [1] MNWš plč›mk›lyh [2]
*apar *frēstam Airyaman frēstak kē-š fražāmkārīh*

BYN χwyšk›lyh [3] ∴
andar χᵛēškārīh.

(18) BR› YHMTWNynytw ›stw W [1] χwn W vls W lwšnyh
bē rasēnēt ast ut χōn ut vars ut rōšnīh ⟨ut⟩

HY› y g›ywkmltw W [2] mšyy› [3] W [4] m›yšnn›b [5] ∴
*ǰān i Gayōmart ut *Mašyā ut *Mašyānē.*

(19) ›Pš pyšwp›d L›WHL ps›čwm ›stw y g›ywkmltw ∴ ›Pš
ut-aš pēšōpāδ apāč passāčom ast i Gayōmart, ut-aš

ZK y m›šb W m›yy›b [1] hmptwstw [2] gšnkw W [3] ›ndkw BR›
*ān i *Mašyā ut *Mašyānē ham-patvast gašnak(?) ut andak bē*

YHBWNm [4] ∴
daham.

(16) [7] *ndd›n* Bk. [8] transposui. [9] om. Bk. [10] *tčnd* Bk. [11] *m* om. Bk. [12] *y›mkb* TD. [13] om. Bk. [14] *yš›n* Bk. [15] alter *Wāw* otiosum praebet TD. [16] *YWYTWstnw* Bk. [17] *w y* om. TD.

(17) [1] *p›lystkw* Bk. [2] *y* inserit Bk. [3] *χwyšk›ly* Bk.

(18) [1] om. TD. [2] om. Bk. [3] *m›yyy›* Bk. [4] om. Bk. [5] sic TD: Bk.

(19) [1] om. Bk. [2] *W* addit TD. [3] om. Bk. [4] *YHBWNtw* TD.

(20) ›Pm ‹L hmps›χtnw̲ [1] L›WHL YHBWNtnw̲ [2] hwgltl 12 d›m›n
ut-am ō ham-passāχtan apāč dātan hugartar 12 dāmān

ZYm PWN [3] bwn BR› YHBWNtw̲ ∵ pltwm ›MTw̲m ›sym›n wyn›ltw̲
i-m pat bun bē dāt, fratom kaδ-am āsmān vīnārt

›stwn ›n MDM d›št›l MNWš MN hyčw̲ kwstw̲ L› HWH̲d̲ gyt››nw̲ BR›
astūn an-apar-dāštār kē-š hač hēč kust nē hēnd gētēhān bē

d›št›l [4] ∵ W dtykl ›MTm dmyk wyn›ltw̲ m››nkw̲ ›sym›nw̲ ›MT
*dāštār; ut ditīkar kaδ-am zamīk vīnārt miyānak ⟨i⟩ āsmān *ku*

‹L kt›lč›y [5] nymkw̲ L› nzdygtl bwtw̲ hwm›n›kyh y zltkw̲ y χ›ykw̲
ō katār-ič-ē nēmak nē nazdīktar būt, humānākīh i zartak i χāyak

m››nw̲ χ›ykw̲ ∵ [6] W stykl ›MTm χwlšytw̲ blyhynytw̲ ∵ 4 wm
miyān ⟨i⟩ χāyak; ut sitīkar kaδ-am χᵛaršēt brēhēnīt; 4-om

›MTw̲m m›h blyhynnyt ∵ 5 wm
*kaδ-am māh brēhēnīt; ⟨5-om kaδ-am star brēhēnīt;⟩ *6-om*

›MTm BYN ›wlwl›n [7] KBD̲ gwnkw̲ lng W p›šnw̲ [8] BR›
*kaδ-am andar urvarān vas gōnak rang ut *čāšišn bē*

YHBWNtw̲ [9] ∵ 6 wm ›MTm BYN ›wlwl ›tχš PWN ›sywčšnyh
*dāt; *7-om kaδ-am andar urvar ātaχš pat asōčišnīh*

BR› YHBWNtw̲ ∵ 7 wm ›MTm [10] χwškw̲ ‹L dmyk [11] BR› bwltw̲
*bē dāt; *8-om kaδ-am χōšak ō zamīk bē burt*

W PWN hng›m y [12] pr›č wχššnw̲ y bl›wmnd̲ [13] YHWWNd̲ ‹L [14]
ut pat hangām i frāč vaχšišn [i] barōmand bavēnd, ō

χwlšnw̲ y ›NŠWT››nw̲ W [15] gwsčnd›nw̲ [16] YHMTWNd̲ [17] ∵ 9 wm
χᵛarišn i martōmān ut gōspandān rasēnd; 9-om

›MTm BYN NKD›n z›hkw̲ BR› wyn›ltw̲ MDM [18] nhwptw̲ [19] ‹D
kaδ-am andar mātakān zahak bē vīnārt, apar nihuft tāk

BR› wtwltw̲ [20] ›Pm ywdt [21] ywdtw̲ BYN ZK ›lwdšnw̲ [22]
bē ⟨nē⟩ viturt, ut-am yut yut andar ān ārōδišn

(20) [1] *y* ad finem lineae superscribit TD. [2] *L›WHL YHBWNtw̲* Bk., bis scriptum. [3] om. Bk. [4] *d›št›lyh* TD. [5] *kwt›lč›y* TD. [6] usque ad *χw* in *χwlšytw̲* mutilatus Bk. [7] usque ad *›sywčšnyh* om. Bk. [8] ∵ inserit TD. [9] *hm* addit TD. [10] *›MT,* Bk. [11] usque ad *wχššnw̲* mutilatus Bk. [12] om. TD. [13] *bl›wmnnd̲* TD. [14] *χwlšytw̲* addit Bk. [15] om. TD. [16] usque ad *›MTm* proximum mutilatus Bk. [17] in TD. lacuna patet. [18] *MH̲* Bk. [19] *hwptw̲* Bk. [20] *y* inserit Bk. [21] *ywdtw̲ BYN ZK* mutilata in Bk. [22] *›lwdšnw̲* Bk.

pyt›kynytw̲ [23] ›st›wmnd̲ [24] W dlym [25] W p›yb W [26] slwbw̲w̲ [27] ∴
paytākēnīt ast χōn mōδ ut drēm ut pīh ut srūv;

dhwm [28] ›MTm tnn›wmnd̲ mwlw›n PWN pl ›ndlw›y [29]
dahom kaδ-am tanōmand murvān pat parr ⟨andar⟩ andarvāy

w›dynytw̲ [30] ∴ y›čdhwm [31] ›MTm MY› LGLH̲ [32] ›YTw̲yh
vāδēnīt; yāzdahom kaδ-am āp pāδ †hastīh

hwm›n›kyh y [33] pr›č lpt›l YHBWNtw̲ ∴ dw›čdhwm
humānākīh [i] frāč raftār dāt; duvāzdahom ⟨kaδ-am aβr

L›L› MDM bwlt›l y MY› [34] w›l›nynyt›l [35] y w›l›nw̲ ∴
dāt⟩ ul apar burtār i āp, vārānēnītār i vārān.

(21) hwm›n›k [1] YHWWNtw̲ ‹L d›mdhšnyh [2] dynw̲ lwb›kyh plškrtw̲
humānāk būt [ō] dām-dahišnīh, dēn-ruvākīh, fraškart-

krt›lyh [3] ‹L d›štnw̲ y BYT› [4] ∴
*kartārīh ō *dēsītan i χānak.*

(22) [1] čygwn ktkw̲ PWN 3 ›pz›l plč›myhytw̲ y [2] ›YTw̲ bwm [3]
čēγōn katak pat 3 aβzār fražāmīhēt i hast būm

dyw›l [4] W ›škwpw̲ W ZK y [5] d›m dhšnyh bwm dynw̲ lwb›kyh [6]
dīvār ut aškōβ; ut ān i dām-dahišnīh būm, dēn-ruvākīh

dyw›l [7] plškrtw̲ krt›lyh [8] ›škwpw̲ ∴
dīvār, fraškart-kartārīh aškōβ.

(23) čygwn ›MT GBR› BYT› [1] YČBH̲Wytw̲ wyl›stnw̲ [2] GBR› 3
čēγōn kaδ mart χānak kāmēt vīrāstan, mart 3

BR› wčynytw̲ [3] MNW [4] ›ywkw̲ PWN bwm wyl›stnw̲ ›ywkw̲ PWN
bē vičēnēt kē ēvak pat būm vīrāstan, ēvak pat

dyw›l [5] ›hχtnw̲ W [6] ›ywkw̲ PWN ›škwpw̲ krtnw̲ plhχtktl
dīvār āhaχtan, ut ēvak pat aškōβ kartan frahaχtaktar,

(20) [23] *Wāw* inserit TD. [24] *›st›wmnnd̲* TD. [25] *dlm›n* Bk. [26] om. TD. [27] *slwbwy* TD. [28] *W* praeponit Bk. [29] *›nd̲lw›kw* TD. [30] *w›dynnytw* Bk. [31] *yhyndhwm* TD. [32] *Wāw* apponit TD. [33] pro *hwm›n›kyh y, hm›n›yhyh›* Bk. [34] *y* inserit TD. [35] *w›l›nynytw* TD.

(21) [1] *hwm›n›kyh* TD. [2] *y* inserit TD. [3] *y* inserit Bk. [4] *BR›* TD.

(22) [1] *W* praeponit Bk. [2] *›DYNw* ∴ addit Bk. [3] *y* inserit Bk. [4] *d̲ywd›l̲* Bk. [5] om. Bk. [6] *lwb›yh* Bk. [7] *d̲ywd›l* Bk. [8] *y W* addit Bk.

(23) [1] *BWYT›*, TD. [2] *W* addit Bk. [3] *wčytw* TD. [4] *›ywpw* addit TD. [5] *d̲ywd›l̲* Bk. [6] om. TD.

W ywdtw̲ ywdtw̲ PWN ZK [7] k›l BR› YK‹YMWNynytw̲ [8] ‹D̲
ut yut yut pat ān kār bē ēstēnīt: tāk

bwm wyl›stw̲ W [9] dyw›l [10] ›hχtnw̲ L› š›ystw̲ [11] ∵
būm vīrāst ut dīvār āhaχt[an], nē šāyast.

(24) ‹LH̲ MNWš BYT› plmwtw̲ [1] lwšnw̲ ›k›s ›YΓ PWN čnd̲ ‹L
avē kē-š χānak framūt, rōšn ākās ku pat čand ō

plč›m YHMTWNyt W [2] PWNč [3] plhχtk›lyh y ‹LH̲ y ›škwpw̲ kt›l
fražām rasēt, ut pat-ič frahaχtkārīh i avē i aškōβ-ka⟨r⟩tār,

›pygwm›nw̲ bwtn l›d [4] dylwwst›χww̲ [5] ›MT dyw›l ‹L plč›m mtw̲
apē-gumān būtan rāδ, dēr-vistāχᵛ. kaδ dīvār ō fražām mat

‹D [6] ‹LH̲ MNWš ›škwpw̲ BYN [7] χwyšk›lyh ›škwpw̲ynytn ›wgwn
[tāk] avē kē-š aškōβ andar χᵛēškārīh, aškōβēnītan ōγōn

hwgl [8] čygwn ‹LH̲š›nč [9] 2 PWN k›l ZYš›nw̲ PKDNw̲y [10] ∵
hugar čēγōn avēšān-ič 2 pat kār i-šān pātēmār.

(25) W TND̲ [1] hwm›n›kw̲ bwtw̲ plškrtw̲ krt›lyh [2] ‹L LYLY› y
ut dit humānāk būt fraškart-kartārīh ō šap i

t›l ›MT [3] LYLY› ‹L sl ‹ZLWNyt χwlšytw̲ 3 km›lkw̲ y gyh›nw̲ ›wčytw̲
tār: kaδ šap ō sar šavēt, χᵛaršēt 3 kanārak i gēhān uzēt

W L›WHL ‹L NPŠH̲ gyw›k mtw̲ W [4] gltšnw̲ [5] plč›mynytw̲ ZK nwkw̲
ut apāč ō χᵛēš gyāk mat ut gartišn fražāmēnēt, [ān] nōk

PWN sčyčšnw̲ YHWWNytw̲ W [6] tm [7] W [8] t›l [9] MHYTWytw̲ ∵
pat spēžišn bavēt ut tam ut tār zanēt.

(26) hwm›n›kw̲ bwtw̲ ‹L m›h MNW 15 BYN [1] wχššnw̲ 15 [2] BYN
humānāk būt ō māh kē 15 andar vaχšišn, 15 andar

lpsšnw̲ YHWWNyt ∵ ›MT bwndkw̲ bwtw̲ ›wyn›pt›k nwk [3] L›WHL
⟨na⟩rfsišn bavēt. kaδ bavandak būt avēnāβtāk, nōk apāč

(23) [7] ⌣ addit TD. ad finem lineae. [8] *YK‹YMWNytw̲* TD. [9] om. Bk. [10] *d̲ywd›l* Bk. [11] *š›stw̲* TD.

(24) [1] *Wāw* inserit Bk. [2] om. TD. [3] *plškw̲* addit Bk. [4] *L›* TD. [5] *d̲ylst›χw* Bk. [6] pro *mtw̲ ‹D* (resp. *mtnw̲ y*), *mytnw̲ y* TD. [7] om. TD. [8] *hwd̲l* Bk. [9] *ZKš›nč* Bk. [10] *PWN KBD̲* Bk.

(25) [1] *TNNY*, TD. [2] *y* inserit Bk. [3] om. Bk. [4] pro *mtw̲ W*, *mt›b* Bk. [5] ∵ inserit TD. et lacunam habet. [6] om. TD. [7] ∵ inserit TD. [8] om. Bk. [9] *W* inserit TD.

(26) [1] *d̲ynw̲* Bk. [2] om. TD. [3] *›wyn›pt›k nwk*, mutilatus BK.

ZL'WNytw̲ MN χwlšytw̲ štrw̲h'l [4] y lwšn'nw̲ 'PWN b'm pyt'kw̲
zāyēt, hač χ^v^aršēt šaθriyār i rōšnān pat bām paytāk

YHWWNyt [5] gyh'n y lyst'χyčw̲ L'WHL dhšnyh ptš
bavēt: gēhān i ristāχēz apāč-dahišnīh pat-iš

pyt'kyhytw̲ ∴
paytākīhēt.

(27) hwm'n'k bwtw̲ 'L ŠNTw̲ MNW PWN wh'l'n dl'χtw̲ wškwptw̲
humānāk būt ō sāl kē pat vahārān draχt viškuft

YHWWNd̲ PWN h'mynw̲ bl YHBWNd̲ W p'tyčw̲ plč'm bl
bavēnd, pat hāmēn bar dahēnd, ut ⟨pat⟩ pātēz fražām bar

YHWWNd̲ PWN dmst'nw̲ hwškw̲ W mwltw̲ hwm'n'k YHWWNd̲ ∴
**dahēnd, pat zamastān hušk ut murt humānāk bavēnd.*

(28) 'MT wnylšnw̲ y ŠNT'n sčwlykyhytw̲ mtrw̲ L'WHL 'L
kaδ vinīrišn i sālān spurrīkīhēt, Miθr apāč ō

gyw'kw̲ y nχwstynw̲ mtw̲ [1] YWM W LYLY' h'wnd̲ ptm'nw̲ 'nd̲lw'y
gyāk i naχ^v^istēn mat, rōč ut šap hāvand-patmān, andarvāy

ns'lykw̲ ptm'nykw̲ YHWWNd̲
nisārīk (?)-patmān[īk] bavēnd.

W mwlt'χyčw̲ hwm'n'k MN hwšk d'l'nw̲ dlχt'n nwkw̲ wlg
*ut murtāχēz humānāk *ō hušk dārān draχtān ⟨i⟩ nōk varg*

pyčyhynd̲ W nh'l wškwpyhynd̲ ∴
⟨s⟩pēžīhēnd ut nihāl viškāβīhēnd.

(29) 'styk'nyh L'WHL dhšnyh l'd KR' čyhl'nw̲ plč'm 'L bwn
**ōstīkānīh apāč dahišnīh rāδ har čihrān fražām ō bun*

ḥm hngwšytk YHWWNd̲ čygwn 'NŠWT' MNWš'nw̲ YHWWNšnw̲
ham hangōšītak bavēnd, čēγōn martōm kē-šān bavišn

MN twhm̲ twčynd̲ čygwn 'wlwl'n MNWš'nw̲ YHWWNšnw̲ MN
hač tōhm̲ tačēnd, čēγōn urvarān kē-šān bavišn hač

twhmkw̲ bwndk plč'myh PWN hmtwhmyh ∴
tōhmak; bavandak-fražāmīh pat ham-tōhmīh.

(26) [4] *štrh'l* Bk. [5] hactenus Bk, cetera desunt.
(28) [1] post lacunam ∴ habet cod.

(30) PWN dynw̲ ›wgwn pyt›k ›YΓ ›hlmnw̲ ›MT BYN ‹L d›m
pat dēn ōγōn paytāk ku Ahriman, kaδ andar ō dām

dwb›l›stw̲ dwšdynw̲ ghdyww̲ [1] sltk ›wgw PWN hnb›čw̲ d›štw̲ čygwn
duvārast, dušdēn ʃēh-dēv sarδak ōγō⟨n⟩ pat hanbāz dāšt čēγōn

GBR› NYŠH̲ g›hb [2] hnbšnw̲ T MH̲ BNPŠH̲ ›YTw̲ y š››
mart zan⟨i⟩ ʃēh-ē hanbašn ⟨bavē⟩t; čē χᵛat hast [i] dēv

g›h [3] ›Pš dwšdynw̲ [4] ghdyww̲ [1] sltk b›n ›pstnw̲ BNPŠH̲
ʃēh: ut-aš dušdēn ʃēh-dēv sarδak bān⟨ūk⟩ aβ⟨di⟩st[an], χᵛat

›YTw̲ sl y hm›k gb› g›h [5] š››n gl›n pyt››lktl ‹L GBR› y
hast sar i hamāk [ʃēh] ʃēh dēvān, garān pityāraktar ō mart i

›hlwbw̲ ∴
ahrov.

(31) ›Pš dwšdynw̲ y hmywχtw̲
ut-aš dušdēn [i] ⟨ʃēh-dēv apāk mart i ahrov?⟩ ham-yuχt,

›hwkynytnw̲ d̲ NKD›nw̲ l›d LWTH̲ hmywχtyhstw̲ ›YΓ ‹D̲
āhōkēnītan i mātakān rāδ apāk ham-yuχtīhast, ku tāk

NKD›n ›hwkyn›tw̲ W ›hwkynytkyh NKD›nw̲ l›d ZGL›n
mātakān āhōkēnāt, ut āhōkēnītakīh ⟨i⟩ mātakān rāδ narān

›hwkyn›nd̲ MN χwyšk›lyh wlt›nd̲ ∴
āhōkēnānd, hač χᵛēškārīh vartānd.

(32) ›Pš ›HL wčytw̲ sč›hptw̲ srd›l y BNPŠH̲ ›YTw̲ ›tw̲ ∴ ›Pš
*ut-aš pas vičīt spāhpat sardār i χᵛat hast *Āz: ut-aš*

4 sč›hptw̲ PWN hmk›lyh pr›č YHBWNtw̲ HWH̲d̲ ›YTw̲ ›šm W
4 spāhpat pat hamkārīh frāč dāt hēnd, hast Ēšm ut

dmst›n W zlm›n W sčw̲ hwm›n›kyh y χwl›s›n W χwl›pplyn W
*Zamastān ut Zarmān ut Sēž, humānākīh i χᵛarāsān ut *χᵛarβarān ut*

nymlwč W ›p›χtl ∴
nēmrōč ut apāχtar.

(33) sč›hptw̲ MDM wčytw̲ W ›č gšnk srd›l W ›ndk
spāhpat apar vičīt [ut] Āz, gašnak(?) sardār ut andak

(30) [1] [illegible] [2] [illegible] [3] [illegible] [4] [illegible] addit cod. ad finem lineae. [5] [illegible].

srd›l y ›YTw̲ swd tšnw̲ ›ytwnw̲č zlm›n š›wn mwdk ›ytwnw̲č
*sardār, i hast suδ tišn, ētōn-ič zarmān *šēvan mōδak, ētōn-ič*

sčw̲ pl›ybwtw̲ W ›ybwtw̲ ∴
*sēž frēhbūt ut *apēbūt.*

(34) PWN plškrtw̲ pltwm č›l y ›č B‹YHWNyhytw̲ ∴ ›YTw̲ HN›
pat fraškart fratom čār i Āz χᵛāδīhēt; hast ēt

l›d MH̲ sč›hptw̲ srd›l ›YTw̲ ›p›rykč›nw̲ dlwč›nw̲ ∴ ›hlmnw̲ dwšdynw̲
*rāδ čē spāhpat sardār hast⟨i⟩ *apārīkān-ič družān, Ahriman dušdēn*

nylwk MN ‹LH̲ wyš ∴
nērōk hač avē vēš.

(35) PWNč bwn lwb›kyh d›m ›MT zwlw›n ZK klp [1]
pat-ič bun ruvākīh ⟨i⟩ dām kaδ Zurvān ān karp

ptmwnw̲ y t›lykw̲ W ›twrw̲›stlgwn lwb›kyh l›d pr›č ‹L ›hlmnw̲
**patmōk i tārīk ut āturastar-gōn ruvākīh rāδ frāč ō Ahriman*

bwltw̲ PWN DNH̲ pwštw̲ ›YΓ DNH̲ ›YTw̲ ZK z›b y ›tχš hwm›n›kw̲
burt pat ēn pašt ku ēn hast ān zāy i ātaχš humānāk

swčšnyk W hm›k d›m›n ptš ›wšt›pw̲›wmnnd̲ BNPŠH̲ gwhl y ›č
sōčišnīk, ut hamāk dāmān pat-iš ōštāpōmand, χᵛat gōhr i Āz

d›lytw̲ ∴ ›MT zym›nkw̲ y 9000 ŠNTw̲ BR› ‹L plč›m mtw̲ ZK
dārēt. kaδ zamānak i 9000 sāl bē ō fražām mat, ān

MH̲t PWN BR› ptylptw̲ ›YΓ BR› h›č›b hlwsčw̲ ›χww̲ y
*čē-t pat ⟨bun⟩ bē *patēstāt ku bē hāčēh harvisp aχᵛ i*

›st›wmnnd̲ ‹L ›dwstyh [2] y ›whrm› dwstyh y NPŠH̲ BNPŠH̲
astōmand ō adōstīh i Ōhrmazd, dōstīh i χᵛēš, χᵛat

lwyšnw̲ y MDM ›ywkw̲ bwnyštkyh ›YΓ hm ZK MNW
⟨vir⟩ravišn i apar ēvak- buništakīh, ku ham ān kē

›pz›yynyt›l zt›l bwndkw̲ L› plč›mynytw̲ PWN ‹LH̲š›nw̲ z›y
aβzāyēnītār zatār, bavandak nē fražāmēnīt, pat avēšān zāy

›p›ryk ∴ w̲ ›čw̲ HN› y LK BR› ywyytw̲ [3] d›m LK χwtw̲ PWN
**apākīh Āz ēt i tō bē žōyēt, dām⟨i⟩ tō, χᵛat pat*

swd pr›č YMYTWNyt MH̲ L› ›y›pytw̲ MN ›whrm› d›m›nw̲
suδ frāč mīrēt, čē nē ayāpēt hač Ōhrmazd dāmān

(35) [1] ⌣ addit cod. ad finem lineae. [2] [illegible]. [3] [illegible].

χwlšnw̲ ∴ hwm›n›kyh y zgw̲›y MNW BYN MY› zywndk W
χᵛarišn, humānākīh i ⟨va⟩zag-ē kē andar āp zīvandak, ut

‹D̲ MY› hm›y ›hwkynytw̲ ›Pš BNPŠH̲ ptš hm›y zywytw̲ W ›MTš
*tāk āp hamē āhōkēnēt, *aš χᵛat pat-iš hamē zīvēt, ut kaδ-aš*

MY› hčš L›WHL ‹HDWNyt mwltkw̲ hwškw̲ [4] YHWWNyt ∴
*āp hač-iš apāč *graft, murtak hušk bavēt.*

(36) W ›čw̲ ›ywkw̲ čyhlyh› L› twb›n YHWWNtw̲ ›hwkynytn ‹D̲
ut Āz ēvak-čihrīhā nē tuvān būt āhōkēnītan tāk

d›m›nw̲ plkndk YHWWNyt ZYš zwhl›nw̲ PWN ywm›y lwb›kw̲
*dāmān parkandak bavēt, *aš zō(h)rān pat yumē ruvāk*

YHWWNtn y BYN d›m l›d ‹L 3 bχtw̲ y ›YTw̲ čyhlyk BR› čyhl
būtan i andar dām rāδ, ō 3 baχt i hast čihrīk, bē čihr

W bylwnw̲ MN čyhl ∴ čyhlykw̲ ZK ›MT BYN χwlt›lyh MNWš
*ut bērōn hač čihr. čihrīk ān *kē andar χᵛartārīh kē-š*

HY› ›wbš bstkw̲ ∴ BR› čyhlykw̲ k›mk›wmnndyh y MDM
ʃān ov-iš bastak: bē čihrīk kāmakōmandīh i apar

gwmyčšnw̲ MNW BNPŠH̲ wlnw̲ KRYTWyhytw̲ MNW PWN
gumēčišn kē χᵛat Varan χᵛānīhēt kē pat

wynšn y ‹L BR› ZK y ›ndlwnw̲ hngyčyhytw̲ W čyhl y tnw̲
vēnišn i ō bē ān i andarōn hangēžīhēt ut čihr i tan

›wšt›pyhytw̲ ∴ bylwnw̲ MN čyhl ›lčwkw̲ y ‹L kt›lč›y nywkyh
ōštāβīhēt: bērōn hač čihr āržōk i ō katār-ič-ē nēvakīh

y HDYTWNyt ›ywp ›šnwytw̲ ∴
i vēnēt ayāp ašnavēt.

(37) KR› twp›y ‹L 2 bχtw̲ ∴ ZK y čyhlyk ›YTw̲ swd tšnw̲ ∴
har tōβ-ē ō 2 baχt: ān i čihrīk hast suδ tišn ;

ZK y BR› čyhlyk ›YTw̲ lyč›kw̲ ptylkw̲ ZK y bylwnw̲ MN čyhl
ān i bē čihrīk hast rēčāk patīr⟨ā⟩k; ān i bērōn hač čihr

›YTw̲ ›pwlyh› hndwχtn pynyh› BR› L› YHBWNtn ∴
hast appurīhā handōχtan, penīhā bē nē dātan.

(35) [4] ⌋ addit cod. ad finem lineae.

(38) HN' 'YTw MNWš SLYtlyh BYN plwnd W 'pdwm pyt'k
ēt hast kē-š vattarīh andar fravand. ut [aβdom] paytāk

'YΓ 'pdwm čyhlglyh y 'čw l'd 'šwhštw PWN hmzwhlyh y
*ku aβdom *čārgarīh i Āz rāδ Ašvahišt pat hamzō(h)rīh i*

'ylymnww plystkw BR' 'L dmyk Y'TWNytw 'L d'm'n MDM
Airyaman frēstak bē ō zamīk āyēt, ō dāmān apar

gl'n wn'syh' gwsčnd sltk'nw MHYTWtn km swsnyh [1] y hčš
*garān-vināsīh*i gōspand sarδakān zatan, kam- *sūtīh i hač-iš*

m'ytw DNHč plm'ytw 'YΓ GBR' HWHytw 'L 'ytwnw gwsčnd
⟨ni⟩māyēt; ēn-ič framāyēt ku mart hēt, mā ētōn gōspand

BR' kwšyt'l YHWW [2] čygwnt'n pyš pr'č PWN ∴ K'Nšnw [3] kšytw ∴
*bē kušītār *bavēt čēγōn-tān pēš frāč pat *nūn kušēt.*

(39) 'MTw nzd 'L plškrtw krt'lyh YHWWNytw ngwχšyt'l'n y
kaδ nazd ō fraškart-kartārīh bavēt, niγōχšītārān i

'šwhštw plm'nw MN gwsčnd zt'lyh BSLY' W χwlšnyh BR' wltynd
Ašvahišt framān hač gōspand-zatārīh gōšt [ut] χ^varišnīh bē vartēnd,

W 4 'ywkw nkylwkw y 'č BR' k'hytw nywkyh y BYN tnw 'L 'YTw
*ut 4 ēvak *nērōk i Āz bē kāhēt, nēvakīh i andar tan ō hast,*

BR' 'n'pyhst tmyčw t'l b'hlyh' MHYTWNyt mdwwdykkyh 'L čyhl
*bē ānāβīhast, tam-ič tār bahrīhā *zat: *mēnōkīkīh ō čihr*

'pyltl ptmwčyhytw d'nšn'n lwšnwtl 'y'pwyhytw ∴
apērtar patmōčīhēt, dānišnān rōšntar ayāβīhēt.

(40) prznd'n y MN 'LHš'nw ZL'WNnd 'čw BYN tnw
frazandān i hač avēšān zāyēnd Āz andar tan

'p't''wndtykl W tnw km gndktl 'L y''nw čyh L'
**apātyāvandtar ut tan kam-gandaktar, ō yazdān *čihr*

hmptwndtl ∴ PWN 'mwχt'lyh y y''n MN pym χwlšnyh wwltynd
ham-patvand-tar. pat āmōχtārīh i yazdān hač pēm-χ^varišnīh vartēnd;

nymkw nylwkw y 'čw BR' k'hytw ∴
nēmak nērōk i Āz bē kāhēt.

(38) [1] [illegible]. [2] [illegible], *bavēt* conjecit Anklesaria. [3] [illegible].

(41) ‹LH̲š›nč ZL›WNšn›n ›χwlšnyh l›d hwbwd km t›lykw̲
avēšān-ič zāyišnān aχ^{v}arišnīh rāδ hubōδ, kam-tārīk,

mynwg čyhl W ›ZL›WNšnw̲›wmnnd̲ YHWWNd̲ ∵
mēnōk-čihr ut azāyišnōmand bavēnd.

(42) W ›HL ›č Š›Š L› ››ptnw̲ y nylwkw̲ MN ›whrm›
*ut pas Āz *dēv, nē ayāftan i nērōk hač Ōhrmazd*

d›m›n BR› ‹L ›hlmnw̲ MNWš PWN sč›hpt›n srd›l
dāmān ⟨rāδ⟩, bē ō Ahriman kē-š pat spāhpatān sardār

pyt'kynytw̲w̲ lwčdkyh› BYN ‹L d›m›nw̲ ltw̲ ptk›ltw̲ ›YΓm syl
paytākēnīt, ruzdakīhā andar ō dāmān †rat patkārt ku-m sēr

hnbwltw̲ ››DWNyt̲[1] MH̲ L› ››pym MN ›whrm› d›m›nw̲ χwlšnw̲
hanburt kunēt, čē nē ayāpēm hač Ōhrmazd dāmān χ^{v}arišn

zwhl›n ∵
zō(h)rān.

(43) PWN plm›n y ›hlmnw̲ Š›› y χwltkw̲ BR› ›pshynytw̲ ∵
pat framān i Ahriman dēv i χ^{v}artak bē aβsihēnēt.

›pdwm ZK y 4 sč›hpt›n pr›č KTLWNd̲ W ›HR 2 y ›hlmnw̲
aβdom ān i 4 spāhpatān frāc mānēnd ut an 2 i Ahriman

›čw̲ ∵
Āz.

(44) pr›č ‹L dmyk Y›TWNd̲ ›whrm› 'hlmnw̲ slwš ›čw̲ ∵ ‹L
frāč ō zamīk āyēnd Ōhrmazd Ahriman, Srōš Āz. [ō]

›whrm› ›hlmnw̲ MHYTWNytw̲ ‹D̲ bwχtyk bwtw̲ ›čw̲ LWTH̲
Ōhrmazd Ahriman zanēt: tāk baχtīk būt Āz apāk

›hlmnw̲ č›l L› ›y›pytw̲ ∵ ZKč l›d ›MT ›whrm› wysč d›t›l y lwšnw̲yh
Ahriman, čār nē ayāpēt, ān-ič rāδ kaδ Ōhrmazd visp-dātār i rōšnīh,

›Pš t›lykyh y ›hlmnw̲ pyt››lkw̲[1] slwšhl›b y ptm›nyk ›YTw̲
ut-aš tārīkīh i Ahriman pityārak; Srōš-ahrāy [i] patmānīk, hast

mynwg y ptm›nw̲ ›Pš pl›ybwtw̲ W ›ybwtw̲yh y ›čw̲ pyt››lkw̲
*mēnōk i patmān, ut-aš Frēhbūt ut *Apēbūt i Āz pityārak:*

hm blyhh HWH̲nd̲ PWN kwχššnw̲ ∵
hambrēh hēnd pat kōχšišn.

(42) [1] [illegible]. (44) [1] [illegible] addit cod. ad finem lineae.

(45) BR' čygwn 'čw LWTH bχtykw YHWWNyt 'hlmnw
bē čēγōn Āz apāk baχtīk ⟨nē⟩ bavēt, Ahriman

'ywt'kw 'Pš hmhmyml 3 2 y ywdtw gwhhl y 'YTw 'whrm'
ēvtāk, ut-aš [ham] hamēm⟨ā⟩l 3, 2 i yut-gōhr i hast Ōhrmazd

slwš W 'ywkw y hmgwhl y 'YTw 'čw bχtyktl ∴ 'MTš 'yyb'l
Srōš, ut ēvak i ham-gōhr i hast Āz ⟨i⟩ baχtīktar : kaδ-aš aδyār

BR' 'L hmym'lyh gyhtw hmbtyk pylwčyhytw ∴
*bē ō hamēmālīh *gašt, hambatīk pērōžīhēt.*

(46) 'MT 57 ŠNTw 'L plškrtw krt'lyh L'WHL 'L ZL'WNšnw
kaδ 57 sāl ō fraškart-kartārīh apāč ō zāyišn

YHWWNytw y swš'ns sčwlykglyh ZK y PWN 'L zltwštw BR'
*bavēt i Sōšyans, spurrīkgarīh ān i *bē ō Zartušt bē*

YHBWNyhytw ∴
dahīhēt.

(47) MDM zltwštw 'wgwn pyt'k 'YΓ PWN 30 s'lkw BR' 'L
apar Zartušt ōγōn paytāk ku pat 30 sālak bē ō

hmpwrsyh y 'whrm' mtw 'Pš dynw ptylptw 'Pš y'tykyh
ham-pursīh i Ōhrmazd mat, ut-aš dēn patiγraft, ut-aš yazdīkīh

lwb'kynytw ∴ PWN 57 ŠNTw dynw PWN 7 kyšwl b'hlkwyh'
ruvākēnīt. pat 57 sāl dēn pat 7 kišvar bahrakīhā

BR' mtww ∴ čygwn dynw 'L lwb'kyh mtw dlwč MN 'šk'lkw pyt'kyh
bē mat. čēγōn dēn ō ruvākīh mat, druž hač āškārak-paytākīh

y BR' 'L hčdl dmyk b'hlyh' nylwkš'nw 'k'lyhstw ∴
[i] bē ō hačaδar zamīk . . . .[1] *bahrīhā nērōkšān akārīhast.*

(48) 'MT ZK sčwlgl[1] plystkw y 'YTw swš'ns plw'nkww 'ylymnw
kaδ ān spurrgar frēstak i hast Sōšyans parvānak Airyaman

PWN dmyk pyt'k YHWWNytw PWN hmhnd'čkyh PWN 30 s'lkw
pat zamīk paytāk bavēt, pat ham-handāčakīh pat 30 sālak

BR' 'L mynwg'n y hmpsytww ∴ d'tw y plškrtw krt'lyh hm PWN
*bē ō mēnōkān [i] ham-*pursēt. dāt i fraškart-kartārīh ham pat*

(47) [1] *nihān virēχt* conjecit Anklesaria, fortasse recte.

(48) [1] ʃ ad finem lineae cod.

57 ŠNTw̲ bwndk lwb›kyh› PWN 7 kyšwl BR› S'TWNyt PWN
57 sāl; bavandak-ruvākīhā pat 7 kišvar bē ravēt; pat

bwndk lwb›kyh ›n›pyhytw̲ dlwč MN d›m›n ∴
bavandak- ruvākīh ānāβīhet druž hač dāmān.

(49) ›MT ›ybgtw̲ ‹L d›m mtw̲ pr›č 6000 ŠNTw̲ y ›wšmltykw̲ y
kaδ aβigat ō dām mat, frāč 6000 sāl i ōšmartīk, i

›YTw̲ MN plwltynw̲ BYRH ›whrm› YWM ‹D̲ lwčk'l L›WHL ‹L
hast hač Fravartēn māh, Ōhrmazd rōč tāk rōčkār apāč ō

plwltynw̲ BYRH ›whrm› YWM y gštw̲ KTLWNtw̲ YK‹YMWNytw̲
Fravartēn māh, Ōhrmazd rōč [i] gašt, mānd ēstēt,

‹L ›wsčwlykyh y 6000 ŠNTw̲ y whyčgykw̲ 3 ŠNTw̲ hwm›nkyh y ∴
*ō uspurrīkīh i 6000 sāl i vihēžakīk *4 sāl humānākīh [i]:*

MH̲ KR› 4 ŠNTw̲ YWM y whyčkw̲ L› ›pzwnw̲ PWN 6000 ŠNTw̲
čē har 4 sāl rōč-ē vihēžak, nē aβzōn; pat 6000 sāl

4 ŠNTw̲ hwm›n›kw̲ YHWWNyt ∴ PWN ZK g›s nyš›n YHWWNytw̲
4 sāl humānāk bavēt. pat ān gās nišān bavēt

y lyst›χčw̲ W sčyhl BR› ywmbytw̲ lwbšnw̲ χwlšytw̲ m›h stwl›nw̲
i ristāχēz, ut Spihr bē yumbēt, ruvišn ⟨i⟩ χᵛaršēt māh, starān

wwwgt ›ywkw̲ YHWWNd̲ ∴ čygwn sčyhl wltšnyk ›ndlw›y W
**gaδ aδvēnak* bavēnd; čēγōn Spihr vartišnīk, andarvāy ut*

zlh›n KHDH̲ dmyk W m›nšn›nw̲ MN čyhlyk BR› wltytw̲
zrēhān hamist zamīk ut mānišnān hač čihrīk ⟨rās⟩[1] *bē *vartēnd.*

PWN dmyk hwm›n›kyh y čšmkyh› y MY› KBD›nw̲ gyw›k›nw̲
pat zamīk humānākīh i čašmakīhā i āp vasān gyākān

čšmk ›tχš L›L› ›wzynd̲ ∴
čašmak ⟨i⟩ ātaχš ul uzēnd,

(50) HN› l›d MH̲ ›whrm› PWN MY› BR› YHBWNtw̲ PWN
ēt rāδ čē Ōhrmazd pat āp bē dāt, pat

›tχš plč›myhytw̲ ∴ MH̲ MY› čyhl d›lytw̲ y lwšn›kw̲ W wχš›kw̲
ātaχš fražāmīhēt: čē āp čihr dārēt i rōšnāk ut vaχšāk,

(49) [1] conjecit Anklesaria.

'tχš swč'kw̲ p'tylgl y twhm ∴ čygwn 'MTw̲ twm y 'wlwl'n
ātaχš sōčāk pātēr⟨ān⟩gar[1] *i tōhm ;. čēγōn kaδ tōm i urvarān*

BR' 'L MY' YHMTWNyt 'š zwhl y wχškyh 'Pš χwytw̲
bē ō āp rasēt, aš zō(h)r i vaχš⟨ā⟩kīh, ut-aš χ^v^ēt

YHWWNyt
bavēt.

(51) 'MT ZK 'tχš PWN dmyk pyt'kw̲ YHWWNyt 'p'n BYN
kaδ ān ātaχš pat zamīk paytāk bavēt, āpān andar

'L 'wp'yšnw̲ YK'YMWNd̲ W w'l'nč MN w'lšnw̲ L'WHLw̲
ō ōpāδišn (?) ēstēnd, ut vārān-ič hač vārišn apāč

YK'YMWNd̲ 'D̲ MY' PWN dmyk plhst'n L'WHL 'L 'wyl'n'k
*ēstēnd tāk āp pat zamīk frahistān apāč ō *avērānīh*

'psč'lyh' W čyhl'n y MDM dmykw̲ 'tχš hmykyh l'd gwnkw̲
aβspārīhā ⟨t⟩[1] *ut čihrān i apar zamīk ātaχš hamīkīh rāδ, gōnak*

'L m'hyh wχš'gynnyt wlt'tw̲ W wzl 'p't''wnd̲ YHWWNd̲ ∴
*ō maδīh(?) *vartāt vaχšākēnāt*, ut *varz apātyāvand bavēnd.*

(52) 'MT 3 BYRH 'L lystw̲'χč L'WHL 'L 'ltykw̲ YHWWNytw̲
kaδ 3 māh ō ristāχēz apāč, ō artīk bavēt

y RB' čygwn PWN bwn d'm W dhšnw̲ BYN kwχšyšnyh
i vazurg, čēγōn pat bun dām ut dahišn andar kōχšišnīh

dlwčw̲ ∴ 90 lwč šp'nw̲ k'lyč'l bwtw̲ 'ltykw̲ y 'YTw̲ 30 YWM W·
⟨i⟩ druž. 90 rōč-šapān kārēčār būt, artīk i hast 30 rōč ut

LYLY' PW w'l'n y χlpstl zt'l 30 YWM LYLY' PWN t'čšnw̲
šap pat vārān i χrafstar-zatār, 30 rōč šap pat tāčišn

MN MZN'Y MNWš 'wlwl ptš wχšytw̲ 30 YWM LYLY' PWN w't
hač mēγ kē-š urvar pat-iš vaχšēt, 30 rōč šap pat vāt

MNW MY' BR' l'nynytw̲ dmykw̲ 'dlyh lwšnw̲ L'L' d'lyt y gwl
*kē āp bē rānēnēt, zamīk aδar *dārišn ul *dārišn i gōr*

wt't BR' krtww̲ ∴
*ut *čakāt bē kart.*

(50) [1] sic Anklesaria recte. (51) [1] sic Anklesaria.

(53) BR› čygwn ZK y RB› ›ltykw̲ PWN bwn w›lšnw̲ y
bē čēγōn ān i vazurg artīk pat bun ⟨pat⟩ vārišn i

MY› W w›tw̲ y MY› sw›kw̲ YHWWNtw̲ ZK PWN sl PWN t›pšnw̲
āp ut vāt i āp savāk būt, ān pat sar pat tāpišn

W tpšnw̲ y MN ›tχš W škyptw̲w̲ w›tw̲ y ›tχš ›plwč›k ∵
ut tapišn i hač ātaχš ut škift vāt i ātaχš aβrōčāk.

(54) čygwn ZK y ›ltyk MDM 90 YWM šp›n š›n[1] LWTH̲
*čēγōn ān i artīk apar 90 rōč-šapān *yazdān apāk*

Š››nčw̲ W gyhh bwtw̲ ZK PWN ›pdwm ›šk›lk ∵ pyt›kyh›
dēvān-ič ut ʃēh būt, ān pat aβdom āškārak-paytākīhā

HDYTWNyhytw̲ šp›n BYN ›ndlw›y ›tχš klpw̲ GBR› d›s
vēnīhēt, šapān andar andarvāy ātaχš karp, mart dēs,

mynwg›nw̲ mynytw̲ ›tχšyk b›lgy SWSY› hwm›n›kw̲ škyptw̲
mēnōkān mēnīt, ātaχšīk⟨pat⟩ bārak i asp humānāk škift:

›pygwm›n YHWWNd̲ ∵ ∵ ∵
apēgumān bavēnd.

(54) [1] *šp›n* deletum in cod., suprascripto *š›n*.

"Sulphur" in Sogdian

By W. B. Henning

A PASSAGE in the Sogdian edition of the Manichæan *Book of the Giants* relates what punishment the angels meted out to the γίγαντες (Sogd. *kwyšt*, cf. *βγyšt*, etc.). They apply ''*t̲r nft̲t̲ 't̲*[*yy* 1–2]*wqt̲t̲* " fire, naphtha, and ? ". It is *a priori* obvious that the third, damaged word is " sulphur ", and further confirmation (although not necessary) can be found in a similar sentence of the Middle Persian *Kawān* where we read : *pd 'dwr npt 'wd gwgyrd* " with fire, naphtha, and sulphur " (both fragments are unpublished). Middle Persian *gwgyrd*, NPers. *gougird*, Pahlavi *gwklt* (see *BSOS.*, IX, p. 90), suggest an Old Iranian word **gaukṛta-* which in Sogdian should appear as *γōkət* or *γōkt*. Therefore we have to restore [*γ*]*wqt̲t̲*. This word can now be recognized in *γwkt*, Frg. iii, 16, 19, as translation of which I am ashamed to say I proposed " frogs " quite recently (led astray by a similar Persian word, *BSOS.*, X, p. 95).

Rifā'ah Badawī Rāfi' aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī : The Egyptian Revivalist

By J. Heyworth-Dunne

(*Continued from Vol. IX, Part* 4.)

His Literary Output

THE first thing which strikes the student of the Arabic literature of this period is the remarkable number of works attributed to Rifā'ah,[1] but, in reality, there is nothing new or startling about the quantity, for the eighteenth century provides us with the names of many Egyptian scholars who produced long lists of works on all the subjects in which the learned were interested and for which there was a constant demand in scholastic circles.[2] Rifā'ah had a gift for writing which was encouraged by the exceptional circumstances in which he found himself once he had become absorbed into the military system created by Muḥammad 'Alī. What is so pleasing about Rifā'ah is the variety of his literary interests, and he must be credited with having been the principal actor in laying the foundations of the "new" literature. His verses, too, were admired by his contemporaries; as a student in the mosque of al-Azhar, he wrote an *urjūzah* on *tauḥīd* which attracted the attention of one of his teachers, Shaikh al-Faḍḍālī, but it was never published.[3] He was especially good at *Waṭaniyāt*, a new *genre* in Arabic literature[4]; he seems to have been the first to have composed *Waṭaniyāt* and was probably inspired by French models; the following is an excellent example of this type of verse :—

يا ايها الجنودُ والقادة الاسودُ
إن أمكم حسودُ يعود هامى المدمع
فكم لكُمُ حروبُ بنصركم تؤوبُ
لم تثنكم خطوب ولا اقتحام معمع
وكم شهدتم من وغى وكم هزمتم من بغى
فمن تعدّى وطغى على حماكم يصرع

[1] Sarkīs, *Mu'jam*, 942–7; he includes thirty-three works.
[2] al-Jabartī, i, 289–304; ii, 25–7; ii, 147; ii, 164; ii, 227–333.
[3] Ṣāliḥ Majdī, op. cit., p. 11.
[4] Patriotic songs or national anthems. The use of the word *waṭaniyah* is interesting.

These simple lines contain a great amount of vigour and colour and there are many more on the Egyptian Army and the Egyptian as a fighting man. Rifā'ah often put French poetry into Arabic verse to illustrate a point in the text. His pupil, Ṣāliḥ Majdī, was also a very good writer and poet, imitated his master particularly in the art of composing *Waṭaniyāt* and translating French poems, many of which have been published. The better type of Azharī in those days had no difficulty in writing verse of a kind, he probably acquired the habit of versification from having to memorize the numerous compendiums, some of them rather lengthy, which were written in the form of verse, one of the first and most important being the *Alfiyah* of Ibn Mālik. A great deal of attention used to be paid to the study of *'arūḍ* and *kāfiyah*.

Rifā'ah's literary output began in France and can be divided into two periods, the first ending in 1841 and the second beginning with Sa'īd (c. 1854) and ending thirty years later. It will be borne in mind that he was in disfavour with 'Abbās I, and for the period 1841–9 there was no demand for educational works, from which we can see that it required the stimulus of an official position and an energetic chief to get the best out of Rifā'ah, although he does not appear to have been altogether unoccupied with literary work while he was in exile in the Sudan.

In Paris, he put Agoub's (Ya'ḳūb) *La Lyre Brisée* into Arabic verse and called it *Naẓm al-'Uḳud fī Kasr al-'Ūd*, which was actually published there in 1827. His next work to be published was called *Jughrāfiyah Ṣaghīrah*, which was printed in Būlāḳ in 1830[1]; this was a translation of a French work on geography the author of which is not known, for which he must have received orders from Muḥammad 'Alī so that the book could be used in the schools. There then followed a rapid flow of published works, mainly translations made while Rifā'ah was in France. In 1833, he published a translation on mining entitled *al-Ma'ādin an-Nāfi'a li-tadbīr Ma'āyish al-Khalā'iḳ*; in the same year, he brought out his translation of Depping's *Aperçu historique sur les mœurs et coutumes des nations* under the title of *Ḳalā'id al-Mafākhir fī Gharīb 'Awā'id al-Awā'il wal-Awākhir*, a work which he had translated at the suggestion of M. Jomard. In the following year, he published another translation on geography entitled *at-Ta'rīfah ash-Shāfiyah li-Murīd al-Jughrāfiyah*, and in the same year, his original and best work on his journey to Paris entitled *Takhlīṣ*

[1] Perron in *Journal Asiatique*, July–August, 1843, does not mention this work.

al-Ibrīz ilā Talkhīṣ Bārīs or *ad-Dīwān an-Nafīs bi-Īwān Bārīs.* This work is worthy of closer attention not only from the point of view of subject-matter but from the source of inspiration. Travelling in the Arabic-speaking world was not new; there had been plenty of travellers, some of whom had written about their travels, but few of them had had the opportunity of visiting European countries at such a late date. Professor Pérès, in his *L'Espagne vue par les Voyageurs musulmans de 1610 à 1930*,[1] gives us the names of several Moslems who wrote interesting accounts of their visits to Spain. Shaikh 'Abdal-Ghanī an-Nābulsī (d. 1730) wrote several accounts of his travels in the Near East, not all of which have been published, but both the Syrians and the North Africans appear to have had more curiosity than the Egyptians about travelling and about the people of the countries they visited. Rifā'ah evidently set out to write an account of his experiences in France, for he begins the story with his journey from Alexandria and gives a lot of details about his sojourn in Marseilles; we cannot therefore attribute the source of his inspiration to Frenchmen. He was most likely asked by Muḥammad 'Alī to write this book, and we can certainly reckon on the encouragement and support of his favourite teacher and friend, Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭār, who, being of North African parentage, was probably curious himself about the people with whom Rifā'ah was going to live. When the book first came out, it was referred to as *Riḥlat ash-Shaikh Rifā'ah* or as *Akhbār Bilād Urubbā.* It was translated into Turkish by Rustum Efendī and published in 1840, and had a wide circulation in Turkey; it has run into three editions in Egypt, the second in 1848 and the third in 1903. When it appeared the first time, Muḥammad 'Alī gave orders to have it distributed amongst all the officials and his friends. The fact that such a book as this should be reprinted in 1903 is significant; it has been observed that the Egyptians lack that spirit of observation and curiosity about foreign countries; at least, the kind that lends itself to books. They have been travelling to Europe ever since the early decades of the nineteenth century, yet there are very few accounts of individual experiences and reminiscences, and it is only recently that one or two mediocre accounts have appeared. Rifā'ah certainly stands out above all his countrymen, and they could not have paid him a better compliment than having his *Riḥlah* reprinted forty years after his death and over seventy years after its publication.

[1] Paris, 1937.

CALCUTTA CENTRAL

In the *Riḥlah*, Rifā'ah is certainly struck with admiration for France and its high state of civilization. He describes the arts and sciences, the schools, universities, libraries, museums, and hospitals, and speaks highly of the virtues of the French, their love of freedom, glory, chivalry, and honesty. He is at pains to show his co-religionists that, although the French are Christians, they are unlike the native Egyptian Christian who is dull-witted and dirty. He shows a keen desire to awaken in his compatriots that spirit of rivalry by showing how much better off were the French through their industry and application, whereas this state of well-being should belong to the Moslem people. He is full of admiration for the French press, a thing quite new to him, and his curiosity about the French constitution and his own notes on some constitutional practices, such as the position of the king and the power of the Parliament, are particularly interesting. His sincerity is evident in every word he writes; he is aware that his book will be read by his fellow-*shaikhs* who will never forget for one moment that Rifā'ah is describing an infidel race. This compels Rifā'ah to refer to the Ḳor'ān and *Ḥadīth* in appropriate passages, as he knows that all his exhortations to the *shaikh* class regarding European learning will go unheeded. He is openly antagonistic to that which is not in accordance with the Ḳor'ān and the *Sunnah*, and even uses such terms as *aḍ-ḍalālah* and *al-bid'ah* when he meets with something which, from a Moslem point of view, merits such qualification. The social life of the Frenchman and his ideas on religion quite obviously upset Rifā'ah. He is critical about the behaviour of their women, especially those of the higher classes, and is horrified at the way the men are enslaved by the fair sex. The book is not lacking in remarks which must bring a smile to the face of the reader; his *naïveté* about being invited round the hearth, the place of honour in a French home, is amusing, for he cannot forget what the word *nār* (fire) means to a Moslem. He is relieved to find that French books have no *shurūḥ* and *ḥawāshī* (commentaries and super-commentaries), not forgetting that each compendium he had to study in al-Azhar had quite a library of such literature behind it. In later times, Egyptians who went to France came from homes that had already assimilated something of French culture; they came from a society that had already lost its purely Egyptian atmosphere; they were more or less familiar with French thought and culture. But with Rifā'ah, we must realize that he came from a thoroughly Moslem-Azharī-Egyptian environment where women were never seen outside the *ḥarīm* and where there was no kind of social life akin to that of Europe.

He did not go through those " intermediate " stages of social behaviour which every educated Egyptian experiences and so the contrasts must have made a great impression on him. If the *Riḥlah* is an interesting document to the Egyptian reader, it is all the more so to the European scholar who wishes to study the psychological attitude of a pure Azharī towards an entirely different culture.

In 1834, we have still another work on geography entitled *al-Kanz al-Mukhtār fī Kashf al-Arāḍī wal-Biḥār*, an elementary book written in the form of questions and answers. Two years later, we have his first translation on the history of philosophy entitled *Kitāb Ḳudamā' al-Falāsifah*, and in 1838–9, three more works, one on the history of the ancient Egyptians entitled *Ta'rīkh al-Ḳudamā' al-Miṣriyīn*, another on geography entitled *al-Jughrāfiyah al-'Umūmiyah*, a partial translation of Malte-Brun's big work (only volumes i and iii were published) ; the third work is a translation of Dumarsais's *La Logique*, and entitled *al-Manṭiḳ*.

We then get a break of seventeen years before his next publication, which brings us to his more literary productions, several of which resemble the kind of work any Egyptian would have written during this period. In 1855, he published his *Ḳaṣīdah Waṭaniyah Miṣriyah*, a panegyric composed in honour of his patron Sa'īd Pasha who had him brought back from exile in the Sudan. In the same year, another similar work came out under the title of *Manẓūmāt Waṭaniyah Miṣriyah*, and it is not until 1863 that we get some new work, for, practically speaking, he was unemployed ; he was in charge of the Citadel school for a short time, but this was not a very serious affair ; in any case, there was no demand for technical works or translations. Under Ismā'īl Pasha, his special qualifications as a translator and educator again brought him to the fore ; in 1863, he brought out a little grammar called *Jamāl al-Ājurrūmiyah*, a compendium in verse for use in the new schools opened by the Pasha. It was meant to replace the longer *Alfiyah* of Ibn Mālik, as the students in the new schools had not the time nor the ability to master such a work. There is nothing new in the method adopted by Rifā'ah, but it undoubtedly paved the way for a later work which is discussed below. Another panegyric was brought out in 1864 in honour of Ismā'īl Pasha entitled *Ḳaṣīdah Waṭaniyah Miṣriyah*, and, three years later, his translation of Fénelon's *Aventures de Télémaque* which was published in Bairūt. He called it *Mawāḳi' al-Aflāk fī Akhbār Télémaque*, and, according to his biographer, he worked on it in the Sudan while in exile, i.e. about

sixteen years previously. The fact that it was published in Bairūt so long after he wrote it might point to lack of interest in it in Egypt, or else there were no facilities for printing it in Egypt at the time on account of the state of disorganization in the Būlāḳ printing press and there being no other suitable press available. In the same year, he brought out another translation on mining called *Risālat al-Ma'ādin* probably at the request of the ruler. The following year, we have his first volume on the history of Egypt entitled *Anwār Taufīḳ al-Jalīl fī Akhbār Miṣr wa Tauthīḳ Banī Ismā'īl*, in which he covers the history of ancient Egypt up to the conquest of the Arabs; he does not appear to have completed the work, but it acquired some popularity in spite of its being unfinished. Two more works were produced in this year, his *Muḳaddimah Waṭaniyah Miṣriyah*, another series of *Waṭaniyāt*, and his *Ta'rīb Ḳānūn at-Tijārah*, a translation of the French *Code Commercial*, obviously made at the command of the Pasha, as at this time a great deal of work was being done on new codes for use in the Mixed Courts and Native Tribunals.

In 1869, he produced another grammar for use in the schools; it was called *at-Tuḥfah al-Maktabiyah li-Taḳrīb al-Lughat al-'Arabiyah*, and was beautifully written and lithographed in the Madāris printing press in Darb al-Gamāmīz. Here we get something new, for Rifā'ah breaks away from the old method altogether; his language is simple and easily understood, for a great deal of the old technical jargon is dropped. It is quite evident from his preface that his main idea was to provide a handbook which would give all the rules of grammar and would be easy to learn; Rifā'ah deliberately introduced a new method, it was not an accident. He deals with grammar by means of convenient tables which are all thoroughly explained, and a glance at the book will show that it was meant for practical teaching. It should have been a great boon after Ibn Mālik's *Alfiyah*, especially as all the headings of the chapters and sub-chapters were written in large, thick type, thus facilitating the student's task in looking for a rule. It would have been interesting to have been able to obtain the reactions of Rifā'ah's contemporaries to this practical approach to Arabic grammar. The only reference to be found is that of his student, Ṣāliḥ Majdī, who states that it was a simple method and that the tables simplified the study considerably.[1] The book was not reprinted and he does not appear to have had much influence on their ideas of teaching Arabic. The fault was not Rifā'ah's; the student

[1] Op. cit., p. 52.

could not understand this method of study, he wanted something he could learn by heart, and the *Alfiyah* type of compendium was something that lent itself to memorization. The old school would certainly have looked upon this attempt of Rifā'ah's as a heresy, and any short road to the study of Arabic might easily have brought about a radical change in the status of the Arabic teacher which they did not consider necessary. In the Preparatory Schools, three years were allowed for the memorization of the *Alfiyah*—400 lines were committed to memory in the first year, 300 in the second, and 300 in the third. Rifā'ah's little work could have been covered in a year and the *practical* results would have been far better.

His *Manāhij al-Albāb al-Miṣriyah fī Mabāhij al-Ādāb al-'Aṣriyah*, also published in 1869, is one of his best works. Its object was to give his readers a general cultural guide of the time, and is full of interesting material both for the Egyptian reader and the scholar interested in Egypt of this period, as it gives an indication of the cultural interests of the educated classes. It must have been popular for a long time as there was a reprint in 1911. In 1870, he published another original work entitled *al-Ḳaul as-Sadīd fil-Ijtihād wat-Taḳlīd* and a collection of greetings and congratulations under the title of *al-Kawākib an-Nayyirah fī Layālī Afrāḥ al-'Azīz al-Muḳmirah* for Taufīḳ Pasha. He published two excellent works on education, one in 1874, entitled *al-Murshid al-Amīn fī Tarbiyat al-Banāt wal-Banīn*, the other in 1875, entitled *ar-Rasūl al-Amīn lil-Banāt wal-Banīn*. These are new approaches to the question of education amongst his compatriots, and these two works enjoyed great popularity, especially in view of his ideas on the education of women. Ismā'īl Pasha had made a beginning in the right direction, he had opened two girls' schools, and Rifā'ah's works were probably timed to appear at a time when the Pasha was anxious to encourage these new ideas among his subjects. To what extent he influenced Ḳāsim Amīn, the champion of the emancipation of the Egyptian woman, is hard to say; Ḳāsim Bey must certainly have read Rifā'ah's works.

The following works were published posthumously :—

Nihāyat al-Ījāz fī Sīrat Sākin al-Ḥijāz, a religious work on the prophet (1874).

Mabādi' al-Handasah (1874), an elementary work on geometry.

Ta'rīb al-Ḳānūn al-Madanī al-Fransāwī (1876).

A *takhmīs* on the *Ḳaṣīdah ash-Shihāb Maḥmūd* (1887).

There was another elementary work on geometry printed in Būlāḳ,[1] while several of his works remained unpublished, such as his *Mukhtaṣar Ma'āhid at-Tanṣīṣ*; his *Majmū' fil-Madhāhib al-Arba'ah*; and his *Sharḥ Lāmiyat al-'Arab*, which would have been useful and interesting had it been published. He appears to have written a little work or translation for the medical school which Ṣāliḥ Majdī calls *Risālah fiṭ-Ṭibb* and there may have been plenty of others.

This formidable list shows us the extent of Rifā'ah's activities. The majority of his works were on subjects about which no *shaikh* had ever written, and certainly not in the way Rifā'ah had done so. His works on history represent a completely new method as far as Arabic literature is concerned and so also his works on geography. He is the only writer of this period to have produced anything readable, and, although his compatriots always write well of him, it is to be doubted whether they really appreciate his great pioneer efforts in providing a basis for modern Arabic literature, especially in its technical and educational needs.

His Style and Language

We have seen that Rifā'ah is the first writer in modern Arabic literature to have attempted to write on entirely new subjects and to have attempted to follow European models. He can be compared with his predecessors such as al-Jabartī, al-Khashshāb, and ash-Sharḳāwī, the last of that school of degenerate writers who wrote in a style usually described by modern Arabic writers as *rakīk*, a term which covers a multitude of sins. These old writers used *saj'* (rhymed prose) to the extent of boredom, and when they were obliged to forego their *saj' clichés* to describe some simple fact or event, it was with some difficulty that they achieved their modest aim. The pre-Rifā'ah prose writers used colloquialisms extensively, especially Turkish words or Arabic words with Turkish meanings. Perhaps their greatest defect was their lack of vigour, imagination, and inspiration; their prose was but a reflection of the period in which they were living. Rifā'ah did not give up *saj'*, he could not have done so, it would have been the *mustaḥīl ar-rābi'*; but he used it with some discretion, such as at the beginning of a work or a chapter, or when he was appealing to his Egyptian reader, or when he wished to emphasize some point. His style is simple, vigorous, expressive, and very

[1] *Handasat St. Cyr.* (*Handasat Sānsīr*). Sarkīs has Sāsīr.

readable; to some extent it is affected by his constant reading of French works, but more probably by the fact that he always made written translations of the works he read. He knew that his reading public was limited to students and a few officials whose standard of culture was low and who were certainly unfamiliar with the West and its culture. He repeats in his works that he is trying to write in a simple way in order that the ordinary public could understand him.[1]

The language of Rifāʿah will be considered here only so far as it is affected by the use of loan-words, a problem which has never been satisfactorily studied, and, in this respect, Rifāʿah's works present us with a suitable field for preliminary investigations as far as Modern Arabic is concerned.[2] By reading some half-dozen of his works, especially with a view to the study of loan-words, the following tentative classification has been arrived at :—

(1) The use of existing borrowed words, particularly of—

(*a*) Turkish words, many of which had been re-imported into Arabic; and

(*b*) Italian and French words, which came into Arabic through the medium of Turkish, e.g. :—

(*a*) اجزاخانة pharmacy.

اوضة room; has now become اودة and pron. in construct case أتّ.

بغاز بوغاز strait, also مضيق.

بنجه beetroot.

تحفخانة museum.

تسرخانة arsenal, also ترسانه.

سرعسكر general. Nearly all military terms were Turkish until a few months ago.

ضابط officer, pron. *ẓābit*.

عرضحال. petition.

قرقول police station or post; note also قرقول شرف guard of honour.

[1] *Riḥlah*, p. 5.

[2] I am particularly indebted to Mr. J. R. Firth who has been most useful with suggestions for the beginning of the study of loan-words in Arabic.

قشلاق barracks; the Arabic word ثكنات is not often used at this time, although we occasionally find it in the official documents in 'Abdīn Palace.

قهوجي *cafétier*.

محاسبجي accountant or book-keeper.

نوبتجي one on duty; sentinel.

ولاية used synonymously with عمالة مأمورية and اقليم with the meaning of province or *département*.

(*b*) ترمبه Italian *tromba*.

جرنال جورنال from Italian *giornale* with specialized meaning of Governor's report or bulletin. At the time the Turks borrowed this word, they had not yet started to use newspapers.

طاولة from Italian *tavola*.

وابور from Italian *vapore*; initial و has *v* sound in Turkish but *w* in Arabic, which eventually became ب. From a sound feminine plural, a broken plural بوابير was developed.

(2) The second classification includes Egyptian colloquial words which were in common use amongst writers :—

برانيّة external.

جمعه week.

جوانيّة internal.

عالمه ج عوالم a female singer of a special Egyptian type, but Rifā'ah also uses the word for describing European singers.

عيلة family.

عيال children.

فلوس money.

وسطانيّة central.

(3) Under this heading, we might include geographical and personal names as they have their own interesting peculiarities of spelling :—

ازدرهان
استرخان } Astrakhan.
استرقان

اسياتية *Asiatique.*

امريكة امريقة *Amérique.*

كليبر كلهبير Kleber.

قبنهاق
كوبنهاغ } *Copenhague.*
كپنهاغ

قلوين Calvin (Turkish *v*).

لوربول Liverpool (Turkish *v*).

نورماندى *Normandie.*

(4) Here we have a very large number of words which could conveniently be classified as the *initial* borrowings of this period. The actual foreign word is used in Arabic, and when there was a large number of them, some translators made a point of arranging them alphabetically either at the beginning or the end of the translation as a glossary. This was particularly the case with books on chemistry, physics, medicine, and botany. As in the case of geographical and personal names, there were some orthographical difficulties; the meaning of the word was limited and there was no attempt made to develop scatter, such extensions being normally made by periphrastic expressions.

اپنوماتيقية *pneumatique.*

الاتيمومتر *thermomètre.*

الارتوبيدى *orthopédie.*

الاردواز *ardoise.*

اقدمه
اكدمه } *académie.*[1]
اكديميه

[1] For footnote see p. 410.

اقطبر اقطوبر *Octobre.* Both spellings now obsolete. اكتوبر used instead.

الامنيبوسه *omnibus.*

الانتيمون *antimoine,* instead of the Arabic كحل.

انسطيطوت *institut.*

الاوقيانوسيا
الاقيانوس } *Océan.*
الاقيانوسية

الإيتازونيا *États Unis.*

الباراتونيرة *paratonnerre.*

برسليكه *presqu'île,* which he also explains as نيم جزيرة شبه جزيرة and نصف جزيرة بحيث جزيرة.

بسطه *postes,* generally بوسطه and بوستة also محل المكاتيب.

بلاتين *platine.*

بليونين *deux billions.*

بوال *poêle.*

بورو *bureau.*

بوليتيقة البوليتيقية *politique.*

البيان *piano* (omission of final و).

[1] This word has often proved rather awkward for the lexicographers. The following short list is illustrative of their difficulties :—

Ruphy, 1802,	مدرسة جماعة العلما
Don Raphael, 1822,	مدرسة ديوان العلماء
Boethor, 1828,	مجمع جمعية علما ديوان علما
Handjéri, 1840,	مدرسة العلوم دار العلوم
Marcel, 1869,	جماعة العلماء ديوان العلماء مدرسة
Habeiche, 1896,	مجمع العلماء

بير *pair.*

[وظيفه البيريّة]

جرنال ج جرنالات و جرانيل from French *journal* and independent of the Italian *giornale* above.

خورنولوجيا *chronologie*, which he also explains as معرفة الازمان.

دسمبر *Décembre*, now ديسمبر.

سبطمبر *Septembre*, now سبتمبر.

الشوالية *chévalier* (Turkish *v*).

الكاثدرالة كاتدرائيّة. *cathédrale.*

كازيطات *gazettes.*

اكريتينة / كرنتينا / كارنتية *quarantine*; the verbal form كرتن is in common use (the expression ياالله نكرتن الليلة is of interest; its equivalent in English would be "Let's dig in to-night" (i.e. let us stay at home and not go out or let us stay "in quarantine" at home to-night)).

القاثوليقية *catholique.*

قبانية *compagnie*; this most likely came in through the Italian *compagnia.*

فبريقات *fabriques.*

فبرية *Février*, now obsolete, written فبراير.

الفتيش *fétiche.*

مرث *Mars* (Egyptian ث, pron. *s*).

المومیا *momie*; from Persian, but Rifā'ah's spelling is unusual.

ورشة ج ورش وورشات workshop, factory, yard; generally looked upon as a borrowing from the English word workshop, probably introduced by Maltese workmen.

(5) A very common form of borrowing was by way of periphrasis due mainly to the fact that the writer or translator could find no suitable Arabic word which could express the idea contained in the French word or expression.

In such expressions as :—

أرض	سياسة اهل الارض	political geography.
	تأريخ الارض	historical geography.
	اديان اهل الارض	religious geography.
	آداب اهل الارض	cultural geography.
	طبيعة الكرة الارضية	physical geography.
أنس	رسالة عقد التأنس والاجتماع البشرى	(Rousseau's) "*Contrat Social*".
دبر	العلوم التدبيريّة	administrative sciences.
ترك	متروكين لوقت الحاجة	reserves (lit. kept by for the time of necessity).
حسب	حساب مدخول البلاد ومخرجاتها	budget.
خطط	الحمير المخططة	zebras (lit. striped asses), although the Arabic word زرد is common.
دنا	علم هيئة الدنيا	geography (see ارض above).
دان	الديون الميرية	national debts.
رسل	رسل الدول	ambassadors.
رقق	نوع من الرقّ	a kind of slavery (Rifā'ah is trying to express the idea of serfdom in Russia).
سقى	السقى الصناعى	irrigation.
سوق	سراية سوق المعاملة	Stock Exchange—*Bourse*.
شرك	الشركا فى الضمانة	Insurance Company.
شاخ	شيخ مدينة باريس	Mayor of Paris.
شار	التليغراف وهى الاشارة	telegraph.
صحف	صحيفة خبرية	newspaper.
صرف	المصاريف البرانيّة والجوانيّة	national expenditure.

ضرب	تضرب القرعة	to vote.
	اناء القرعة]	ballot box.]
طب	طبّ البهائم	veterinary medicine.
عمل	معامل الاسلحة	arsenals.
	معامل السبك	foundries.
فاض	فيضان صناعى مديد	irrigation.
قدس	كانوا يقدسون فيها السلاطين بعد توليتهم	"they used to sanctify their kings (sultans) in it (the cathedral) after their accession." The verb توّج is used now to express the idea of coronation.
ملك	ملك مطلق التصرف	absolute monarch.
ماء	ماء روحى قوى معطر يعرف بماء كولونيا	*Eau de Cologne.*
نزل	نزلاتهم اى قبائلهم الموجودة بامريقة	settlements, encampments.
ورق	اوراق صغيرة	*réclames.*
	اوراق غير مكتوبة	blank forms, the word استمارة is now used.
	ورقة انكار	proclamation.
	اوراق الوقائع اليومية الورقات اليومية	newspapers.
وطأ	اوطأ من مياه البحر عند المدّ و الفيضان	below sea-level.
وفر	علوم توفير المصاريف	economics.
وكل	وكلاء	*Députés.*

(6) The next type of borrowing is one of the most important, although not during the Rifā'ah period, as Egyptian writers appear to have failed to understand the possibilities of the development of Modern Arabic. This refers to the extension of the application of existing words which Egyptians made great use of during the second wave of cultural Renaissance under Ismā'īl Pasha and is a subject worthy of special study, for it includes the use of neo-Arabic formations,

the revival of obsolete forms, and the interesting problem of *calque*. The following is a list of Rifā'ah's words under the first heading :—

إقليم
مأمورية
ولاية
عمالة

all used for political and geographical divisions with additional meanings to describe certain European countries where the system of government was different to that of the Turkish Empire.

حريّة — used to describe *liberté* and independence; the word استقلال was not yet used with the latter meaning.

حكم — used in a variety of expressions such as—

حكم الديني — religious power.
حكم مطلق — absolute power.
حكم وقتى — temporal power.

This root is one of the best examples which could be used to show the growth of Modern Arabic. Bercher in his new dictionary[1] gives some twenty new extensions of application, but the present writer has collected well over a hundred examples used in legal documents alone.

حقوق العقلية — spiritual rights.
حقوق القانونية — legal rights.
حقوق البشرية — human rights.

This is another root which shows a vast extension of application.

حمامات سوقية — public baths.

The adjective *public* is treated quite differently in Modern Arabic.

[1] Bercher, *Lexique Arabe-Français*, Tunis, 1938.

مشارطة Treaty.

مظلات umbrellas.

عرصة fender.

عمارة colony.

نوّاب *Députés.*

ورقة paper—see above, newspapers, etc., under ورق.

اليومات daily newspaper.

(7) A number of the above expressions and words have fallen out of use in Modern Egyptian Arabic ; the following were used by Rifāʿah and are now of uncommon occurrence with the meanings given below :—

مخبر = بصاص detective or secret agent.

عاصمة = تخت capital (of a country).

ادوار = طبقات storeys.

سوق = قصبة market.

The Turkish Dialect of the Khalaj

By V. Minorsky

1. Introduction.
2. Texts: Kondūrūd.
Khorākābād.
Pougerd.
3. General features of Khalajī.
4. Khalaj origins: Khūlas—*Χολιαται*.
5. The Khalaj west of the Oxus.
6. Geographic distribution of the Khalaj.

1. Introduction

IN the cold December of 1906 I was returning from Borūjerd to Tehran. At every village on the road I inquired whether there existed any local curiosities. At Kondūrūd [1] I was told that the inhabitants belonged to the Turkish Khalaj tribe and spoke *Khalajī*. I had only a couple of hours to jot down a few sentences in the dialect which struck me by its unusual features. It was too late to call back my men who, by that time, had gone ahead, and I had to content myself with the hope that some Khalaj might turn up in the capital. Indeed I had an inhabitant of "Khalajestān" brought to me from the bazaar only to discover that he spoke an Iranian dialect.[2] I revisited Solṭanābād in 1917 in circumstances of war. At my request, the governor's men got hold of two Khalaj villagers, but the latter were so frightened that the official summons might mean some trouble in store for them that they hardly answered my questions and most pathetically asked me to let them go in peace. In November, 1917, a friend resident in Tehran sent me the headman of the Khalaj village of Fo^{u}jerd (Po^{u}gerd) near Āshtiyān. The Kadkhodā fluently spoke both his Turkish dialect and "rustic" Persian. I was ready to admit his administrative efficiency, but in matters philological I found him exceptionally thick-headed. As he was addressing a "Ferangi", he would use some kind of "pidgin" Khalajī and he firmly believed that the chief attraction for his interlocutor would be improper words. Poor Qanbar-ʿAlī confessed himself his failure at exercises disturbing

[1] Some 75 km. to the N.E. of Solṭānābād, and some 50 km. to the S.W. of Sāva.

[2] I have lost my notes of it, but presumably it was identical or similar, to the Khalajī of Kūshkak (on the road Tehran–Hamadān) described by Brugsch, *Reise der Preussischen Gesandschaft*, Leipzig, 1862–3, i, 337: *kié* "a room", *berr* "a door", *azbé* "a dog", *zāg* "a boy", *agīr* "fire", *jīr* "below", *beshan agirem* "I shall seize", *vergibukhma* "I shall eat", *burana* "come back!" Cf. Minorsky, *Tāt* in *EI*.

the brain: *hār nä kettim mollāḷuxchā āxïr bir hech-nā olmadi* "however many times I started about that mollā-business [1] nothing whatever came out of it".

The remnants of the Khalaj living in the heart of Persia, to the south-west of the capital, are putative cousins of the Khilji kings of India and of the Ghilzay Afghans of Qandahār. That alone renders them interesting. But even from the purely linguistic point of view their aberrant dialect is quite remarkable. Consequently I hope that my forgotten stray notes, unexpectedly recovered in the process of our migration to Cambridge, will be welcome to Turcologues.

I shall first present my texts and then supplement them by clearing up their historical background.

2. Texts

In view of some dialectic differences in my gleanings I shall present the latter separately under three headings: A. Kondūrūd, B. Khorākābād, C. Pougerd.[2] My transcription strives only to distinguish the phonemes, which in Turkish present no particular difficulties. Between *ä* and *i* Khalajī (like Āz.) possesses the sound of a close *e*. Persian words are pronounced by the Khalaj with a Persian articulation, quite especially *ā* (> *å* > *o*). The influence of Persian is felt even in purely Turkish words, especially in the more disintegrated speech of Pougerd. I give the texts as I had taken them down without any attempt at eliminating inconsistencies.

A. Kondūrūd

Numerals.

bir	1	*hottuz*	30
äkk'i	2	*qïrq*	40
tört	4	*āllik'*	50
besh	5	*aḷtmīsh*	60
(h)alta	6	*yetmish*	70
jeti	7	*seysān*	80
toqquz	9	*toxsān*	90
on (*o*^{u}*n*)	10	*yüz*	100
yig'irmi	20	*miñk'*	1,000

[1] i.e. learning to read.

[2] Abbreviations: *Deny*, Grammaire de la langue turque, 1921; *Āz.*, Āzarbāyjān Turkish; *K.*, Kondūrūd; *Kh.*, Khorākābād; *Ott.*, Ottoman Turkish; *P.*, Pougerd; *Q.A.*, Qanbar-'Alī.

Verbs.

varórom baγqa	I am going to the garden
sān turúri tulár (sic) *mān varorum*	(if) thou stayest, stay ; I am going
mán-k'i varmórum (*varmám*) *siz yovváyin*	as to me, I am not going (I shall not go), (but) you go !
nérāk varori	where art thou going ?
sān varori yov, mān k'älmorum	(if) thou goest, go, I am not coming
tax varori	art thou still going ?
varoriz (*varorik' ?*)	we are going
biz varáq, varorik'	may we go, we are going, (s'il faut) que nous allions, nous allons
hatīmī hündüm vardim taγqa	I mounted my horse and went to the mountain
sabāhi tēzī turdum, vardīm biyābānqa otun qazīγám	in the morning I got up early and went to the desert in order to (that I might) cut wood
varmīsharttin nashqai	thou hadst gone in order to do what ? (= *nä-ish qai*[1] what work thou mayst do ? que tu fasses quoi ?)
shoyorum hot yaqīγám	I want to light a fire ("that I may light")
havul otun g'irimä k'äldi	I have got hold of a good wood (Persian : *gīr-am āmad*)
havul k'ōnor	(it) is burning nicely
havul k'öllämärí	(it) is not burning nicely
bu k'isi lalāsi k'älmish buraq	this woman's brother came here
kuchāchā lalāyi(n) k'örtüm	I saw your brother in the street
hävchā xeyli ādām yormush-ārtti	many people were sitting in the house
yular	sit down ! (? *vide infra*, P.)
yutu	carry (it) away ! (Āz. : *appar*)
su yetik' ichtāk'	bring water that we may drink !
hekmäk'i yetik' yiyibedāk'	bring bread that we may eat
qalyānī chaγ shay chäk'täk'	fill the qalyan that we may smoke (in Āz. : *chaγ eylä ki chäk'äk'*)

[1] Evidently an abridged form from the verb *qairmaq* "to do" : **qairay*, as below : *chixay*.

Nouns.

kāl	a child (plur. *kālār*)	*hār*	a man
hayach	a tree	*kisi*	a woman
yīlqqī	a sheep (a flock ?)	*k'itik'*	a chicken
buz	ice	*buraq*	hither
ātchi	a goat		

Kundurutk'ā	to Kondūrūd
Kunduruchā	in Kondūrūd
bāychā	in the garden
säni lalāi	your brother
lalāyi(ñ) körtüm	I saw your brother

Adjectives and Adverbs.

havul	good	*ushli kün*	the day before yesterday
qara	black	*uchümün yīl*	the year before last
qīzīl	red	*yoqqar*	above
koy	blue	*enā*	below
hürün	white	*hāyā*	yes

" Is," " there is," etc.

qara-ri	(it) is black
koy-ār	(it) is black
hissi-ri	(it) is hot
bu tax xeyli uja-ri	this mountain is very high
Türk varaq (**váraq ?*)	we are (?) Turks
chibux chāk'māg'i havul day	to smoke a pipe is not good
Kunduruch-ārtim (**Kunduruchā ārttim*)	I was in Kondūrūd
yolī pis ārtti	the road was bad
bi ishim var ārtti	I had a business
āngür niyed ārtti (< *nā-yerdā ārtti*)	where was the fuel (*sic*) ?

B. *Khorākabad*

Nouns.

uyul	son	*nyerā*	whither
kis (sic)	daughter	*yerk'ā*	onto the ground
kal	child	*bāy ichkā*	into (?) the garden
āchk'i	goat	*bāy yechk'ichā*	in the garden

" To be," etc.

yol havul dáyārtti	the road was not good

Verbs.

mān variyórum	I am going
vármorum-är	I am not going
sān variyori, or *variyoru* (*varmori*)	thou art (art not) going
o variyor (*varmor*)	he is (is not) going
biz variyoruq, or *variyoruq-ar*	we are going
siz variyoriz	you are going
tulal	get up! stand still!
sān kālmā	do not come, thou!
siz yovayn	go, you!
hatī hindim	I mounted the horse
hattan endim	I came down from the horse (dismounted)
taγdan (y)endim, k'āldim yerkā	I came down from the mountain and came to the (low) ground
suf jitik' ichtik'	bring water that we may drink!
hek'māk'i jitik'	bring bread!

C. *Po^{u}gerd*

Numerals.

bir	1	*qerx*	40
ik'i	2	*ālli*	50
üch	3	*aḷtmish*	60
dört	4	*yetmish*	70
doqquz	9	*säksān*	80
on	10	*doxsan*	90
ig'irmi	20	*yüz*	100
ottuz	30	*min*	1,000

Nouns.

här	a man	*sīqīl*	a cow
k'isi (or *k'ishi*)	a wife	*hotun*	wood
k'is	a girl	*yaγaq*	a walnut
k'echi	a goat	*(h)öw*	a house

nādān sari.	why?[1]
nārā varirān?	whither art thou going?
varmish bāqqa	he went to the garden
varmish deymdārā (< *deymlārā*)	he went to the non-irrigated fields

[1] Even in Persian translated as: *sārī che?* But the word *sari* seems to be Turkish: *tañ sarī* "eastwards", cf. Deny, § 906. However, its use in Khalaji is uncommon.

qalyānī chaq shä menaq k'etir bura	fill the qalyan and bring (it) here to me
hōvum	my house
bizim, sizin, olläri öwchä	in our, your, their house

"Is," "there is," etc.

bu kisi hüriin är, hā!	this woman is pretty, ah!
ayani ähvāli yóqqardi indi yaxchidi	the master was in bad health; now he is well
bāγimischä ayachlar choxärti, yarisi qurumish, gänä yüz vararti	there were many trees in our garden; half of them dried; still there was a hundred
bäläd dayīlām	I am not an expert; I do not know
bu yaxchi dayarti	this was (?) not good
toraq varíz?	have you any curds? (Persian: *k'äshk'*)
hik'mäk' yoxumúz	we have no bread
biz xalaj tayfäsi-chik (sic)	we are Khalaj people
siz nä tayfädän-chiz (sic)	what tribe are you?
siz hara käli-sīz	children of what place are you?

Verbs.

man diyärām, I say	*biz diyärik*, we say
sän diyärän, thou sayest	*siz diyäriz*, you say
o diyä(r), he says	*ollar diyär*, they say
varirām, I go	*varirän* (sic), thou goest
hara vari(r)chän	where wouldst thou go? (*subjunctive*)
värirām ishimi qairchom (sic)	I go to do my work
istirām varcham sheyx yanichä	I would go to the sheykh's
su g'ärāk' g'ätirchä	il faut qu'il apporte de l'eau
varmishām	I went, I had gone
hartan k'älmishän (or *k'älmishäñ*)	where didst thou come from?
k'etmishtim poxtá alīm	I had gone to buy (some) wheat
nu (sic) *qatar qalmich* (sic)	how long did he remain?
bashīmī souq aparmish	I caught cold in the head (*lit.* cold has taken my head away)
mān sänä haydum	I told thee
xeyli haydīq bir birinä	we said much to each other

mān k'etä bilmirām.	I cannot go
indi varúm sāhär gānā kālím	may I go now and come back to-morrow ?
ketum (?) Tehrana	that I may go (?) to Tehran
tular !	get up !
hoturar !	sit down !
yular !	go, go away ! (? *vide supra*, K.)
bu höw sāni ossu(n) !	let this house be thine !

Phrases.

kālimi köntärdim[1] *aγa pālisinā körāk' javāb nā siyār*	I sent my child to (Pers. *pahlū*) the Agha, let's see what he will say in answer
menäq jāvāb sāhih vermiyor (sic) *körāk', tari ishimizā varur*	He does not give me a right answer. Let's see. God will come to our help (*lit.* business)
özümi o qatar ishim vararti bashīmī qashiyā bilmirām	I (myself) have so much work to do that I cannot scratch my head
tul varäk', yaγaγī özüni chüküm-dā götünā !	Come along ! (let) walnuts (be) his ! et phallus meus in nates ejus ! (a proverb : let us have no business with him)
elā tätāñ k'öntärím[1] *ki özün diyāñ havularti*	I shall burn[1] thy father (i.e. abuse you, in Persian *pedärät-rā mī-sūzānam*) so much that thyself wilt say " it was good "
sīqīllari g'ötür k'et sulat k'ätir	Take the cows, go, give (them) to drink and bring (them) back
bi-xurdāk bizā kömäk het-ginā	Give us some little help
mān istāmish[2] *xalachi ögrāncham*	I wanted to learn Khalaji
inshāllā tez yadīyanchā (?) k'ālir	God willing, thou wilt soon learn it (*lit.* it will soon come to thy mind)
vāqīke istādin chīxay aγani āhvāli nejéydi	When thou wert leaving (*lit.* when you wanted to go out) how was the master's health ?

[1] *Köntär-* seems to stand both for " to send " and for " to make to burn " (from *kön-*).

[2] See n. 1, p. 424.

āqada orda hech mülki qalmich (sic) ? *Tamām satmish*	Has the master still any property there (*lit.* any property has remained) ? No, he sold (it) all
kāllār tamām aj-idi ajinnān ölir. Ketmish[1] *bu aqajä bi-xurdāk yaγaq tök kāllārā*	The children were all hungry, they are dying of hunger. Go (having gone ?) and knock down (shed) some walnuts to the children
kisilār sāhār nā ish körir ?	What work do women do in the morning ?
Sāhār ata minmish[1] *getāk' daq bashīnā*	To-morrow having (?) mounted let us go to the top of the mountain

3. General Features of Khalajī

The specimens of Khalajī quoted above are obviously insufficient for any far-reaching conclusions. The task of formulating them must be reserved for a future Turkologue who will have spent some time among the Khalaj. Here we shall enumerate only the most striking features of the dialect.

A. Phonetics

(1) The Khalaj have been living for centuries among Persians and it is natural that their harmony of vowels is now greatly disturbed, especially in the Pougerd sub-dialect. The same applies to the consonants: hard *ḷ* is rare—*uγuḷ* but *havul*; *q* is more stable and, contrary to Āz., does not, as a rule, become *x* at the end of words; however, *kis* (for *qīz*) and *varāk'* "let us go" indicate some deterioration of the system.

(2) Initial *k'* and *t* stand instead of the expected *g'* and *d*, cf. even *tārs* (for Arab. *dars*)! These *k'* and *t* may be in fact plosive *g'* and *d*. For initial *b*, cf. *poxtá* (instead of *boγda*) in P.

(3) Of *ñ* (*ng*) there are only very slight traces.

(4) Most characteristic is the additional *h-* before any initial vowels: *hat*, *hek'māk'*, *hot*, etc. According to Kāshgharī, i, 34, a similar habit was particular to the people of Khotän and Känjäk.

[1] Qanbar-'Alī may have used these forms in *-mish* as the usual "pidgin" forms, as they are usually used in Russo-Turkish "soldiers' slang". It is possible, however, that the forms in *-mish* stand here instead of the gerund in *-up*, *-ip*, as suggested in my translation.

Ilminsky[1] records this habit in the speech of the Turkmans in the south-eastern corner of the Caspian.

(5) Dissimilation and assimilation round liquidæ and *n*: *tular* or *tulal* < *tur-ar*; *yular* < *yor-ar* or *yov-ar* (doubtful, *vide supra*), *k'öllämäri* probably *k'ön-änmäri*[2] (cf. *könor*), *deymdärä* < *deymlärä*.

In rapid speech words are indistinctly articulated and undergo various alterations: *niyed* < *nä-yerdä*, *nashqai* < probably **nä ish qairay* (?) "that thou mayst do what?"

B. *Morphology*

(a) *Nouns*

Dative in *-qa/k'ä*: *taγqa*, *yerk'ä* or even in *-q*: *buraq*; but *deymdära* (K.) reflects the common Turkman form in *-ä*.

Suffix *-chä* (perhaps < *jäk/chä* "till, up to", Deny, § 105) is remarkably frequent. It is used instead of the dative: *mollāḷuxchä kettim* "I went a-studying", or of the locative: *sāni yaninchä* "at thy side"; or purely expletively (?): *mān Pougirt kālichä* "I am a child of P.", *bu zämin yaxchi zäminchä* "this soil is a good soil".[3]

(b) *Verbs*

The verb "to be": instead of the common *dir* "is", the Khalaj usually use *är/ar*, or even *-ri*, past tense *ärti*, *ärtti/arti*; there seems to be some confusion in tenses. *Ar* is used even after personal endings *variyoruq-ar* and apparently for strengthening the imperative (?): *hótùr-ár*. In K., enclytic *-chik* "we are" and *-chiz* "you are", are very puzzling.[4] *Daγ*, *daγīl* "is not".

The present tense is differently represented in our specimens. The continuous present in Kh. *variyorum* coincides with the Ott. use; in K. it sounds *varorum* and in P. *varirām* (similar to Āz.), alongside with *ōlir* (as in Āz.) and *vermiyor*.

Present-future, as attested in K., is *diyäram* (as in Āz.) and *varur* (as in old Ott.) but *varirän*, *körir* (?).

[1] *Mélanges Asiatiques*, S. Petersburg, 1863, iv, 63–74. I regret not to have been able to consult the recent Turkman grammar by Poteseluyevsky, Ashkhabad, 1929.

[2] Cf. in Āz. *ged-änmirä* "he cannot go"; cf. *anniyamirux* in K. Foy, *Azerbajğanische Studien* in *MSOS.*, 1904, p. 238, paenult.

[3] Perhaps in the sense of "I am of the children of P.", etc., unless *-chä* be of a different origin here.

[4] Unless *-ch-* represents the suffix *chä* (*vide supra*), namely **xalaj tāifäsi-chä-ik'* (?): "we are of the tribe Kh." (literally: in the tribe ?).

In the past tense, the form in *-mish* prevails over that in *-dim* (as in Āz.). Q.A. occasionally pronounced *-mich*. The composite perfect, e.g. *aparīp-tur*, very frequent in Āz., is unknown in Khalajī and Q.A. particularly insisted on this point.

Subjunctive, as reported in P., is in *-chā*: *g'ätirchā* (for *g'ätirsä*), and seems to be used also as optative *qairchom* " that I may do ".[1]

Optative: 1st p.s. in *-γam*, e.g. *qazīγám*, *yaqīγám* (K.), cf. the suffix *-γay* in Eastern Turkish, Deny, § 620, and p. 925; on the other hand P. has *körüm*, *oxuyám*; 2nd p.s. *diyäñ*, *chīxay* and probably *nashqai*, *vide supra*, p. 419; 1st p.p. in *täk/tik*: *ichtäk* (K.), *yiyibedäk* (? K.), *ichtik* (Kh.).

4. Khalaj Origins: Xūlas-Χολιαται

As in most of similar cases, the early history of the Khalaj tribe is obscure.[2] Khuwārizmī, who wrote some time between 365/975 and 381/991,[3] is the only author to make an interesting suggestion not found in earlier sources: " The Hayāṭila (Hephthalites) are a tribe of men who had enjoyed grandeur and possessed the country of Ṭukhāristān; the Turks called Khalaj and K.njīna are their remnants."

In this passage the variants are خُلج and حلج. In Arabic script the similarity of خلّخ Khallukh (< Qarluq) and خلج Khalaj is a source of perpetual confusion, but the reading *Khalaj* adopted by the editor (Van Vloten) is probable in view of the early migration of the Khalaj westward (*vide infra*, Iṣṭakhrī).[4]

Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, has built up an ingenious theory connecting the Khalaj with two names found in pre-Islamic sources, namely *Xwls* and *Χολιαται*, and insisting on the appurtenance of this Turkish people to the Hephthalites [or, better, to the Hephthalite federation].[5]

(*a*) *Xwls* (read by Marquart **Kholas*) is found in the Syriac history

[1] Q.A.'s predilection to *ch-* sound (*qairchom*, *qalmich*, *-chik'*, *-chiz*) needs to be checked on the spot.

[2] On the history of the Khalaj see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 251–3, idem, *Das Reich Zābul* in *Festschrift Sachau*, p. 258, note 1; Barthold, *Ocherk istorii Turkm. naroda*, 8; idem, *12 Vorlesungen*, 1935, 100; Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, 347–8; A. Z. Validi, *ZDMG.*, 90, 1936, 34.

[3] Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Khuwārizmī, *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, 119.

[4] However, the Khallukh too were in touch with the Hephthalites, see *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, 288.

[5] *Ērānšahr*, 253: " Ein Überrest der Hephthaliten. . . ." " Eine Abzweigung eines sehr alten türkischen Volkes."

going by the name of "Zacharias Rhetor" (written A.D. 554–5),[1] where the name interesting us comes in the enumeration of northern barbarians "'Ūgar, Saber, Burgar, Kurtargur, 'Abar (Avar), Khasar (Marquart: *Αγačeri* ?), Diyarmar (?), Sirurgar, Bagarasîq (Marquart: *Barsēlq*), Khūlas, Abdal, Eftalīθ".

(*b*) *Χολιαται* appear in the report of Zemarchos, the Byzantine ambassador to the Turkish court, A.D. 568.[2] Zemarchos mentions *Χολιαται* three times. The king Dizabul wanted Zemarchos to accompany him on his campaign against the Persians, while Zemarchos's companions, who were going home through the country of *Χολιαται*, were to wait for his return. In fact the ambassador accompanied the king only as far as Talas (*Τάλας*), near the present-day Auliyā-ata, to the east of the Sir-darya, when Dizabul bade him return. The ambassador picked up his companions at the prearranged meeting-place, and having left the principal town of the Choliatai, the embassy, once more united, marched along the line of castles until it crossed the river *Ὠήχ* (probably the Syr-darya) and after a longish journey (*καὶ ἀτραπὸν διανύσαντες οὐδαμῶς ὀλίγην*) reached an immense lake (the Aral Sea). In the third passage, it is said that the king's vassals on hearing about the departure of the embassy wanted to attach to it their own envoys but Dizabul gave permission to do so only to the ruler (*ἡγεμών*) of the Choliatai. It is clear that the Choliatai: (1) lived to the east of the Jaxartes, (2) probably to the west of Talas, (3) that they had towns, and (4) that their ruler was an important vassal of Dizabul.

The earliest Muslim geographer in whom Marquart thinks to find a survival of the same name is Ibn Khurdādhbih. Here is the translation of the passage, p. 31: "The lands of the Turks are as follows: the Toghuzghuz whose country is the most extensive among the Turks, and borders on China, Tibet, and the Kharlukh (الخرلخ var. الحولج); the Kīmak, the Ghuzz, the J.f.r, the Bajanāk (Pechenegs),

[1] In fact, Zacharias Rhetor, supposed to be identical with the Bishop of Mitylene who took part in the council of A.D. 536 and was dead before 553, wrote in Greek. The Syriac author follows this text down to his ch. vi; from chap. vii on, he uses other sources carrying the history down to A.D. 568–9, see W. Wright, *Hist. of Syriac Liter.*, pp. 107–8 [Russian transl. with additions by Kokovtsov, 1902, pp. 74–5], and the German translation of the Syriac original by Ahrens and Krüger, Leipzig, 1899, Introduction. The geographical passage (ch. xii, 7), ibid., 251–3, accompanied by Gelzer's commentary, pp. 381–3.

[2] As preserved in Menander Protector's fragments, see Müller, *Fragmenta hist. Graec.*, iv, 227–230.

the B.δk.sh (*Türgish), the Aδkish, the Khifshākh, the Khirkhīz, where musk is found, the Kharlukh and the Khalaj, and these (latter) are on this side of the river (Oxus)." [1] In a second passage, p. 28, I. Khurdādhbih seems to contradict himself, for having placed the winter quarters of the Kharlukh near Kaṣrā-bāsh (to the south of Ṭarāz = Talas) he unexpectedly adds: "and near them are the winter quarters of the Khalaj (var. الخُلَحة)." If this last name refers (?) to the Khalaj,[1] we can hardly suppose that a tribe, living to the west of the Oxus, travelled a tremendous distance to its winter quarters across two such mighty streams as the Amu-daryā and the Sir-daryā. Either the text is mutilated or there were still (?) some Khalaj living near the Khallukh.

The tempting point in Marquart's theory is that both Zemarchos and I. Khurdādhbih, 28, have in view the region near Talas. However, the identity of the names *Xwlas*, *Χολιαται* and Khalaj is still to be proved.[2] If we have to do with a Turkish tribe, perhaps only politically associated with the Hephthalites, we must consider the fact that Turkish vowels are extremely stable and Muslim authors, especially Kāshgharī, iii, 307, insist on the popular etymology of the name, the first part of which is explained by the Turkish imperative *qal-* "stay, thou".[3] If, on the other hand, the name is to be treated in the light of Hephthalite phonetics, we are helpless before we know more about the Hephthalite language. On very slender evidence Marquart [4] thinks it to be Mongolian. In this connection we might perhaps remember a detail in the legendary Turkish text of uncertain date called *Oghuz-name*. Immediately after the story explaining the name of Qarluq, a story is reported how on his way Oghuz-khan found a great house with a golden roof, silver windows (?), and iron beams (?). As it had no key, Oghuz-khan said to a handy [5] man in his army: *qal, ach* ("stay, and open") and this expression became his surname (Qalach). This man's original name was **Tümürtü-qa'ul*. Pelliot tentatively restores it as *Tümürtü-γōl*, in Mongolian "Ferruginous

[1] For more detail see my commentary on the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, pp. 347–8.

[2] The forms خ و ل in I. Khurdadhbih, 31, and Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, v, 302, must stand for the original form of the name Khallukh, namely *Kharlukh* (Qarluq). In *Das Reich Zābul*, p. 258, Marquart himself admitted this possibility.

[3] The only possibility I can see is the pronunciation of the Turkish *a* as *ȧ* > *o* under the influence of some Iranian language (Soghdian on the Jaxartes ?). In the present day Sart ("Uzbek") dialects *qaqmaq* sounds *qōqmaq*.

[4] *Über d. Volkstum der Komanen*, 73; *Wehrot und Arang*, 93, note 3.

[5] *chabār*, a Mongolian word!

river".[1] In any case the suffix *-tii* in the name of the Khalaj leader is clearly Mongolian!

All the other sources consider the Khalaj as Turks and the two most competent authors connect them with the Ghuz (Oghuz) tribe, though not without some hesitation.[2]

Maḥmūd Kāshghari (who wrote in 470/1077), ii, 307, refers to the Khalaj in his article "Türkmän". He quotes a legend according to which the Turkish king Shū (connected with the river Chu and the town of Balasaghun), on being informed of the approach of Alexander the Great from the direction of Khujanda (on the Jaxartes), took flight before him and was accompanied by all those of his subjects who possessed riding animals. Twenty-two men, ancestors of the future Ghuz, stayed behind with their families, for want of horses. While they were discussing whether they should proceed on foot, they saw two other men who, in the sweat of their brow, were carrying their belongings on their backs. The Twenty-two reasoned that as Alexander ever moved on and would consequently pass along, they might remain in their country. So addressing the two men on foot, they said in Turkish: *qal aj*, i.e. "O you two, stay, remain, linger!"[3] and the men on foot became known as Khalaj, and formed two tribes. When Alexander arrived he looked at the men and recognizing their Turkish type said (in Persian!): they are *Turk-mānand*, i.e. similar to the Turks. "Originally they (i.e. the Turkmans) were twenty-four tribes but the two tribes of Khalaj separated from them; therefore now the latter are not counted of them." The legend obviously hints at the fact that the Turkmans were the westernmost of the Turks and that the Khalaj lived still behind them (to the west).[4]

[1] See Pelliot in *T'oung-Pao*, xxvii, 1930, p. 297. In the latest edition of the *Oghuz-name* by Bang and Rachmati, in *Sitzungsber. d. preus. Akad.*, 1932, 683–726: Tömurtū Qaγul.

[2] Firdausī, *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Mohl, v, 682, ed. Tehran, 1314, vii, 2,202, in describing Bahrām Gōr's exploits in Transoxiana, says:—

Bar-āvard mīlī za sang-u za gaj
Ki kas rā ba-Īrān za Turk-u Khalaj
Nabūdī guδar juz ba farmān-i shāh
Hamān nīz Jayhūn miyānjī ba rāh

Here the Khalaj seem to be distinguished from the Turks, but Firdausī's geography is often fantastic.

[3] In this case Kāshghari has in view the particle *aj* which strengthens the imperative, *vide* ibid., i, 38, line 11.

[4] One might say that the story places them somewhere to the east of the Jaxartes (from which Alexander was advancing), but no great weight can be attached to the details of the legend.

Nothing is said about the particular names of the two Khalaj tribes.[1]

Rashīd al-dīn (who completed his work in 710/1310) mentions the Qalaj in the paragraph on "the brothers and cousins of Oghuz who were joined with him".[2] At another place, ibid., 25, the author explains the name of the tribe by the Turkish words *qal aj* "remain hungry", which the legendary Oghuz-khan said to the ancestor of the Qalaj who stayed behind the army while the leader was returning from the conquest of Isfahān. The latter name seems to hint at the Khalaj living somewhere about Persia.[3]

A variant of Rashīd al-dīn's version is found in Abul-Ghāzī (A.D. 1665), ed. Desmaisons, 22 (tr. 21), with the following addition: "The Khalaj are numerous in Transoxiana (where) they live jointly with the Aymaq tribe (*Aymaq elinä qoshīla tururlar*); they are also numerous in Khorasan and 'Irāq."

5. The Khalaj West of the Oxus

Muslim authors agree that the Khalaj are one of the earliest tribes to have crossed the Oxus. In addition to I. Khurdādhbih whom we have quoted above, Istakhrī (*circa* A.D. 930)[4] says: "The Khalaj are a class of Turks who in the days of old (*fī qadīm al-ayyām*) came to the country stretching between India and the districts of Sijistān, behind Ghūr. They are cattle breeders of Turkish appearance (*khilaq*), dress, and language." Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* (A.D. 943), iii, 254, speaks of the Turkish tribes "Ghūz and خرلخ living towards Gharsh (= Gharchistān) and Bust in (the region) adjoining Sijistān". Contrary to Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 251, I think that خرلخ must be read here *Kharlukh, and, on the other hand, under Ghūz the author may mean the Khalaj, for, as we now know from Kāshgharī, the Khalaj were considered as the two "lost tribes" of the Ghuzz.[5]

If Iṣṭakhrī and Mas'ūdī (?) place the Khalaj on the middle course of the Hilmand, the compilator of the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* (A.D. 982),

[1] The additional names of the Ghuz clans found in Rashīd al-dīn, i, 34, namely Yayīrlī, Qīrīq, and Qarqin cannot refer to the Qalaj who are mentioned separately.

[2] Ed. Bérézine, *Trudi V.O.*, vii, 7: "Uyghur, Qanqlī, Qipchaq, Qarluq, Qalaj, Aghajeri."

[3] Cf. ibid., 24, a similar story about the Qarluq who received their name from Oghuz-khan while he was returning from his campaign in Ghūr and Gharchistān, i.e. from a region considerably to the east of Persia.

[4] In the account of the province of Dāvar on the Hilmand.

[5] After all, Mas'ūdī's vague passage may even not refer to the Khalaj but only to the Kharlukh and the Turkmans (often quoted alongside with the Khalaj).

f. 22*b*, quotes the Khalaj in the region of Ghaznīn and the adjoining districts. He speaks of their wealth in sheep and describes their habit of wandering along pasture-lands. He adds that the same tribe is numerous in "Balkh, Ṭukhāristān, Bust, and Gūzgānān". In fact the name is misspelt in the MS. as خلخ and it is very possible that the author has mixed together the *Khallukh* خلخ and *Khalaj* خلج. In Tukhāristān and (?) Balkh he most probably has in view the former tribe, and in Ghaznīn, Bust, and Gūzgānān the latter.

The Ṣaffārids were the first Muslim dynasty to penetrate into Central Afghanistan. According to Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 171,[1] Ya'qūb conquered (A.D. 868) "the Khalaj, Zābul and other (lands) but I do not know the year in which it happened. . . ."

The Ghaznavids, from the outset of their activity, had to deal with the Khalaj. Niẓām al-mulk[2] reports an episode of Sabuk-tegin's early career when he was sent by his master Alp-tegin (d. 352/963) to collect taxes from "the Khalaj and Turkmans", which he tried to do by peaceful means. In 385/995 Sabuk-tegin, being in Herat, sent summons to the rulers of Sīstān and Gūzgānān as well as to the *Khalaj Turks.[3]

'Utbī, in his history (written *circa* 411/1020) refers to the Khalaj several times: i, 55, he announces his intention to narrate Maḥmūd's victories "in India, as well as among the Turks and Khalaj"; i, 88 (Persian translation, 43, very free), he reports that after Maḥmūd's expedition against India, "the Afghans and Khalaj submitted to him"; ii, 78 (Pers. transl., 294): when Ilak-khan took up a menacing attitude Maḥmūd arrived in Ghazna and summoned "the Khalaj Turks, ever on their horses,[4] manly sons of swords. . . ." Equally, during the inroad of Qadir-khan to Tukhāristān, Maḥmūd rushed to Balkh "with his Turkish, Indian, Khalaj, Afghan, and Ghazna troops. . . ."

The fact that the Khalaj were associated in Maḥmūd's victories may account for their subsequent ambitions. Already under the weak Sultan Mas'ūd, they became restive. On 19 Muḥarram 432/1040, Mas'ūd had to send an expedition from Ghaznī in order to

[1] Probably based on the history of Ibn al-Azhar al-Akhbārī, see Barthold, *Zur Geschichte der Ṣaffāriden*, in *Oriental. Studien Th. Nöldeke*, 1906, pp. 173, 186.

[2] *Siyāsat-nāma* (485/1092), ch. xxvii, p. 96.

[3] Gardīzī, 56. The text has *Turkān-i ṣulḥ* but the editor has already suggested the reading **Khallukh*. I admit the necessity of the emendation, but, in view of the circumstances, I prefer **Khalaj*.

[4] *Aḥlās al-ẓuhūr*.

obtain the submission or punishment of the Khalaj who, during his absence, had committed some transgressions (*fisād*), Abul-Faḍl Bayhaqī, ed. Morley, 826, 830 [where خلج is mis-spelt: بلخ].

Najīb Bakrān's geography *Jahān-nāma*, written (*circa* A.D. 1200–1220) on the eve of the Mongol invasion, contains a particularly interesting paragraph on the changes which the originally Turkish tribe was undergoing: "The Khalaj are a tribe of Turks who from the Khallukh limits migrated to Zābulistān. Among the districts of Ghaznī there is a steppe where they reside. Then, on account of the heat of the air, their complexion has changed and tended towards blackness; the tongue (*zabān*) too has undergone alterations and become a different language (*lughat*)."

In the earliest mention of Juvaynī's *Jahān-gushā*, i, 132, "the Khalaj of Ghaznī" are curiously associated with "Afghāns"; a levy (*ḥashar*) of these two tribes mobilized by the Mongols took part in the punitive expedition to the region of Merv, ii, 194–8: after the disruption of the kingdom of Sulṭān Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh, a "numberless" mass of "Khalaj and Turkmans from Khorasan and Transoxiana" gathered at Purshāvur (Peshawar) under the leadership of Sayf al-din Ighraq (var. **Yighraq*)[1] -Malik, who according to a gloss was himself a Khalaj. This army defeated the petty king of Ghazna, Raḍī al-mulk, but when Jalāl al-dīn Khwārazmshāh arrived in Ghazna, Ġhraq came to greet him. After Jalāl al-dīn defeated the Mongols at Parvān, the Khalaj, Turkmans, and Ghūris of his army quarrelled with the Khwārazmians over the booty and finally retreated towards the south. Ġhraq returned to Peshawar while his rival Nūḥ-Jāndār stayed at *Ningrahār, but Ġhraq retraced his steps and killed him. Finally, Mongol detachments reached the spot and destroyed the whole of the 20,000–30,000 Khalaj, Turkmans, and Ghūris who had abandoned Jalāl al-dīn.[2]

This historical sketch very clearly shows the gradual expansion of the southern branch of the Khalaj from the lower course of the Hilmand to the environs of Ghazna and later to the neighbourhood of Peshawar; on the other hand, it indicates how the Khalaj were utilized by the lords of the time and how gradually they found their way to power.

India was ever a most welcome field for energetic adventurers,

[1] The alternance of initial *i-* and *yi* is frequent; cf. *Inal/Yinal.*
[2] But certainly not all the Khalaj.

and as early as A.D. 1197 Muḥammad Bakhtiyār Khalji,[1] acting on behalf of the Ghūrid Mu'izz al-dīn Muḥammad, occupied Bihar and A.D. 1202, at the head of a small troop of horse, conquered Lakhnauti in Bengal of which he became the governor.

In 689/1290 Jalāl al-dīn Fīrūz Khalji succeeded the Mamlūk kings on the throne of Delhi, and his short-lived dynasty lasted till 1320.[2]

Another Khalji dynasty, descended from a brother of Fīrūz, ruled in Central India (Mālwa) A.D. 1436–1531. Equally the Lodi kings of Delhi (A.D. 1451–1526) belonged to a Khalji family which was established in Multān already towards A.D. 1005.

The Khalji in India were considered as Afghans and perhaps in the fifteenth century possessed no knowledge of Turkish but we must remember what Najīb Bakrān says on the changes undergone by the Khalaj of Afghanistan. In Afghanistan and India the descendants of the Khalaj are called Ghal-zae, i.e. "sons of the thief".[3] This later popular etymology and the legend built up round it are certainly artificial. The fact is that the important Ghilzai tribe occupies now the region round Ghazni,[4] where the Khalaj used to live and that historical data all point to the transformation of the Turkish Khalaj into Afghan Ghilzai. Even the phonetic evolution of the name has nothing astonishing. The ancient Turkish form was *Qalaj* (or *Qalach*), and it is well known that Turkish *q* was heard by the Arabs now as *kh* and now as *gh*.[5] *Qalaj* could have a parallel form **Ghalaj* of which it was easy to bring the end in conformity with the usual Afghan terminology of *zae*, *zai* (= Persian *-zāda*).

The last great exploit of the Ghilzai of Qandahār was the invasion

[1] i.e. Khalaji. In Indian pronunciation the middle short vowel of a trisyllabic word is regularly omitted (*shafaqat* > *shafqat*), while a monosyllabic word ending in two consonants becomes bisyllabic (*fahm* > *faham*).

[2] His father had the Turkish title *yughrush*, see M. F. Köprülü, *Zur Kentniss der alttürkischen Titulatur*, in *Kőrösi Csoma Archivum*, 1938, Ergänzungsband, p. 339, who quotes *Tārīkh-i Firishta*, i, 152, 155.

[3] Or with a further reduction of the vowel: *Ghilzae*, in Persian *Ghiljā'ī*.

[4] See Longworth Dames, *Afghānistān* and *Ghilzai* in *EI*. The author seems not to have realized the weight of the earlier historical evidence and disbelieved the possibility of the transformation Khalaj > Ghilzai, fully admitted by other collaborators of the *EI*. (Barthold, Sir W. Haig); cf. also Marquart, op. cit., 253. In fact there is absolutely nothing astonishing in a tribe of nomad habits changing its language. This happened with the Mongols settled among Turks and probably with some Turks living among Kurds. [Sir W. Haig in the *Cambridge History of India*, III, 90, gives a pertinent reply to Raverty: "If the Ghilzay be not Khaljis it is difficult to say what has become of the latter."]

[5] Cf. Ṭabarī, iii, 1416: *Ghamish* < Turkish *qamish* "a reed".

of Persia in 1722 where their barbarous rule lasted six years until they were overthrown and expelled by Nādir.

Zayn al-'Ābidīn Shīrvānī, who travelled in the beginning of the nineteenth century,[1] says that the Khalaj are a "numberless Turkish tribe. . . . Some of them (*AB*) reigned in India and other places. They live in most of the territories of Fārs, 'Irāq, Khorāsān, Kābul, and Tūrān (Central Asia).[2] The majority of them are Shī'a and the rest Ḥanafīs. I have met many Khalajes; among them few people are found of good manners (*nīk maḥḍar*) and of praiseworthy habits, but there are also clever people among them". On the origin of the tribe Zayn al-'Ābidīn reports the story found in Rashīd al-dīn and Abul-Ghāzī.

6. Geographic distribution of the Khalaj

A better knowledge of the ethnology of Afghanistan will enable us to discover more remnants of the Turkish Khalaj in that area where the majority of the tribe seems to have lived.[3] As to the other groups, we have to consider those of Gūzgānān, Bāvard, and Central Persia.[4]

For Gūzgānān we have the testimony of the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* whose author (A.D. 982) dedicated it to the ruler of that province. Even at present the name Khalaj is known in the Türkmān desert between Andkhoy and the south-western bank of the Amu-darya, where there exists a "Khalaj road".[5] In fact, "the Turkman clans of Qut, Parvard (Bāvard ?), and *Khalaj*" are mentioned in the course of a Khivan campaign in the region of Kerkī in 1238/1822.[6]

In Persia, apart from a clan of Khalaj incorporated in the Kerman branch of the Turkman tribe of Afshār,[7] a considerable agglomeration of Khalaj is found in the region stretching along the direct road from Tehran to Hamadan, to the west of Sāva and to the north-east of

[1] *Bustān al-siyāḥa*, Tehran, 1315/1897, p. 273.

[2] Cf. Abul-Ghāzī's additional passage quoted above, p. 430.

[3] Particularly in the neighbourhood of Bust on the Hilmand. On the Afghan Ghilzay see *EI*.

[4] Some fragments of the tribe may have travelled very far afield. I am tempted to render the Khalaj responsible for the name of the Russian town Kalach, situated on the Don where the latter comes the nearest to the Volga, i.e. on the road undoubtedly followed by innumerable nomad migrations.

[5] See Samoylovich, *Khivinskiye marshruti XIX veka po Qara-qumam*, in the presentation volume to S. F. Oldenburg, 1934, p. 462.

[6] *Materiali po istorii Turkmen*, 1938, ii, 422.

[7] Tumansky, *Ot Kaspiyskago morya*, St. Petersburg, 1896, p. 120.

Solṭānābād. They must have been established there in Mongol, or even Seljuk times, for under 806/1403 we hear of an order given by Timur to his son Iskandar-mīrzā to call up "the Khalaj and Arab nomads (*aḥshām*) who are in the region of Sāva, Qum, Kāshān, Charrā, and Parāhān down to the Kara-rūd".[1]

Originally the Khalaj must have occupied (or controlled) the whole of the area going by the name of "Khalajestān". In the nineteenth century, this territory seems to have been contested by the governors of Sāva, Qom, and Solṭānābād. Houtum-Schindler[2] quotes Khalajestan under the united government of 'Irāq (Solṭānābād) with its administrative centre at Sāva, and enumerates the following bolūks :—

1. Sardāb, with Tāj-khātūn.
2. Jehrūd, with Jehrūd and twenty-nine other villages.
3. Kerāb (Kharrāb ?), or Tafresh, with Āshtiyān.
4. Vezva.
5. Rāhgerd, on the high road Qom-Solṭānābād.

In 1906, Khalajestan (inclusive of Rūdbār and Dastjerd) formed one of the five bolūks of 'Irāq (Solṭānābād), but a considerable part of the original Khalajestān seems to have lain outside the jurisdiction of Solṭānābād.

The following list of Khalaj villages was given to me at Kondūrūd :—

1. Kondūrūd
2. Seft
3. Sefīdāle
4. Aḥmadābād
5. Nūrābād
6. Khärrāb
7. Espī
8. Moshäkye
9. Särärūd
10. Räzābād
11. Khoräkäbād
12. Mo^{u}jūn
13. Kārdiyān

The two Khalaj whom I met in Solṭānābād were from Khorākābād (11) and said that a dialect similar to theirs was spoken at Kārdiyān (13), Mārzīnū, and Sārārūd (9).

Qanbar-'Alī, who was more at his ease in the administrative sphere, spoke of four groups of Khalaj :—

[1] *Ẓafar-nāma*, ii, 573. Kara-rūd (< Karaj-rūd) is the river of the ancient Karaj Abī-Dulaf, near the present day Solṭānābād. Charrā and Farāhān are districts of Solṭānābād.

[2] *Eastern Persian Irak*, 1896, 129.

(*a*) In the district of Āshtiyān :—

Kārdejān (13)	Sārārūd (9)
Nādrābād	Mo^{u}jān (12)[1]
Khorche	Sorkhedeh
Hārīrān	Āsiyābād
Rāzābād (10)	Manṣūrābād
Khorākābād (11)	Fo^{u}jerd (Po^{u}gerd)[2]

(*b*) The group of Kondūrūd :—

Kondūrūd (inhabited by "Rāskon" Turks not recognized by the Khalaj as being of them).

Nūrābād (5)	Sefīdāle (3)
Seft (2)	Ahmadābād (4)

(*c*) Towards Sāva, "to the right" of 'Alī-khān-begī :—

Moshākye (8)	Chōmānāk
Alīgān	Espī (7)

(*d*) Near Rāhgerd :—

Tāj-khātūn	Kafshgarān

According to Qanbar-'Alī the Khalaj had their own khans :—

Jamshīd-khān
|
Ghaffār-khān
|
Mad Ḥuseyn-khān
|
Ḥājjī 'Īsā-khān
|

Mohsen-khān Jalīl al-mamālek	Habībullāh-khān Mu'taḍed	'Alī-khān Ghiyāth al-lashkar

The sons of 'Īsā-khān had a residence in Tehran (in Bāzārche-ye nou) but lived in the villages of Qāzī (2 fars. from Rāhgerd, the latter lying on the road from Qom to Solṭānābād), Tāj-khātūn, Kafshgarān, Anādbeg, Yekke-bagh, Zavāriyūn, Dīziyān, Sālāfchegān.

[1] Inhabited by Khalach-e Hertī.

[2] 1 farsakh from Jehrud, 1 f. from Āshtiyān, 3—4 farsakhs from Kondūrūd. In 1917 half of it was possessed by small owners (*khorde-mālek*), while the other half belonged to Sheikh Murtaḍā of Tehran.

Apart from the said groups of "true Khalaj", there are also the Khalaj of Sāva, but by their language they are "Turks". By the latter term Qanbar-'Alī meant certainly a Turcoman dialect of a more orthodox type.[1]

P.S.—This article is dedicated to my teacher Professor A. E. Krymski in anticipation of his seventieth birthday.

9 Green Street, Cambridge.
15th January, 1940.

[1] See my article *Shāhī-sevān* in *EI*. In the course of the same journey in December, 1906, I spent a night at the village of Sahlābād (near Sāva) inhabited by Baghdād Shāhsevans. We spoke in "Āzarbayjān Turkish", but I noticed the following unusual forms in their speech: *g'ōrmiyipik'* "we have not seen", *g'ōrūrān* and *gōrūriz* (instead of *g'ōrūrsān* and *g'ōrūrsiz*), *babayiñ gōrdūm* "I saw your father", *aparayiz* (instead of *aparsaz*) "if you take away".

A Study in Medieval Nubian

By B. H. Stricker

THE medieval phase of the language now spoken between Korosko and Ḥannak on the Upper Nile is known to us since 1906, when the first documents were brought to Berlin and deciphered by Professor H. Schäfer.[1] In 1913 a full inventory of the then available material was published by the late Professor F. Ll. Griffith, in the proceedings of the Prussian Academy.[2] It was completed by a subsequent article in 1928.[3]

I am here presenting a series of notes on Griffith's texts, obtained mainly by a careful comparison of the medieval with the modern language.[4] May they serve to smooth the path of some future student.

The Alphabet

The alphabet in which the texts are written is the Coptic (itself an adaptation of the Greek alphabet), extended by a few symbols for specific Nubian sounds. Not all Coptic letters occur; some are never met with; others rare. Interesting is the use of ϭ, and not, as one might expect, ϫ, for the sound heard by modern scholars as *ǧ*, i.e. [ʤ].

Borrowing the alphabet of a foreign language generally gives rise to serious difficulties. This truth manifests itself also in the present

[1] Cf. Sitzungsberichte der Königlichen Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 8. Nov. 1906, 20. Juni 1907.

[2] The Nubian texts of the Christian period, Berlin, 1913.

[3] *Proceedings* of the British Academy, vol. xiv, p. 117.

[4] The following books and articles have been consulted: L. Reinisch, *Die Nuba-Sprache*, Vienna, 1879; R. Lepsius, *Nubische Grammatik*, Berlin, 1880; M. de Rochemonteix, "Quelques contes nubiens," in the *Mémoires de l'Institut égyptien*, vol. ii; H. N. Almkvist, *Nubische Studien im Sudān*, edited after his death by K. V. Zetterstéen, Uppsala, 1911; E. A. Wallis Budge, *Texts relating to Saint Mena of Egypt and Canons of Nicaea in a Nubian dialect*, London, 1909; H. Abel, "Eine Erzählung im Dialekt von Ermenne," in the *Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Klasse der Königlichen Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, vol. xxix, No. 8; H. Abel, "Die Verbalformen des abhängigen Satzes im Nubischen," in the *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse*, Jahrgang, 1921, No. 5; E. Zyhlarz, *Grundzüge der Nubischen Grammatik im Christlichen Frühmittelalter*, Leipzig, 1928; E. Zyhlarz, "Neue Sprachdenkmäler des Altnubischen," in the *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, London, 1932, p. 187. The literature on Nubian dialects other than Mahass-Fadiča has only been occasionally cited.

texts. Passing over the better known problems, such as the distinction between *i* and *y*, *u* and *w*, etc., we may confine ourselves here to a somewhat more elaborate treatment of the signs [-] and [·], both of which were invented by the Copts and, as it seems rather slavishly, taken over by the Nubians.

The stroke [-] was probably created as a means to bring clearness into the syllable-division; it was placed over syllables containing the vowel [ə], whenever this vowel was not marked by the letter ⲉ.[1] At a later date the original function seems to have been forgotten and the stroke came to be considered as a simple variant of the ⲉ. Bohairic orthography dropped the sign entirely and wrote everywhere the ⲉ in full. Doubtless the Nubians should have done the same, but, as it is, they did not and so encumbered their writing with a rather superfluous element. The Nubian language knows no dull *e* and therefore the sign was adopted as a variant of the letter ⲓ, i.e. *i*, the vowel that came nearest to it.

In our texts the sign indicates the vowel *i*, whether long or short, and is generally written in the middle over two consonants, as in Coptic, or over the following consonant, ⲥⲛ̄ being *sin*, and ⲧⲣ̄ *tir*. When the following letter protrudes above the line (ϭ), it may be put over the preceding one, as in: ⲉ̇ⲡⲁⲗ̄ϭⲥⲁⲛⲕ̇ⲁ, *'epaliǧsanka*; ⲙ̄ϭⲣ̄ⲕⲗ̄, *miǧirkil*; ⲟ̇ⲅ̄ϭ, *'ogiǧ*; ⲡⲉϣϣ̄ϭⲙⲉⲛⲇⲣⲉ̇, *peššiǧmendire*; ⲧ̄ϭϭⲁⲛⲁⲥⲁ, *tiǧǧanasa*. Some texts make a more frequent use of the sign than others. The Lectionary, for instance, often prefers the full orthography and writes ⲙⲓϣϣⲁⲛ, ⲧⲓⲗⲗⲓ, ϭⲓⲙⲙⲓⲗ, where the other texts have ⲙ̄ϣϣⲁⲛ, ⲧⲗ̄ⲗⲓ, ϭ̄ⲙⲙ̄ⲗ. On the other side it is frequently omitted, so that nothing is left to reveal to us the presence of the vowel, as in ⲕⲥⲥⲉ, for *kisse*; -ⲅⲣ, for *-gir*, or ⲥⲛ, for *sin*.

The dot [·] was borrowed from the revised, Bohairic, orthography, where it had been created perhaps under Arabic influence and played the role of the hamza. The Nubians must still have known this use, though the sign is often omitted and not all texts write it alike consequently. Initial vowels have to be dotted and generally are: ⲁ̇ⲅⲟⲡⲡⲓ, ⲉ̇ⲅⲓⲇ, ⲟ̇ⲅ̄ϭ; however, the dot always fails on diphthongs, on ⲉⲓ, and on ⲟⲩ: ⲁⲩⲉ̄ⲣ, ⲉⲓⲧ, ⲉⲩⲉ̇ⲅⲁⲛⲛⲟ, ⲟⲩⲛⲛⲁⲣⲁ. When two vowels hurt, the second is dotted: ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲱ̇ⲧⲓ, ⲙⲏⲛⲁⲁ̇, ⲡⲁⲣⲟⲩⲁ̇, ⲥⲟⲩⲁ̇ⲉⲓ, ⲧⲓⲙⲓⲁ̇ⲧⲣ, ⲟⲩⲛⲛⲣⲉ ⲉ̇ⲛⲉⲛⲛⲟⲛ. In some

[1] See W. H. Worrell, *Coptic Sounds*, Ann Arbor, 1934, pp. 11–16. Why the Copts did not want to write the [ə] here by the letter ⲉ has still to be explained.

foreign words the hiatus may even occur after consonants as in ⲧⲣⲓⲥⲁ̀ⲅⲓⲟⲛ, from Greek τρισάγιον.

Difficult to explain are the cases in which the dot surmounts a vowel following not one but two consonants, like: ⲟⲕⲧⲁⲕⲛⲁ̀, ⲟⲛⲧⲁⲕⲣⲁ̀ⲅⲟⲩⲉ̀ⲕⲉ, ⲡⲉϣϣ̀ⲙⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉ̀, ⲡ̄ⲗ̄ⲗ̈ⲓⲅⲣⲁ̀, or those in which it is placed over a consonant, like: ⲥ̀ⲅ̄ⲗ̄, ⲥ̀ⲥⲉ. If the dot here represents a hamza, these words should be transcribed as *oktakn'a*, *ontakr'agu'eke*, *peššiǧmendr'e*, *pilligr'a*, *'sgil*, and *'sse*. It hardly needs to be said that such forms look very unconvincing and violate anything we know about Nubian phonetics. But they would be intelligible if we might assume that the vowel *i* here has been omitted (as often happens), in the first series between the two preceding consonants, in the second after the hamza. That this is indeed the truth seems probable for many reasons. Variants write the *i*; next to ⲡ̄ⲗ̄ⲗ̈ⲓⲅⲣⲁ̀ we have ⲡ̄ⲗ̄ⲗ̈ⲓⲅ̄ⲣⲁ̀ (St. 3, 10). Grammatical analysis shows that the *i* has to be there, as ⲟⲛⲧⲁⲕⲣⲁ̀ⲅⲟⲩⲉ̀ⲕⲉ is the vocative of a passive participle ⲟⲛⲧⲁⲕ̄ⲗ̄ⲅⲟⲩⲗ̄, ⲡ̄ⲗ̄ⲗ̈ⲓⲅⲣⲁ̀ the predicative of a verb ⲡ̄ⲗ̄ⲗ̈ⲓⲅ̄ⲣ, ⲥ̀ⲥⲉ the past indicative of the verb ⲉ̀ⲧ or ⲉⲓⲧ,[1] to take, and so on. Finally we have the corresponding modern forms such as *dollirē*, *dollinā*, *-kira*,[2] etc.

We may even ask whether in the now obtained *oktakin'a*, *ontakir'agu'eke*, *peššiǧmendir'e*, and *pilligir'a* the hamza should at all be taken at its face value. We certainly get more Nubian-looking forms by simply neglecting it. Especially such orthographies as ⲕⲥⲉ̀ (for ⲕ̄ⲥⲉ) or ⲟⲩⲧ̀ⲣⲁ,[3] words which can have sounded only as *kisse* and *utira*, point in this direction.

The dot can be placed on all vowels, but on the ⲓ it is rare and always looks like a mere error for the double point [¨]. Whether the original distinction between ⲓ and ⲗ̈ is still felt may be doubted, as both of them occur for both *i* and *y*.[4]

[1] I do not know whether to write ⲉⲧ or ⲉⲓⲧ. The verba mediæ *e* and *o* are subject to apophony.

[2] See Abel, *Erzählung*, p. 61, where a wrong explanation is given.

[3] Compare also -ⲕ̄ⲫ̀ⲫⲓ and -ⲕ̄ⲫ̀ⲗ̈ (St. 25, 14).

[4] A curious passage of the Lectionary may here be cited. It is a translation of Matthew v, 18: "For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled." The translation, instead of "jot or tittle", gives: ⲗ̈ⲱⲧⲧⲁ ⲉⲛⲁⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲩ ⲧⲁⲗⲁⲱ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲟⲩⲉ̀ⲗ ⲉⲛⲁⲉ̀, i.e. "a jot (ⲓ) or one in the ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲓ which is on it". Here ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲓ, modern *fissi* or "sprinkling", means the two points written over the jot (ⲗ̈).

Phonetics

The Constitution of the Syllable.—Nubian, as Arabic, tolerates no sequence of consonants. Consonants may hurt upon each other only if they belong to two different syllables; otherwise they are divided by an auxiliary vowel, generally *i*. The Nubian language therefore knows but two kinds of syllables, those of the type C-V-C and those of the type C-V. In both cases the first consonant can be a hamza.

The consequences of this rule are manifold and show its influence on the structure of the language.

Foreign words have to be rearranged to be pronounceable. Greek *θρόνος, σταυρός, τράπεζα* are turned into *tir-'o-nos* (ⲑⲣⲟ̇ⲛⲟⲥ), *'is-tav-ros* (ⲥ̇ⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ),[1] and *tir-'a-pi-si* (ⲧⲣⲁ̇ⲡⲓⲥⲓ). Arabic *qatl, qitl,* and *qutl* become *gatil, gitil,* and *gutul.*[2]

Nubian words containing a reduplicated consonant elide one of them if they happen to fall into the same syllable. The genitive of the participle ⲁⲫ̄ⲗ, living, is *ⲁⲫⲛ̄ⲛⲁ; but if the ⲁ is dropped (as often in the genitive), we get ⲁⲫⲛ̄ (Can. 33, 6) and not *ⲁⲫⲛ̄ⲛ. The objective of the pronoun ⲧⲁⲣ is ⲧⲁⲕⲕⲁ or ⲧⲁⲕ. The genitive of ⲁ̇ⲟⲩⲗ, ship, is given as ⲁ̇ⲟⲩⲛ'. "Godless" in Nubian is *ⲧⲗ̄ⲗⲓⲕⲫ̄ⲫⲓ, but "godlessness" ⲧ̣ⲗⲗⲓ̣ⲕⲓⲫⲕⲁⲛⲉ. Verbs may lose one of their radicals, as ⲇⲟⲩⲙⲙⲉ in ⲇⲟⲩⲙ'-ⲉ̇ⲧⲁ (i.e. *dum-'eta,* Men. 7, 11; modern *dummeda* with assimilation of the hamza); *ⲉⲛⲛⲉ in ⲉⲛ'-ⲉ̇ⲧⲁ (*en-'eta,* Men. 3, 16; modern *enneda,* ditto); ⲧⲟⲕⲕⲉ in ⲧⲟⲕ' ⲁⲣⲣⲉⲥⲱ (Men. 9, 7; cf. modern *tokke*). Compare also the orthographies ⲕⲥⲉ̇ and -ⲕ̄ⲫ̈ⲓ (i.e. *-kiñ'i*), for ⲕⲓⲥⲥⲉ and -ⲕⲓⲫⲫⲓ.

The historical development of a consonant can depend on its position in the syllable. This is either syllable-opening or syllable-closing and according to these two possibilities a medieval consonant may have two descendants in the modern language. Thus syllable-opening ⲇ corresponds to modern *d*, and likewise ⲕ to *k*, ⲡ to *f*, ⲧ

[1] Or should one read ⲑⲣⲟ̇ⲛⲟⲥⲓ, ⲥ̇ⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥⲓ? Greek words ending in *-ας, -ος,* or *-ους* seem to take a final *i* in Nubian.

[2] Substantives of the form *gatil,* etc., when followed by a suffix beginning with a vowel, drop the *i*, giving ⲙⲁⲕⲧⲟⲩ, ⲟ̇ⲩⲥ̄ⲗ̄, ⲡ̄ⲕⲧ̄ⲛ̄, ⲧⲁⲩⲕⲁ, ⲧⲁⲅⲥⲟⲩ. If the following suffix begins with a consonant, the *i* remains and gets the accent (see Reinisch, § 75): ⲙⲁⲕ̄ⲧⲕⲁ, ⲟ̇ⲩ̄ⲥⲕⲁ, ⲡⲓⲕ̄ⲧⲕⲁ, ⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲕⲩⲟⲩ (*tawŭkgü*), ⲧⲁⲅ̄ⲥ̄ⲕⲁ. At the analogy of these forms, Greek *λυχνίδιον,* lamp, has been turned into ⲗⲓⲭⲭⲓⲛⲇⲓⲛ. Compare also the variant ⲁⲓ̈ⲉ̄ⲕ' (Men. 5, 8) for normal ⲁⲓ̈ⲕⲁ; cf. Almkvist, § 23.

to *t*, ⲛ̀ to *n*. But when syllable-closing, ⲇ corresponds to *r*, ⲕ to *g*, ⲡ to *b*, ⲧ to *d*, and ⲛ̀ to *ṅ*.[1] In the other dialects still more transitions could be found. A systematic comparison of the Nubian dialects seems to promise immediate and important results. It does, however, not fall within the scope of the present article.

Morphology

The Suffix -ⲗ.—This suffix is difficult to recognize, owing to its utter variability, and its employment has in most grammars been seriously misunderstood.

It takes, when syllable-closing, the form -ⲗ, -ⲓⲗ, modern *-i* (which under circumstances may disappear), or rarely *-il*. When syllable-opening, it appears as -ⲣ, modern *-r*. Postpositions beginning with a consonant can, but need not, assimilate the ⲗ, giving: -ⲗⲗⲟⲛ,[2] -ⲗⲓⲗ, -ⲗⲓⲣ, -ⲗⲟⲩ (mod. *-ikkū*), -ⲗⲇⲁⲗ and -ⲇⲁⲗ, -ⲗⲉ and -ⲇⲉ, -ⲗⲇⲱ and -ⲇⲱ, -ⲗⲕⲁ and -ⲕⲕⲁ or -ⲕ, -ⲗⲕⲉⲗ and -ⲕⲕⲉⲗ, -ⲗⲗⲁ, -ⲗⲗⲏ, -ⲗⲗⲟ and -ⲛⲛⲁ or -ⲛ.

The suffix has two functions.

(*a*) After nouns it serves as a definite article. ⲡⲁⲡ, *fāb*, in the plural ⲡⲁⲡⲓⲥⲟⲩ, *fāppū*, means "father", "fathers"; ⲡⲁⲡⲗ, *fābī*, plural ⲡⲁⲡⲓⲥⲟⲩⲗ, *fāppūi*, means "the father" or "the fathers". According to most treatises on modern Nubian the forms *fāb* and *fābī* (and their plurals *fāppū* and *fāppūi*) are interchangeable. This has to be examined. I doubt whether it is true.[3]

A fossilized employment of the article is probably to be found in the plural-ending -ⲣⲉⲓ, *-rī* (Zyhlarz, § 81; Lepsius, p. 31). The distinction between the plural in *-ī* and the plural in *-rī* seems not to be felt any more, some words using *-ī* and others *-rī*.

The syntax of the definite article in medieval Nubian presents no difficulties, but for two points that should be noted.

[1] The labials ⲗ, ⲙ, and ⲣ are subject to a number of transitions the exact rules of which I have not been able to establish. Note the following forms (I give the verbal stem, not the infinitive): *ⲇⲁⲣ, to be (present participle ⲇⲁⲗ; mod. *dārē*); *ⲇⲟⲩⲗ, *idem* (mod. *dū'ĕ*); *ⲉⲓⲗ, to say (?; mod. *ī'ĕ*, future *iddīl*, cf. Lepsius, p. 369, and Almkvist, § 73); *ⲧⲁⲣ, to come (mod. *tā'ĕ* or *tārē*); *ⲥⲟⲣ, to enter (mod. *ǧū'ē* or *ǧōrē*). The ⲗ is strong in *ⲉ̀ⲗ, to find, mod. *ēlĕ*.

[2] i.e. *-l* + *'on*, see below, p. 453, n. 1.

[3] For the article in modern Nubian see Lepsius, pp. 26, 32, 44 (under *-dō*), 103, 142, 194 (below); Reinisch, pp. 117 (Anmerkung), 120 (Anmerkung 2); Almkvist, pp. 19, 30 (note 3), 31 (note 1), 32 (Anmerkung 2); Abel, *Erzählung*, vi*b*, viii*g*, ix*c*; Abel, *Verbalformen*, p. 15.

The appositive, genitive, objective, and predicative cases of ⲡⲁⲡⲗ̅ are the same as those of ⲡⲁⲡ, namely ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲩ, ⲡⲁⲡⲛⲁ, ⲡⲁⲡⲕⲁ, and ⲡⲁⲡⲁ. Not as one would think: *ⲡⲁⲡⲣⲟⲩ, *ⲡⲁⲡⲓⲛⲛⲁ, *ⲡⲁⲡⲓⲕⲕⲁ or *ⲡⲁⲡⲣⲁ. The suffixes -ⲁ, -ⲕⲁ, -ⲗ̅ (in its function of definite article), -ⲛⲁ and -ⲟⲩ exclude each other.[1]

Nouns determined by a personal or demonstrative pronoun have to be followed by the article, except, of course, in the cases just mentioned. "Your husband" is ⲉ̅ⲛ̅ ⲟⲩⲥⲗ̅ (objective ⲉ̅ⲛ̅ ⲟ̅ⲩ̅ⲥⲕⲁ, etc.), not ⲉ̅ⲛ̅ ⲟ̅ⲩ̅ⲥ. "That woman" is ⲙⲁⲛ ⲉ̅ⲧⲧⲗ̅, not ⲙⲁⲛ ⲉ̅ⲧⲧⲓ.

(*b*) After verbs the -ⲗ̅ is used to form the participles,[2] the following of which are known :—

The present participle ⲇⲟⲗⲗ̅ⲗ̅, predicative ⲇⲟⲗⲗⲓⲣⲁ[3]; modern *dollī* and *dollira*. Predicative instances are: ⲁ̀ⲫⲣⲁ, Men. 12, 4; ⲕⲁⲡⲥⲣⲁ, Can. 21, 1[4]; -ⲕⲉⲣⲁ, see Zyhlarz, § 241; ⲕⲟⲫⲥⲣⲁ, Graffito, 4, 1; ⲟ̀ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲣⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉ̀, *passim*; ⲡⲉⲥⲓⲣⲁ, Can. 30, 16; ⲡ̅ⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉⲓⲣⲁ, Lect. 109, 13; ⲧ̅ⲥⲥⲣⲁ̀, Lect. 101, 4. For the modern forms one may compare Lepsius, pp. 27, 146–8, 194; Reinisch, pp. 95–8, 103 (Anmerkung 5); Almkvist, pp. 9 (*samakka*)–10 (*dijokka*), 11 (§ 9), 12 (§ 11), 49, 72 (§ 66, Anmerkung); Abel, *Erzählung*, ix*b* and xv*m*.[5]

To be reckoned amongst the present participles are also the adjective ⲟⲩⲉⲗ̅ (*wēl, wēi*; pred. ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲁ, *wēra*), one, and the substantives ⲕⲁⲗⲁⲗ̅[6] (*kaba*), bread; ⲙⲁϣⲁⲗ̅ (*maša*), sun; ϣⲟⲗ̅ (*šō*), book, and ⲅⲁⲗ̅ (*gai, ga*; pred. ⲅⲁ, *gara*), son, which exhibit the same features. Not, however, the substantive ⲁ̀ⲉⲓⲗ̅ (*ail, ai*), heart, which has a predicative ⲁ̈ⲉⲓⲁ̀, probably at the analogy of ⲁ̈ⲓⲁ̀ (Lect. 106, 6), for ⲁ̈-ⲗⲁ, and the substantives ending in a strong ⲗ̅, such as ⲥⲁⲗ̅, word, pred. ⲥⲁⲗⲁ.

[1] Does this indicate that the -ⲗ̅ is in reality, as the other suffixes, a case-ending (namely of the subjective case)? Against this view speak forms like ϥⲁⲗⲗ̅ⲗ̅ⲟⲩⲗ̅-ⲇⲁⲗ̅ or ⲥ̀ⲕⲧⲗ̅-ⲇⲱ.

[2] ⲕ̅ⲡⲥⲗ̅, Men. 12, 3, is not a participle, but the relative form in -ⲥ followed by the article.

[3] Lepsius, p. 180, gives *dolla*. This is not the predicative of the participle, but of the verbal stem.

[4] Thus, and not ⲕⲁⲡⲥⲣⲁ, is the correct reading.

[5] The participle of ⲕⲟⲛ, to have, is ⲕⲟⲩⲛⲗ̅, *kūnī*; the other form for "having", -ⲕⲟ, *-kō*, has in modern Nubian an objective *-kōgā*, not *-kokkā*. Cf. medieval ⲅⲟⲕⲕⲟ, gen. ⲅⲟⲕⲕⲟⲛⲁ?

[6] Can. 24, 14; see Griffith's note.

The perfect participle ⲇⲟⲗⲗⲟⲗ, predicative *ⲇⲟⲗⲗⲟⲣⲁ; modern *dolloi* and *dollora*. The latter form is known to me only from *diyora*, subjective *diyō*, dead (cf. Almkvist, p. 200, right below); its medieval counterpart does not occur at all. The predicative form met with in our texts is ⲇⲟⲗⲗⲁⲣⲁ, for which see Zyhlarz, § 145, and perhaps Abel, *Erzählung*, xic. A subjective *ⲇⲟⲗⲗⲁⲗ seems not to exist, unless we have to think of the rather mysterious words ending in -ⲁⲗ gathered by Zyhlarz, § 31. It is possible that ⲇⲟⲗⲗⲁⲣⲁ and *ⲇⲟⲗⲗⲟⲣⲁ are mere variants, just as we have ⲇⲟⲗⲗⲓⲕⲁⲛⲛⲟ (Zyhlarz, §§ 183, 185) and ⲇⲟⲗⲗⲓⲕⲟⲛⲛⲟ (ibid., §§ 182 and 184).

The future participle exists in two varieties. Verbs ending in a strong consonant have *ⲇⲟⲗⲗⲁⲣⲗ̄, predicative ⲇⲟⲗⲗⲁⲣⲣⲁ. The subjective does not occur but can be deduced from the predicative and from its modern equivalent, which is given by Lepsius, p. 146, as *dollarī*. The modern predicative seems to me to be *dollalla*, with the change of *r* into *l* frequent in the future. I can cite for this form only Lepsius, p. 110, below, and Abel, *Erzählung*, xixe. Lepsius himself gives *dollara*[1] (see p. 180), and this is supported by the negative *kabarǐmmun*, etc., for which see Almkvist, p. 73. It has to be examined whether the reduplication of the *r* is nowadays really neglected.

In conjunction with some verb, probably ⲉⲓⲛ, to be, the future predicative is used to form a future indicative. e.g. ⲙ̄ⲛⲕ ⲁⲩⲁⲣⲣ̄ⲛⲛⲁ, "what shall you do?" Men. 6, 2, perhaps for ⲁⲩⲁⲣⲣⲁ ⲉⲓⲛⲛⲁ; see further Zyhlarz, § 165, and compare the modern *tokarǐnnan*, Lepsius, p. 92, a variant of the normal *dollallan* (medieval ⲇⲟⲗⲗⲁⲣⲣⲁⲛⲁ, Lect. 100, 4), and the negative instance cited above.[2]

If the verb ends in a vowel or in a weak consonant, the participle is ⲕⲓⲇⲇⲗ̄, predicative ⲕ̄ⲇⲇⲣⲁ, cf. Zyhlarz, § 150; Lepsius, p. 93. The reduplication of the ⲇ is often omitted.

The Indicative.—The indicative as given by Lepsius, pp. 76, 83; Reinisch, pp. 67, 72, and Almkvist, pp. 46 and 47, though the normal one, is not the only formation of the kind employed in modern Nubian. In interrogative phrases and, as we shall see, in some other cases, a different paradigm is used, cf. Lepsius, pp. 104, 108; Reinisch, pp. 69, 74; Almkvist, pp. 83, 123, and Abel, *Erzählung*, xib and xiiib. Now this latter paradigm appears to be literally identical with the

[1] He gives no instances.

[2] But forms like *nīdǐnnan*, ibid., p. 93, or ϭⲟⲇⲇ̄ⲛⲛⲁⲛⲁ, St. 14, 9, do not suit this analysis.

medieval indicative-paradigm, as will be seen from the following table :—

The Present Indicative

1 sg.	ⲁⲟⲗⲗⲓⲣⲉ	*dollirḗ*	*dŏllir*
2 sg.	ⲁⲟⲗⲗⲓⲛⲁ	*dollinā́*	*dŏllinam*
3 sg.	ⲁⲟⲗⲗⲓⲛⲁ	*dollinā́*	*dŏllin*
1 pl.	—	*dolliró*	*dŏllur*
2 pl.	ⲁⲟⲗⲗⲓⲣⲟ	*dolliró*	*dollirŏkom*
3 pl.	ⲁⲟⲗⲗⲓⲣⲁⲛⲁ	*dollinnanā́* [1]	*dollĭnnan*

The Past Indicative

1 sg.	ⲁⲟⲗⲗⲓⲥⲉ	*dollisḗ*	*dŏllis*
2 sg.	ⲁⲟⲗⲗⲓⲥⲛⲁ	*dollonā́*	*dŏllonam*
3 sg.	ⲁⲟⲗⲗⲓⲥⲛⲁ or ⲁⲟⲗⲗⲟⲛⲁ [2]	*dollonā́*	*dŏllon*
1 pl.	ⲁⲟⲗⲗⲓⲥⲟ	*dollisó*	*dŏllus*
2 pl.	—	*dollisó*	*dollisŏkom*
3 pl.	ⲁⲟⲗⲗⲓⲥⲁⲛⲁ	*dollisanā́*	*dŏllisan*

The future paradigm is given by Lepsius, p. 109. The first person should probably be *dollallḗ*, with reduplicated *l*.

The medieval endings were fuller than the modern. They could survive if they were protected by some secondary element, as the accent (case (*a*) and (*b*) below), or when grown together with a postposition (*-m* in the second person singular, *-kom* in the second person plural; case (*c*) and (*d*) below). In detail their occurrence seems to be limited nowadays to the following cases :—

(*a*) In communications with a strong emotional value. A good instance in Abel, *Erzählung*, phrase 177 ; see also Abel, *Verbalformen*, p. 31, l. 22, as compared with Men. 6, 9.

(*b*) In questions for corroboration, see Abel, *Erzählung*, xi*b*. In questions for specification, where the accent generally does not fall on the verb, another completely unaccented and shortened indicative, traces of which can be found in the medieval texts already,[3] is used.

[1] For this difficult form, see above, p. 445, n. 2.

[2] ⲁⲟⲗⲗⲓⲥⲛⲁ is the older and more correct form ; but the intrusion of ⲁⲟⲗⲗⲟⲛⲁ is well illustrated by our texts, cf. Zyhlarz, § 158.

[3] In Men. 4, 15, ⲥⲱⲁⲛ is the interrogative of ⲥⲱⲁⲛⲁ or ⲥⲱⲁⲁⲛⲁ.

(*c*) In speech, before the predicative *a*, or before one of the forms of the verb *ī'ē* (?, *īlē* ?),[1] to say. This case will be treated presently.

(*d*) Before the postposition *-ni*. This construction has caused great difficulties to the older grammarians. Lepsius, pp. 159–161, knows two particles, *ēnī* (*-ōnī*, *-ānī*), so that, and *-ānī*, because; so also Reinisch, §§ 451 and 463. Abel, *Erzählung*, gives: *-āni*, because, *-ēni*, so that, and *-ōni*, as a merely stressing particle (xxxi*b*, cf. xviii*b*). The meaning of *-ni* is therefore very vague, as it can be causal, final, or does not alter the sense of the phrase at all. As we shall find a similar uncertainty in the case of the predicative *a*, it will be best to consider *-ni* as a sort of copula. I am not able to make any convincing suggestion as to its origin. It may be the medieval -ϩι of Zyhlarz, § 254, or it may be some form of the verb ⲉⲓⲛ, to be. If so, we might compare the particle *-lin* (Lepsius, p. 151), perhaps to be divided in *-l* (the article) and *in*.

Syntax

The Predicative Phrase.—The predicative case in Nubian is denoted by the postposition -ⲁ, which can be appended to nouns (substantives, adjectives, participles) or to verbal stems (type *dolla*). For these forms one may see Zyhlarz, § 70, and Lepsius, pp. 29 and 145; they are generally easy to recognize.[2]

In other instances the meaning of the ⲁ is less clear. The predicative nouns and verbal stems once being classified, one will find a residue which at first sight looks rather bewildering. Here, it seems, the ⲁ can follow almost every word in the sentence, finite verb-forms, postpositions, and even predicatives. Thus we have:—

Men. 6, 11. "The boatman said to the woman: ⲉ̅ⲧⲧⲁ, ⲉ̅ⲁⲁⲉ ⲁ̈ⲉ̅ⲧⲧⲁⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲙⲏ, ⲙⲁϭ̅ⲣⲕ-ⲟⲛ' ⲉⲛⲁⲉ ⲉ̅ⲛ̅ ⲕⲟⲩⲙⲡⲟⲩⲕ-ⲟⲛ ⲁ̈ⲓⲕⲁ ⲁⲓⲛⲉⲥⲱ, ⲁ̈ⲓⲥ̅ⲛ̅ ⲕⲉⲛ-ⲟⲩⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲣⲉ-ⲥ̅ⲛ̅, ⲉⲓⲣ-ⲟⲛ ⲉ̅ⲛ̅ ϩⲟⲟⲩ-ϩ̅ⲗⲗⲉ ϩ̅ⲡⲣⲧⲉⲥⲱ ⲉ̅ⲛ̅ ⲟⲩϭ̅ⲗ̅ ϩⲉⲩⲓ ⲙⲉⲛⲕⲟⲛⲛⲟⲁ̀ ⲁ̀, Woman, thou art . . ., and not . . .; give me thine egg, I will deposit it; and do thou return to thy house, that thy husband may not fear."

Men. 8, 12. "The boatman said to his son: ⲉ̀ ⲧⲟⲧⲁ ⲉ̅ⲛ̅ ⲕⲟⲩⲙⲡⲟⲩⲗ̅ ⲉⲓⲥ-ⲗⲟ ⲉⲓⲥ-ⲥⲛⲁϫ̀ⲁ, Boy, whence hast thou taken this egg?"

[1] See above, p. 443, n. 1.

[2] Note that the ⲁ is absorbed by a preceding ⲉ, both in medieval and in modern Nubian; cf. Griffith, p. 77 (2), and Abel, *Erzählung*, iiie and xxixe.

Can. 20, 15. "If somebody . . . s and says about the oblations dedicated in the church: ⲕⲥⲥⲉⲛ ⲧⲟⲩⲫⲗ̅ⲗⲟ ⲕⲁⲡⲓⲥⲣⲁ ⲁ̀, The children of the church are eating them (?), he shall be anathematized."

Can. 21, 15. "Have ye not heard that which is written: ⲧ̅ⲗ̅ⲗⲓⲕⲁ . . . ⲧ̅ⲧⲁ ⲙⲏ ⲁ̀, . . . the Lord . . . is a gift?"

Can. 27, 4. ⲁⲛⲕⲉⲥⲟ ⲉⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲁⲁ ⲥⲟⲗⲁ ⲁⲟⲩⲙⲙⲁ ⲧ̅ⲥⲥⲟⲁⲟ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲕⲁⲣⲁ ⲁ̀, "Remember what has been done to Judas the betrayer (?)."

Lect. 100, 1. "All this was done, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the Prophet, saying: ⲉ[. . .] ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥⲓⲗ̀ⲗⲟ ⲧ̀ⲟⲩⲗⲟ ⲥⲟⲩⲛⲧⲟⲩⲣⲁⲣⲣ[ⲁ], ⲣⲁⲕⲕⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲛⲓⲛⲛⲟ, ⲧⲁⲛ ⲧⲁⲣ̅ⲥⲕⲁ ⲉⲙⲙⲁⲛⲟⲩⲏⲗ̀ⲗⲁ̅ ⲟ̅ⲕⲁⲣⲣⲁⲛⲁ ⲁ̀, Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel."

Lect. 104, 3. "And so all Israel shall be saved; as it is written: ⲕ[ⲙ̅]ⲙⲁ ⲥⲓⲱ̀ⲛⲓⲁ̀ ⲕⲉⲧⲁⲗ̀ ⲁⲩⲗⲉⲗ̀, ⲩⲡ̅[ⲣ̅]ⲧⲉⲛⲓ[ⲁ̀] ⲧ̀ⲗ̀ⲗⲓⲕⲓⲫⲕⲁⲛⲉⲕⲁ ⲓⲁⲕ[ⲱ]ⲃ̀[. . . . .] ⲕⲉⲧⲁⲗ̀ ⲉⲓⲛⲛⲟ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲓⲥⲓⲣ[ⲧ . . . . . .] ⲗ̀ⲗⲉⲛ, ⲧⲉⲛ ⲣⲁⲡⲉⲥⲟⲩ[ⲕ] ⲟⲥⲧⲣ[.]ⲥⲉⲣⲓ ⲧⲁⲩⲕⲗ̀ⲱ ⲁ̀, There shall come out of Sion the Deliverer, and shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob; for this is my covenant unto them, when I shall take away their sins."

Lect. 109, 1. . . .]ⲟ̀ⲥⲓⲥⲉ ⲁ̀ ⲥⲉⲛⲓⲙ̅ⲛⲏⲥⲱ, "I pray not that thou shouldest take them out of the world."

Lect. 113, 13. [ⲧⲉⲕ]ⲕⲁ ⲉ̀ⲥⲓⲁⲥⲓⲥⲛⲁ̀ ⲉⲓⲥⲗ̀ⲟ [ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥⲓ ⲟⲩⲛⲛⲟⲩ]ⲧ̀ⲁⲕⲟⲛⲁ ⲁ̀, "He demanded of them where Christ should be born."

Lect. 115, 3. . . .]ⲉ ⲁ̀, "Being warned of God in a dream that they should not return to Herod."

These phrases, once being gathered, appear to resemble each other closely, in so far as they all contain a direct or indirect speech. It is this particularity that gives us the solution, as the ⲁ cannot belong to the words immediately preceding, but may well determine a whole phrase. Apparently the Nubians considered speech as a predicate and not, as we do, as an object.[1]

We are now able to find still more instances.

Can. 19, 8. "If somebody . . . s and says about this holy sacrament which is lying on the table: ⲁⲣⲧⲟⲥⲁ ⲥⲱⲗⲁⲙ, ⲟⲣⲡⲁ ⲥⲟⲗⲁⲙⲁ, It is bread . . ., it is wine . . ., he shall be anathematized."

[1] For objective phrases, see Abel, *Verbalformen*, pp. 20 and 52.

Can. 20, 3. "If somebody says in his heart: ⲓⲉⲣⲉ̀ⲥⲓ-ⲗⲟⲧⲥⲱ ⲕ̅ⲙ̅-ⲙ̅ⲥⲥⲟⲙ ⲣⲉⲓ-ⲙ̅ⲥⲥⲟⲙⲁ, We have not eaten or drunk from the priest, he has no part (?) in the heavenly Jerusalem."

Men. 8, 16. "My father, dost thou remember this, which a woman gave us, ⲣ̅ⲥⲥⲟⲩ ⲙⲏⲛⲁⲛ ⲕ̅ⲥⲥⲉ-ⲗⲁ ⲧ̅ⲥⲥⲁⲛⲁⲥⲁ, that we might offer it in the church of Saint Mena?"

Lect. 112, 7. "But when the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law, ⲧⲉⲁ̅ⲛ ⲧⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲁⲗⲣⲟⲩⲕ[ⲁ] ⲥⲁⲛ̀ⲥⲓⲥⲉⲥⲁ, to redeem them that were under the law."

In these four phrases the predicative ⲁ has absorbed the vowel of the preceding word. -ⲙⲏ (mod. *-mī*, cf. Almkvist, p. 31, n. 9, and p. 43) is one of the numerous medieval copulas. Like the corresponding Kenzi *-ma*, it easily loses its vowel, especially before other vowels, so e.g. in the form *-mene* (Lepsius, p. 361), contracted from -ⲙⲏ and ⲉⲓⲛ, to be.[1] -ⲙⲏ ⲁ̀ occurs in Can. 22, 2. In the same way -ⲥⲁ is to be divided in -ⲥⲱ, the common imperative-suffix (cf. Zyhlarz, § 172), and ⲁ. For the loss of the ⲱ, cf. ⲟⲩⲛⲛⲉⲥ', Men. 3, 4.[2]

The final verb-forms of medieval Nubian are all of them composed with the predicative ⲁ. According to their subject, they can be classed into two groups.

If the subjects of main clause and of final clause are identical,[3] the form used is -ⲓⲛⲓⲁ̀, plural -ⲓⲛⲟⲩⲁ̀, cf. Zyhlarz, § 195. The elements -ⲓⲛⲓ and -ⲓⲛⲟⲩ are in all probability the first person singular and plural of some obsolete indicative.[4]

If the subjects of main clause and of final clause are not identical, medieval Nubian uses the conditional followed by the predicative ⲁ, a construction according to our grammars unknown to the modern language. But the transition of a conditional into a final can readily be imagined; I can quote a good instance from Nubian itself,

[1] For the metamorphoses of ⲉⲓⲛ, to be, see Lepsius, pp. 332, 361; Reinisch, § 204 (Anmerkung 2), 306, 399; Almkvist, § 78, and Abel, *Erzählung*, iiie, xviii, xxiiia (?), xxixe.

[2] See also Zyhlarz, § 181.

[3] The one exception is perhaps ⲡⲉⲥⲁ ⲧ̅ⲥⲥⲓⲛⲓ, St. 11, 1, where the predicative ⲁ may have been elided before the following ⲟⲛ.

[4] I had first thought of comparing Lepsius' Electivum *dollēnir*. This form, which according to Abel, *Erzählung*, xvd, is not understood by the native Nubians, may repose, however, on an error. Lepsius' one instance *ǵanōs-ēn-kossan* could be divided in *ǵan*, *ōs*, *dēn*, and *-kossan*; see Schafer, *Nubische Texte im Dialekte der Kunûzi*, Berlin, 1917, p. 155 below, and Fräulein von Massenbach, in the *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen*, Berlin, Jahrgang xxxvi, p. 179, under *ǵán*.

viz. Marc 11, 13: *mōl tan-nā ǧūon, hāǧa wēkā el-kanī iā*, "He came, if haply he might find anything thereon." Cf. also Reinisch, § 266.

Finally, the following phrases have to be mentioned:—

Can. 29, 12. ⲁⲗⲗⲏⲗⲟⲩϊⲁ-ⲉⲓⲁⲡⲡⲁ ⲑⲉⲗⲕⲁⲑ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲙⲁⲑ ⲉ ⲥ̅ⲛ̅, "For Alleluia is Thelkath Marimath."

Can. 29, 14. "The saying being interpreted is: ⲧ̅ⲗⲗⲟⲩ ⲥ̅ⲙ̅ⲗ̅ⲥⲟⲩⲕⲁ ⲥ̅ⲡⲓⲧⲁⲣⲟⲕⲕⲁ ⲣⲟⲟⲕⲧⲣⲁⲙⲥⲟ, ⲟⲛ ⲧⲁⲕⲕⲟⲛ ⲧⲁⲣⲟⲩⲁⲙⲥⲟ ⲉ ⲥ̅ⲛ̅, Let us glorify God who has founded all things and let us worship him."

Lect. 100, 4. ⲉⲓⲣ̣[.] ⲉⲓⲥ̅ⲛ̅ ⲧⲓⲗⲗⲓⲗⲗⲱ ⲉⲁⲁⲗ ⲡⲉⲗⲁ ⲁⲟⲩⲗ̣[ⲁ]ⲣⲣⲁ ⲉ̇ ⲥ̅ⲛ̅, "Which (sc. the name Emmanuel) being interpreted is, God with us."

Here the place of the predicative ⲁ is taken by the vowel ⲉ, perhaps a mere variant, as modern *-jě* for *-a* (cf. Abel, *Erzählung*, xvii*h*, xix*h*), perhaps a contraction of the ⲁ with some other vowel; compare the form ⲉⲓⲉ̇, Can. 32, 6, and the ending -ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲉ̇, Can. 19, 7; Lect. 104, 11; 112, 12; St. 5, 11; 8, 4; 15, 10, instead of the regular -ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉ̇.[1]

Turning now to the modern language, we there find the predicative phrase as a still always favourite construction; so much so, that scarcely one page of Nubian will be found that does not contain one or more instances. The literature on this paragraph of grammar is fairly extensive and a great number of forms has been collected that can now easily be analysed. It will be clear that every phrase can eventually be put in the predicative case and that there are therefore as many types of predicative phrases as there are types of ordinary ones. As grammars treat the subject, however, under several headings, we shall here enumerate some of the better known constructions.

(*a*) Phrases ending in a present, past, or future indicative. In this case the indicative has preserved the medieval endings treated on p. 446. See Lepsius, pp. 145, 163; Reinisch, §§ 459, 460; Almkvist, §§ 77, 97, 98; Abel, *Erzählung*, ii*d*, v*b*, xi*d*, xvii*k*, etc.

(*b*) Phrases ending in an imperative. See Lepsius, pp. 140, 141; Reinisch, § 461; Almkvist, § 76.

(*c*) Phrases ending in a future infinitive. The form is ambiguous as *dollallē* can nearly always be explained as the first person singular

[1] Also -ⲉⲓⲁ̇, in Men. 2, 3 and Can. 30, 7, may be no more than the predicative ⲁ, preceded by an auxiliary *y*; but cf. Zyhlarz, § 305. The interrogative ⲙⲛⲁ (ibid., § 280) is probably composed of ⲙ̅ⲛ̅, what?, and ⲁ.

of the indicative. But the possibility has, of course, to be admitted; see Lepsius, p. 144.

Whether Lepsius, p. 103, is right when he says that the predicative *a* can be used as an interrogative particle, I do not know. The instances he gives would probably have the *a* also if they were statements and not questions.

Predicative phrases are very often followed by a verb for "to say", like *-ion*, inquit. See Lepsius, p. 330; Abel, *Erzählung*, p. 15, and above, p. 447 (*c*).

Vocabulary

In modern Nubian a considerable number of native words has been supplanted by Arabic loans. This shifting of the vocabulary forms the main impediment for the understanding of the pre-Arabic texts, as the meaning of many of the older words can at present be guessed only.

- ⲁⲙⲁⲇⲉⲓⲥ, occurring in Can. 27, 4: "Remember Judas, how the Satan entered (?) into his heart, ⲁⲙⲁⲇⲉⲓⲥⲁⲣⲁ ⲥⲓⲛ ⲥⲟⲗⲁ ⲇⲟⲩⲙⲁ ⲧ̄ⲥⲥⲓⲛⲉⲓⲁ, and who did ⲁ. to betray (?)," shows a striking resemblance to Coptic ⲁⲙⲁⲗⲏϫ, to embrace; in conjunction with the presumable meaning of ⲥⲟⲗ, this would give an excellent sense: "and who embraced (sc. the Lord) to betray (him)." The verb may be identical with Kenzi *amağē*, to girt.[1]

I may here be allowed to mention a few more Egyptian loans in Nubian; alas, the results of my researches in this field are rather poor.[2]

dādi, vessel; Eg. *dd*, Hebrew דּוּד.
gŏğ, to slaughter; Copt. ⲥⲱϫ, *idem*, from Semitic.
kandi, knife; Copt. ⲥⲟⲣⲧⲉ, *idem*.
korğ, to split; Copt. ⲕⲱⲣϫ, *idem*, from Semitic.
košob, to crush; Copt. ⲥⲱϫϧ, *idem*, from Semitic.
merīd, friend; Copt. ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ, beloved.
merīsa, a drink; Copt. ⲙ̄ⲣⲓⲥ, *idem*.

[1] As to Coptic ⲁⲙⲁⲗⲏϫ, this word looks like a conjugated form of ⲙⲟⲩⲗϫ, a verb with the same meaning and probably of Semitic origin. If this is true, one might think of the form אַקְטֵל.

[2] See also G. W. Murray, *An English-Nubian Comparative Dictionary*, Oxford, 1923; L. Reinisch, *Die Nuba-Sprache*, Vienna, 1879, vol. ii.

mīr, new; Copt. ⲃⲣ̄ⲣⲉ, *idem*.
sǐgir, boat; Copt. ⲥϭⲏⲣ, to sail.[1]
šōb, time; Copt. ϣⲱⲡ, moment.[2]

- ⲅⲁⲇ, flesh, identical with Kenzi *kǔsu*, flesh, as is shown by the Cordofanic *kwad'e*; cf. D. Kauczor, *Die Bergnubische Sprache*, Vienna, 1920, p. 48.

- ⲇⲉ, a particle (cf. Zyhlarz, § 256), probably derived from Coptic ⲇⲉ and from Greek δὲ, seems to be still in use. See Abel, *Erzählung*, phrase 164.

- ⲇⲟⲩⲕ and ⲇⲟⲩⲕⲕ seem to me to be two different verbs. ⲇⲟⲩⲕ, to worship, corresponds to modern *dūg*, *idem*. ⲇⲟⲩⲕⲕ, in the medieval texts always employed together with the verb ⲕⲉⲛ (ⲕⲉⲛ-ⲇⲟⲩⲕⲕ), means "to offer". Modern *dukk* has many meanings, amongst which "to bring forth", etc.

- ⲉⲓⲅⲟⲩ, men, may be the plural of ⲉⲓⲧ, man. The modern plural is *ǔttū*.

- ⲣ̄ⲕⲁⲛⲉ, has two meanings. The first is "birth", derived from a verb *ir*, to bear, nowadays found only in the Cordofanic dialects (Zyhlarz); as such it translates Greek γένεσις, Lect. 112, 4. The second is "kingdom", derived from the substantive ⲟⲩⲣⲟⲩ, king. This meaning is clear from St. 30, 1, in which phrase Griffith has rightly recognized a translation of Matthew xxv, 34: "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world." In St. 14, 8, ϩⲁⲣⲙⲓⲅⲟⲩⲛ ⲣ̄ⲕⲁⲛⲉⲗ is, of course, "the kingdom of heavens." For Men. 8, 4, see below, under ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲇⲗ̄.

- ⲕⲁⲕⲗ̄, in Men. 3, 13, and 14, 13, is the present participle of a verb ⲕⲁⲕ, to sprout, not to be confused with ⲕⲁⲕ, to carry. The former verb is now given by Fräulein von Massenbach in her vocabulary. She also knows *kagrussi*, boil, literally "a bad sprouting".

- ⲕⲉⲗⲗⲱ, with preceding subjunctive, translates Greek καθὼς; but, when used independently, it renders πάντες. So in Men. 13, 13; 14, 8; 15, 1; Lect. 107, 9, and 109, 14.

- ⲕⲉⲛ, to place, seems to have survived in the modern particle *ken*, for which see Abel, *Erzählung*, xid and xxviiie.

[1] I have read this equation somewhere, but cannot remember where exactly.

[2] See *Mitteilungen des Seminars, etc.*, Jahrgang xxxviii, p. 308. From the precoptic period the only equations I know of are *ktt*, small, Nubian *kudūd*, and *tgr*, ring, Nubian *tigli*.

- ⲕⲟⲁⲛⲧⲣⲓⲥⲟⲩ (Graffito of King George, line 17), forefathers. Cf. Cordofanic *kank'iri*, *idem*, Kauczor, op. laud., p. xiii.

- ⲙⲁⲩⲉ and ⲙⲟⲣ are measures. According to Fräulein von Massenbach, the *mōr* contains 12 *mašē*.

- ⲟⲛ can be an enclitic postposition[1] or an independent conjunction (cf. Zyhlarz, §§ 260–4). For the latter function, compare Abel, *Erzählung*, xd.

- ⲧⲁⲣⲟⲩ is rendered by Griffith with "to bless". This is indeed the right translation. Fräulein von Massenbach in her vocabulary gives *táru* (from Ombarakâb), *tóru* or *torw*, to greet, to thank.

- ⲧⲁⲣⲟⲩ, the pronoun, as used proleptically (cf. Zyhlarz, § 296*c*), may be the prototype of the modern particle *tā*, for which see Lepsius, p. 391; Almkvist, p. 248; and Abel, *Erzählung*, viig.

- ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲁ̅ⲗ, in Men. 8, 4, is a participle and the same as modern *wīrī*, far. The boatman went to a far kingdom. What ⲉⲓⲥⲟⲩ means I cannot say.

- ϭⲁⲕϥ, in Men. 12, 2, cannot be modern *ǧakk*, to kick; it would be too cruel. I think of Kenzi *ǧagin*, to knock, which suits better.

- ϭⲟⲩⲣ, reason, is modern *ǧūr*, see Almkvist, p. 216.

In conclusion of my article, I give a few corrections on Griffith's translation.

In Men. 13, 7, ⲟⲩⲛⲛⲁ̅ⲕⲕⲟⲁⲛⲛⲟⲁ̀ is rendered by Griffith with: "that they may make thee fruitful." This must be an error, as "bear-and-give" permits of no other translation than: "that they may lay thee eggs."

On the same page, line 8: ⲉ̅ⲕ-ⲕⲉⲧⲁⲗⲗⲉ-ⲉⲓⲟⲛ ⲉ̀ ⲉ̅ⲧⲧⲁ ϥⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲛⲛⲁⲣⲣⲁ ⲥⲓ, is understood by Griffith as a relative clause. I take ⲥⲓ to be a variant, if not a mere error, for ⲥⲓⲛ and translate: "and thou also, O woman, shalt bear a son."

Can. 23, 12. ⲙⲁⲗⲗⲉ ⲟⲛ? Or ⲙⲁⲗⲗⲉ ⲥⲛ.

Can. 33, 10. In the word read ⲧ̅ϭϣ̣ⲁⲛⲁ by Griffith, I believe a second ⲛ can be discerned. This would give ⲧ̅ϭϭⲁⲛⲛⲁ, a future, with better sense.

Lect. 107, 10. Instead of [ⲁⲓ̈], read [ⲁⲛ]; cf. Abel, *Verbalformen*, p. 36.

In St. 35, 5, Griffith has recognized a translation of Luke xi, 10: "For every one that asketh receiveth; and he that seeketh findeth;

[1] After the suffix -ⲗ and after ⲛ, the hamza is assimilated, giving -ⲗⲗⲟⲛ and -ⲛⲛⲟⲛ. After vowels we find -ⲉ ⲟⲛ or rarely -ⲟⲛ.

and to him that knocketh it shall be opened." The form ⲉⲇⲇⲙ̄ⲙⲁ is, however, not the future of ⲉⲧ, to take, which would be ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲛⲁ (Can. 21, 13), but of ⲉⲗ, to find, cf. Lepsius, p. 93.[1] The first part of the phrase seems not to be cited.

Graffito 9. Instead of ⲟⲛⲧⲁ////ⲗ̣ⲗ̄, read ⲟⲛ ⲧⲁ[ⲇⲇ]ⲁⲗ, cf. St. 31, 3.

Graffito 16. The last word may be ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲥⲟⲙ, "We, X and Y, have written."

Other improvements on the translation were published by Abel and Zyhlarz. I have not thought it necessary to repeat them here.

[1] In Can. 27, 1, ⲡⲁⲇⲇⲉⲓⲛⲁⲓ̈ may be the future of ⲡⲁⲗ, to go out.

Mambwe Proverbs

By †A. Werner

Edited by A. N. Tucker

[ON going through the papers of Dr. Alice Werner, I found many valuable and interesting documents. Miss Mary Werner very generously presented these papers to the School, and it is the aim of the African Department to edit and publish them from time to time in the *Bulletin*. It is hoped that the following short article will be the forerunner of an extensive series. A. N. T.]

1. Citaponzili, usano walya.
2. Mupanzi asikula mutwe.
3. Mukunsyange, cino nyina wamusila.
4. Palu mukoma, pakatuka iangalala.
5. Wila walile wankama.
6. Muntu wafwilile pali " Mwauli ".
7. Mukana-kuuvwa asikana-kulola.
9. Mwanyonga, mwakolu twane.
10. Mwana mufuke akalyi vifuke viuze.
11. Mucenġele usililwa liili.
12. Mukwata cile, asisumba.
13. Nakasya kakoloci, kuuvwa cilinda pa mulyango.
14. Malango wenga wakuswili nsima ku ukwi.
15. Mukusekwa, mulafuma malango.
16. Mwance, kula yakuti " Lolu mwezi " alolu munwe.
17. Sawe wafwilile pi tulu lyakwe.
18. Sicipweka wakunkuka, cikunkuli nġili.
19. Mwana 'asiuzya, walile musumba wa kwe isi.
20. Uwila ukayembukisyu mu ukwi.
21. Ṅala isikungwa wanda wa musika.
22. Maka ya nswi yalu mu luzi.
23. Lyasyanga, limapanda.
24. Sikazula-kakoko mu luzi, kawela kakukompi linso.
25. Twali nu mutanda, twapiluka tumanyeka.
26. Wiza wa maku, mukasi inyelele.
27. Mutali-mpiti ukaiazwilizya.
28. Tuzwike cisiki ṅala, ukeke cino cikayonele.

29. Nkusa wa maka mace.
30. Sikupeta-musongwa, kupetela ali na maka.
31. Ana-ńombe, tomolangi, cisama wamulyanga wakuka mino.
32. Na-uyo wapela.
33. Vya ku uyo, visi manyiwa.
34. Kance watuka nyoko, manguzi cimakuleta.
35. Alu mwanane ku mulaza, nanti yasyakumuuma cino yakumusazya malango.
36. Maka mace yakalisya nkusa.
37. Mwana-mbuzi akakolwe, kula katakozili nyina kakoli 'isi.
38. Nakutentamba nsamvu, ndi masila misenga.
39. Mukula-mbulu waiwanzya maka.
40. Cifulala-kasi cisiyesya mpepo.
41. Cifunta-ntembwa cilu wa maka.
42. Pasi wazanyili ńombe, atelipe (*or* atekite).
43. Nakawa wa kwe Nakusya-nyama, nu ku muzi kusi uwelelo.
44. Paki cala mafuta, uleke cikapite cikakutasya.
45. Umba ulu usiku, musanya waleula nyina wa milangu.
46. Kasi ndi simbwa.
47. Muńumbe, ndu'syakucina ? Mu matowa nati mvungoka.
48. Yakutumwa yauzizyi nkoko maele.
49. Zongwe w'ingila mwaka wi liwa.
50. Ndu'makonyi cala maswa, kueneka cit'ipanga ?
51. Sikukuta-Mukandi akuikutilila.
52. Mino akase kanyimbwa, akasiulwa kuswepa.
53. Nanzila isinena, ngani nangambwelele-mo.
54. Muleka vipita, nga malango yamuzana.
55. Songa-cukwa ulasya manda yakuya.
56. Viunga kuno vikatinwa, akuno vikawa.
57. Leza ali we akaika muungu wa mbezu.
58. Cefyi nkwi, musipa usipya linso.
59. Yakalingu usu na manzi.
60. Luzimo luii ulusiile ku muluwa.
61. Kazila wa vyunyi akatonta, kasunda wa antu asiatonta.
62. Ntendo wazeya, mu manda ulawela viinga.
63. Umwana wa wila, ukulololu ku nsima-ivu.
64. Namuzi-usi-munyonko ukweleula Kuponga.
65. Kufisa-mfwa, malili yaumbula.
66. Itaponyili, ilu mu cifwa.
67. Mwana-'talalole wapezili Ciwa wila.

68. Sikuuma-mutiswe kulola apakile.
69. Siwila-mwene-muzi ungafuma, ukule uwako.
70. Nkulu ziili zisitikana miungu.
71. Ikwata lyalyilu mwale.
72. Tuli mu mitanda muno nsakwe.
73. Ndi wakakata, umi ulacepa.

Translation

1. It is not lost but royalty devoured.
2. A dependent is not impudent.
3. Go on hitting him, since his mother is dead, i.e. All right kill him.
4. Where a palm is, there also is a young palm.
5. Giving devours the secret giver (cf. Prodigal son).
6. A man died for saying "How are you". If a man has stolen something and is lent something wherewith to pay off the debt he is doubly indebted.
7. He who won't listen will soon see (trouble).
9. You have tied me (because) you would take my store. (Nathan's parable).
10. The humble child will get notice. Blessed are the meek, etc.
11. Once bitten twice shy.
12. A parent does not throw away even a naughty child.
13. Mrs. Leave-your-mother, will hear her stick at the door.
14. Mr. Wise-in-his-own-conceit, hates food at his father-in-law's. He who despises an advocate may find condemnation.
15. In being laughed at one finds wisdom.
16. Cannot see the forest for trees.
17. A man troubled for his own property.
18. Mr. Talkative when he praises is like a pig in the mire. (He gets nothing.)
19. The child who won't ask has eaten the father's food. Ignorance excuses no man.
20. Stupidness brings sin even against one's relatives.
21. One does not weave the head-dress on the day of war. Be prepared.
22. The strength of the fish is in the water. His strength is in his proper surroundings.
23. The grind-stone that grinds will not grind fine: he who began well has now deteriorated.
24.

25. (Said when a good chief dies.)
26. The fig looks well but inside there are ants.
27. Mr. Prompt-to-begin you help yourself.
28. Let us dress the stump with a head-dress and it will cause it to fall to pieces. Used: We have given you a good wife, and if you are not careful you may spoil her.
29. The jackal is not very strong (but wise).
30. Mr. Bend-the-bough. Used of a man who has betrothed a girl, and then she marries another.
31. You calves eat on, the lion that used to eat you has lost his teeth. Live in peace, your enemy has lost his power.
32. The mother of going is ended. If you drive us away where can we go, we have no friends.
33. You don't know where you are going to.
34. Child, you have cursed your mother, the evening will bring you back.
35. Alas, my child gone to the chief garden, even if they are not beating him, since they are teaching him what is good for him. Don't be distressed, perhaps he will learn to behave.
36. The little strength causes one to eat rubbish. . . . It is my fault but my misfortune.
37. As the old cock crows the young one learns.
38. However carefully (I wash) the mushrooms, some sand will remain. "Bray a fool in mortar yet will his foolishness not leave him."
39. He who draws a lizard must praise his strength.
40. He who delights in washing does not feel the cold. It is your doing, why then make a fuss?
41. He who plucks up a ntembwa (tree) is strong.
42. You cannot get cattle and be fat (or lazy). You can't have your pudding and eat it.
43. The mother who barks (dog) and the mother who leaves the meat, need not return to the village.
44. Anoint the corpse with oil, let it go, it will thank you.
45. The childless man is in the night, in the day it is different as if he were the mother of tributaries.
46. The child is not like a dog.
47. Tortoise, do you not play? In my shell I have played.
48. (Based on the story of a dog who took all the breasts of the hens and put them on her own body.) Said of a person who collects a debt and then absconds.

49. The grub entered when the tree was only in flower. Original sin.
50. If you laugh at an old man for his beard, do you think he has not plucked it (when young) ?
51. Mr. Invite-the-chief brings to himself loss.
52.
53. The mother of the road did not tell me, or I would have come back. Had I known what was before me I should not have gone on.
54. Let them go. he has come to himself.
55. Do as you like, the day comes when you will go (die).
56. Caterpillars where they are killed there also abound.
57. God is he who sets aside the pumpkin for seed.
58. Lessen the firewood, the eye of the white-bate cannot be cooked.
59. Cut your coat by your cloth.
60. The bee is bad if it does not work. The lazy bee gathers no honey, cf. 42.
61.
62. The pot wandered, some day the potsherds will return.
63. A liberal child gives his companion mud-pies. As the twig is bent, so shall be the tree.
64. She who has no brother in the village is always afraid of doing wrong.
65. There is nothing hid but tears will reveal.
66. The sop is not lost, it is in the relish.
67. The child who has never seen the devil, shaved the devil all day.
68. Mr. Hitter of the dirty woman, is he who will see the ornamented others.
69. He who hates his chief, let him go build by himself.
70. Two big rivers do not flow (or) might not bear the same tributaries.

Phonetic and Grammatical Notes on Mambwe

The Vowels are to be pronounced with their Continental values, **i** as in *machine*, **e** as in *get*, **a** as in *calm*, **o** as " aw " in *saw*, **u** as in *rule*. Each vowel may be pronounced either long or short, accented or not, and sometimes they have what one might call an " even " accent. All syllables end in a vowel.

l and **r**, being so closely related phonetically and indistinguishable by the native, the former only is used here. It is, however, worth noting that in low-lying districts, as along the Zambesi, around both Nyasa and Tanganyika, and in the Bangweulu swamps, the sound appears to us to be **r** (rather than **l**) especially before **e** or **i**.

One of the most difficult of consonantal sounds is a sound variously written *chi*, *tshi*, *tyi*, *tji*, *ki*, and *kyi*. Custom has led us to use the two latter in Mambwe (*ki-* before consonants and *kyi-* or *ky-* before vowels). In Bemba and Nyanja, *ch* is more often used. No combination, however, of letters exactly represents this sound, which is the " palatal explosive " and really lies between **k** and **t**. Perhaps the best way to get it is to place the tip of the tongue solidly against the roots of the lower teeth (below the actual teeth), and while retaining it there pronounce *ch* as in *church*. The middle of the tongue will be found to rise and by contact with the hard palate, cause the explosion. The I.P.A. and most modern Bantu scholars write for this sound simply *c*.[1]

The sounds **b** and **g** never stand alone, only appearing in Mambwe in the nasal combinations *mb* and *ng*. The latter, however, has two sounds, one written *ng* is pronounced as in *finger*, and the other written *ng'* or *ṅ* (I.P.A. symbol ŋ) is pronounced as in *singing*.[2] Sometimes, especially before **i** or **e**, the sounds are softened,[3] almost to that in *singe*. In Bemba this is written *nj*, but in Mambwe usually *ngy*. These soft varieties are not exactly the English sounds, but may be approximated if the tongue is placed against the lower portion (higher than for **c**) of the lower teeth when pronouncing the combinations.

In Mambwe **s** and **z** should never be confounded, but in Bemba it has been the custom to write *sh* as the corresponding sounds both to **sy** and **zy** in Mambwe.

w and **y** are nearly always the result of **u** plus a vowel and **i** plus a vowel. Care should, however, be taken to distinguish such words as *luakwe* and *lwakwe*.

The following tables show the relationship of Mambwe consonants with those of Ur-Bantu :—

[1] This practice has evidently been followed by Dr. Werner in the proverbs given here. [Ed.].

[2] It will be noticed in most East African languages that the ŋ pronunciation is heard when the following syllable in the same stem contains a nasal sound, and that the **g** is heard in other contexts. In such languages ŋ and ŋg may be said to belong to the same phoneme. (Ed.)

[3] i.e. palatalized, ŋg to a sound approximating **nj**, and ŋ to a sound approximating **ny**. (Ed.)

U-B	M	U-B	M	U-B	M	U-B	M	U-B	M
k	k	ki	ci	ku	ku	kî	si	kû	fu
t	t	ti	si	tu	tu	tî	si	tû	su
p	p	pi	pi	pu	pu	pî	fi	pû	fu
ɣ	–	ɣi	i	ɣu	u	ɣî	zi	ɣû	vu
l	l	li	li	lu	lu	lî	zi	lû	zu
ʋ	–	ʋi	i	ʋu	u	ʋî	vi	ʋû	zu
m	m	mi	mi			mî	mi		
n	n	ni	ni			nî	nyi		

A knowledge of these changes simplifies a number of perplexing problems, and explains why words appear in one language in one form and in another in a different dress.

It will be noticed from the above table that ʋ and ɣ are dropped in Mambwe before **i** and **u**, but change to **v** and **z** respectively before **î** and **û**.[1] Where dropped, their influence is, however, still felt, in that they forbid contractions which would otherwise take place between the vowels, e.g. **ku-omba**, **u** and **o** being both retained because of a dropped initial ʋ whereas in **k'ota** the **u** and **o** unite into **o**, as there never was an initial ʋ in that stem. Moreover, the **b** is restored if the stem is preceded by a nasal prefix, e.g. **mbombe**, and the **g** is restored under the same conditions and in the forms **ng**, **ng'**, **ngy**, **ny**, e.g. **ngendo**.

The Nasal causes some trouble; its form is:—

n before **c**, **k**, **t**, **g**, **n**, **l** (which it changes to **d**, thus: **nd**).
m before **b**, **p**, **m**, **z**, **m**.
n or **m** before **f**, **s**.

A rule in Swahili and other languages is that **l** disappears between vowels, but in Mambwe the only certain case of this is in the prefix **ili-**, now almost always reduced to **i-**.

The Noun Class system in Mambwe is as follows. Note that all Meinhof's noun prefixes can be traced in Mambwe and Bemba (with the exception of 19, 20, and 21).

Class I.—Mambwe has **mu-** in the singular, becoming **mw-** before a pure vowel.[2] In the plural in Mambwe the ʋ- has disappeared, leaving

[1] As far as can be gathered from the MS., there is no difference in pronunciation in modern Mambwe between vowels derived from Ur-Bantu **i** and **î** or **u** and **û**. (Ed.)

[2] By "pure vowel" is meant a vowel which has never had a ʋ or ɣ before it. Vowels which have at one time had these consonants still act as consonants.

a- before consonants, which in turn disappears before pure vowels. Examples:—

mu-ntu (man), pl. **a-ntu**
mu-ci (wife), pl. **a-ci**
mw-ina (brother), pl. **-ina**
mw-ene (chief), pl. **-ene**
mw-ana (child), pl. **-ana**
mu-omvi (worker), pl. **a-omvi** (ʊ suppressed)
mu-imvi (digger), pl. **a-imvi** (ɣ suppressed)

In a very few words the **m-** has disappeared in the singular:—

w-ikolo (old man), pl. **-ikolo**

Sub-class I.—A certain number of words are peculiar in having no prefix in the singular, and yet requiring the same concord as Class I, for words in agreement. In the plural, such words have the prefix **a-** or more frequently **ya-**. As radicals belonging to this class may begin with **mu, ci, lu, n, ka,** which resemble other prefixes (and may have originally in some cases really have been so) considerable care has to be exercised. There are other peculiarities connected with this class which will be dealt with later, as for instance with a possessive they require to be prefixed by **kwe,** and with a locative, by **li.**

It is difficult in most cases to generalize, and say that words of such and such a meaning will be found in such and such a class, but Class I may also be called a personal class. Nearly all the words found in this class refer to persons. The Sub-class I contains all personal names, the names of many relations, the names of many animals, insects, and plants, which may, as some think, be looked upon as personified or even deified. It contains also names of persons indicating their trade, or relationship to others. Into this class the native generally puts names of European things, unless from their form he is led to suppose they belong already to some class. Example: Rupee, which to the native sounds like Lupia, is supposed to belong to the **lu- n-** class and so forms a plural in **mpia,** but we have **kofe, akofe** for coffee, **ti, ati,** tea. Among the names of relationship are those for father, mother, which cause a great deal of trouble to learners because a different word is used for "my father", "your father", "his father", etc.

tata, atata my *or* our father, fathers.
so, aso your father, fathers.

isi, aisi, or **isi** his, their father *or* fathers.
yangu or **mayo** my mother, pl. **ayangu** or **amayo.**
nyoko, anyoko your mother, mothers.
nyina, anyina his mother, etc.

Then we have such words as **kalima** a gardener, **kasambilizya** a teacher, **siwinga** a bridegroom, **nawinga** a bride, **cisama, acisama** a lion, lions, **makanta, amakanta** locust, locusts.

Class II.—This class has in the singular the prefix No. 3, **mu-,** which modifies in the same way as prefix No. 1. In the plural it uses prefix No. 4, **mi-.** Before pure vowels, the **i** changes to **y.** There are no phonetic difficulties in this class. The **mu-** of 1 and 3 differ very slightly in sound, rather in accent. No. 1 never takes an accent.

Compare the native pronunciation of **muntu** and **muti,** and it will be seen that in the former both syllables are pronounced with the same stress and tone, in the latter there is a distinct accent on the **mu.**

Most trees and their names fall into this class, also many plants, and quite a large number of other words, for which a rule is difficult to find.

mu-ti	**mi-ti**	a tree
muungu	**my-ungu**	a kind of pumpkin
mu-koma	**mikoma**	a palm tree
mu-sali	**mi-sali**	corn stock
mu-zwa	**mi-zwa**	porridge spirtle
mw-amba	**my-amba**	a hill
mw-ili	**mi-ili**	the body

There are quite a number of words, formed from verbs, which have no singular forms.

mi-ikalile (from **ikala** to be continuously) meaning habit, character.

mi-pitile (from **pita** to move, go) meaning his manner of movement. **Mipitile ya kwe Culi ukuvwantuka,** The going of a frog is by hopping.

Class III.—Has in the singular prefix No. 5, **li-,** which, however, in most words has now lost its l and has the form **i-** ; this again may change to **y-** before a pure vowel.

Where the l has been lost, it may be recovered under certain constructions, which will be considered later.

Another difficulty which must be kept in mind is that it may

be absorbed by a previous vowel, e.g. **pa i-umba** becomes **pi umba** (lost **u** here) leaving the stem as if it had no prefix.

In the plural it takes prefix No. 6, **ma-**, of which the **a** combines with pure vowels.

The names of many fruits belong to this class, also some parts of the body, and most liquids. Many of the latter, however, have no singular. There are some attributes (which the native may look upon as liquids) of which the same is true.

i-yembe	**ma-yembe**	mange
i-kunyu	**ma-kunyu**	fig
li-nso	**ma-nso**	eye
i-yele	**ma-yele**	breast
	ma-nzi	water
	ma-ka	might
	ma-no	wisdom
li-fwa	**ma-fwa**	leaf

Class IV.—Has in the singular, prefix No. 7, **ci-** (written **chi-**, **ki-**, or **kyi-** by some). The only peculiarity is that the **i** is dropped always before a pure vowel. (Where **ki-** is used it becomes **ky-** before a vowel.)

In the plural the prefix is No. 8, **vi-** which changes its **i** into **y** before another vowel (than **i**).

ci-ntu a thing **vi-ntu**
ci-limba a chair **vi-limba**
c-uma riches **vy-uma**
ci-umbwa a thing made, **vi-umbwa** (dropped **u**)
ci-embo an ornament, **vi-embo** (dropped **y**)

These two prefixes are used to express size, generally large, but sometimes small (**cizia** pool).

When used for the purpose of augmentation, it is usual to prefix **ci-** to the singular prefix proper to the noun, and **vi-** to the plural prefix proper to the noun.

ci-mu-ntu a giant, **vi-a-ntu**
ci-mw-ele a large knife, **vi-my-ele**

A few words are always used with the singular prefix, in which case the **vi-** is prefixed to the singular.

lu-kusa bark for binding with (one or more bits)
ci-lu-kusa, vi-lu-kusa thick, strong bark or much bark

Words in the singular of Class III (**li**) which have lost their original **l**, have it restored before prefixing **ci-**.

ci-li-we (usual form **i-we**) a big stone

In the singular and plural of Class V, and the plural of Class VI, the prefixes for which are nasals, these nasals are usually dropped, especially before **k, f, s, t,** or **z** stems, before the **ci-** is prefixed (or **vi-**).

ci-salu, vi-salu a big bit of cloth, from **n-salu**
ci-fwele, vi-fwele a large sheep, from **m-fwele**
vi-eso a large pot, from **lu-eso, ng'eso** (dropped **ɣ**)

The next two classes are the most difficult in the language because of the presence of the Nasals.

Class V.—Has prefix No. 9 in the singular, originally **ni-** but according to the phonetic rule reduced to **n-**.

Class VI.—Has the prefix No. 11 in the singular, **lu-**. Both classes use the same prefix No. 10 in the plural. This was originally **lini-**, which accordingly became **zi-n-** in Mambwe (**shi-n-** in Bemba). This full form still exists in Nyanja, but is here generally further clipped by the omission of the **zi-** portion. The classes accordingly are now:—

V.	**n-**	**n-**
VI.	**lu-**	**n-**

lu- causes no difficulty, as it simply changes to **lw-** before pure vowels. **n-**, however, causes many changes. First of all, the nasal becomes **b, f, m, p, v, w** except that if there is an **n** in the previous syllable, even in a former word, it may cause the retension of **n** before **f**. We can have either **n-fwele** a sheep, or **m-fwele, n-fwa** death, or **m-fwa,** depending on the influence of a former **n** or **m**. Then the letter **l** will not tolerate a nasal, so has to be changed to **nd-** (**n-l-** becomes **nd-**), e.g. **n-dwala** sickness, from **lwala** be sick.

Lastly, the nasal has the effect of restoring a lost **b** (**ʋ**) or **g** (**ɣ**), e.g. **i-we** a stone, gives **m-bwe** an anvil, **ku-opa** (which has lost a **ɣ**) gives **n-gofi** fear. **ku-alika** gives **n-galiko** a beer sot. **m-bomvi** a workman, comes from **ku-omba** (which has lost a **ʋ**).

Class VI, as stated above, has in the singular the prefix **lu** (11), and in the plural the same as Class V, viz. **n** or **m** (10). The singular should raise no difficulties, if the **u** is dealt with as above explained, **lu** before consonants and vowels where there has originally been a **ʋ** or **ɣ**, but **lw** before pure vowels. In the plural the same kind of changes take place as in Class V owing to the nasal.

Most words in this class have more or less the idea of a succession of objects which resemble one another, in such cases the singular is often used as a collective plural.

lu-senga is sand as on the beach, **ma-senga** is the grains of sand. **lu-kwi, n-kwi** fire-wood (sticks, without noting shape or kind). The idea is not easily grasped or explained but is certainly there.

Class VII.—Has in the singular prefix **ka-** (13), and in the plural prefix **tu-** (12). The contractions here are just the same as usual with **a-** and **u-**.

A few words denoting generally the idea of smallness or rather stumpiness belong to this class, as **ka-nya** a baby, **k-ankyi** child, **tw-ankyi** or **tw-anci** children.

It is, however, often used as a diminutive prefix, in the same way as Class IV is used as augmentative. The prefix is generally then used as well as the prefix proper to the noun :—

ka-mu-ti, tu-mi-ti small tree *or* trees

Here again its use has the effect of restoring the lost l in prefix No. 5. **ka-li-we, tu-ma-we** small stone. The nasal prefix is, however, usually dropped, **ka-fwele** (not **ka-n-fwele**).

Class VIII.—Has only a singular prefix **u** (14). This was originally **vu,** but has entirely lost the labial. Its influence is, however, still felt, in that the **u** cannot contract with a preceding vowel. **u** generally becomes **w-** before vowels.

Words in this class are generally Abstracts : **u-pimo** measurement, **w-ene** chieftainship, **w-ange** childhood.

A few objects also belong to this class, but then they generally use in the plural the singular form, prefixed by **ma-**. **u-lapwa** a bow, **ma-u-lapwa** bows, **u-su** flour, **ma-u-su** kinds of flour, **u-fi** a lie, **ma-u-fi** fibs.

The Pre-Prefix

The pre-prefix in Mambwe consists in a vowel which has the same quality as the prefix vowel. Thus :—

u-mu-, a-a- ; u-mu-, i-mi ; -ili-, a-ma- ; i-ci-, i-vi- ; i-n- ; a-ka-, u-tu- ; u-u- ; u-ku- ; a-pa- ; u-ku- ; u-mu-.

In Zulu such pre-prefixes are very common and are heard in all nouns, but in Mambwe it can be said to be heard distinctly only in a few words in Classes V and VIII when standing alone. It is generally heard in such monosyllabics as **in-si, im-boo.** But even in such cases it must be remembered that the **i-** is the pre-prefix.

In constructions with other words, however, the pre-prefix is to be specially noticed from its effect on the last vowel of preceding words.

Notice first that it is always present after affirmative verbs, but never after negative verbs. **let-u muti** (bring a stick), but **utaleta muti** (do not bring a stick).

Secondly the pre-prefix is never present with prepositions, either in affirmative or negative clauses.

pa-nsi, mu-nsi, pa-muti, pa-linso (affirmative)
pa-nsi, mwa-nsi, kwa-muti (negative).

These rules are easily followed, except in the case of the two prefixes without consonants, **i-**(l)**i-** and **u-**(ʊ)**u-**. **loli ilanzi** (see the sun), **utaloli lanzi** (do not see the sun). Here the **i** is better written twice in the affirmative, the first being the pre-prefix, and the second the prefix, although there is much to be said for dropping the second on the ground of the two i's contracting. In the negative, however, there can only be the one, and it is not the pre-prefix but the prefix here. In **p-ilanzi** and **kw-ilanzi** the **i** is that of the prefix (there can be no pre-prefix here).

lond-u wene (seek the kingdom), but **utalonda wene,** no pre-prefix in the latter case and the lost ʊ forbidding contraction of the **u-** (**w-**) of **wene** with the **a** of **utalonda.**

pa-usu, mu-usu (never **pu-usu**), because there is no pre-prefix and the lost ʊ forbids coalescence of the two vowels.

KAMBOLE, *April, 1921.*

Tone Ranges in a Two-Tone Language (Lingala)

By Malcolm Guthrie

THE language on which this short study is based is Lingala, the very interesting lingua franca spoken along the vast stretch of the central part of the main Congo River. The language is spoken almost entirely by Bantu tribes, all of whom have also their own tribal languages. Naturally there is considerable affinity between these languages, and in some senses Lingala may be said to represent the Highest Common Factor of them. Phonetically they are almost identical, and so Lingala has preserved a clearly marked phonetic system, a brief account of which should not be out of place here.

Vowels

There is a seven vowel system :—

i u
e o
ɛ ɔ
a

and, with the exception of the "4½ a", they are almost identical with the Cardinal Vowels. The vowels e and ɛ (and o and ɔ) are quite distinct and should be written with separate signs, as they often distinguish otherwise identical words.

There is a rule of euphony that open and close vowels never occur mixed in the same root. Thus e is associated with o but never with ɛ or ɔ. In ordinary connected speech the close vowels are much commoner than the open ones, in a ratio of about 3 : 1. The principle of euphony in some of the local languages includes the Noun Class prefixes, but in Lingala proper these are always with close vowels, e.g. **mokɔlɔ** (day), **esɛŋgɔ** (joy).

Consonants

b, d, g (and **gb, kp** where they occur) are very frequently implosive, but this is not essential, i.e. the implosive and explosive voiced consonants belong to the same phoneme.

Intonation

Lingala, like all its source languages, is a tone language. The tone system of these source languages, as well as the grammatical

characteristics, has inevitably suffered a certain amount of simplification in its adaptation to the needs of a lingua franca, yet on the other hand it is so well defined and so invariable over the whole field where Lingala proper is spoken, that it must be regarded as an essential part of the language.

Lingala has semantic tones, and many words are distinguished by a difference in tone alone, both nouns and verbs. There is also grammatical intonation, i.e. each verbal inflexion has its own appropriate tone, though there do not seem to be any syntactic tones, as such, to indicate syntactical relationships.

There are only two levels of tone, High and Mid. Low tone is never used, as every tone is fundamental, and not affected by neighbouring consonants or tones.

Almost all nouns are formed from disyllablic roots, and all four patterns occur. The prefixes are normally mid-tone, but some words that have been borrowed from the few neighbouring languages that have high-tone prefixes, retain these with a high-tone.

Verbs have ideally each of the four intonation patterns, as can be shown by comparing them with nouns derived from the same root. Actually, however, the second syllable of the verb is always under tonetic inflexion, so the true tone of the syllable is masked.

Except in the subjunctive the pronominal prefixes are always mid-tone, even the third plural. This is always so, even when spoken by natives in whose language the **ba-** is always high-tone. The tones of the verb are as follows:—

-sálá " work " (true tones revealed by **mosálá** " work ")

Infinitive	**kosála**	Recent Past	**nasálí**
Future	**nakosála**	Remote Past	**nasálákí**
Present Habitual	**nakosálaka**	Past Habitual	**nasáláká**
Subjunctive	**násála**	Imperative	**sálá**

In the case of a root like **-bóta** " bear " (**libóta** " family, tribe ") the intonation is identical throughout.

Verbs with a mid-tone on the first syllable of the root have the same grammatical tones (i.e. prefix and suffix tones) as the above:—

-loba " speak " (**liloba** " word ")

Infinitive	**koloba**	Recent Past	**nalobí**
Future	**nakoloba**	Remote Past	**nalobákí**
Present Habitual	**nakolobaka**	Past Habitual	**nalobáká**
Subjunctive	**náloba**	Imperative	**lobá**

The intonation of **-solá** " tell " (**lisoló** " conversation ") is identical.

Derived verbs (verb species) are always formed by adding an extra syllable, and this tone is always " neutral ", i.e. it is high or mid according to the tone of the tense suffix :—

-sálela " work for "

Infinitive	**kosálela**	Recent Past	**nasálélí**
Future	**nakosálela**	Remote Past	**nasálélákí**
Present Habitual	**nakosálelaka**	Past Habitual	**nasálélákà**
Subjunctive	**násálela**	Imperative	**sálélá**

The same rule holds good for words with a three-syllable stem that is no longer traceable to a suffix, e.g. **silika** " scowl ", **lɔkɔta** " find by chance ". The grammatical tones in a verb like **-lobela** are identical with those of **-sálela,** the first syllable of the stem has a mid-tone throughout naturally.

Final Forms.—As in other languages the final form of intonation is distinctive. It is, however, only the last syllable of all that is affected. There is a distinction between verbs and nouns in this respect. A final high-tone in a verb is non-resistant, i.e. instead of falling from high to mid, it falls from mid to low exactly as if it were a mid-tone. In nouns, a final high-tone falls from high to mid, and a final mid-tone from mid to low. The only words with rising tones that can be final are the pronouns **ngaí** " I ", **yě** " he' ', **yɔ̌** " thou ", the one or two monosyllabic verb forms, **ayeí** " he has come ", etc., and a few uncommon nouns. In all these cases at the end of a sense group the rising tone falls from mid to low, just as though it were a mid-tone.

Interrogative Forms.—In all interrogation not involving the use of specific interrogative words the levels of tone are higher. Roughly the mid-tone is on the same level as an ordinary high-tone and the high-tone correspondingly higher. In *affirmative indicative* questions the pattern is exactly the same as in non-final positions of statements, i.e. final high-tones and mid-tones remain level and firm and rising tones remain rising. In *affirmative subjunctive* questions the final syllable has a falling tone just as in statements, and it is only the relative level of the preceding syllables that distinguishes a question from a command—**áloba?** (**d' l f-d**) " shall he speak ? " ; **áloba!** (**l f f-d**) " let him speak ". In *negative* questions a simple question is indicated (in addition to the general higher level of voice) by the tone of the adverb **tɛ́** which always comes at the end of a negative clause. In statements the tone of **tɛ́** is non-resistant, i.e. when final

it falls from mid-tone to low. In questions it is resistant, it falls from high-tone to mid. In *rhetorical negative* questions which are really equivalent to statements in meaning, the general tone level of the voice is higher still, and the tone of the **tɛ́** is level high **ayébí tɛ́ ʔ** (**d' m' m' m'**) " surely he knows ? " cf. **ayébí tɛ́ ʔ** (**l d' d' d'-l**) " doesn't he know ? " Interrogation with a specific interrogative word has exactly the same form of intonation as a statement, no raising of the level is necessary, or sustaining of the final tone, as the presence of the interrogative word is sufficient indication of the question.

Tone Range

The purpose of this paper is to set out analytically the variations in intonation that occur in what is essentially a two-tone language. While it is true that in the languages of the " Lingala " group the semantic tones of roots do not vary, yet there are certain modifications regularly made for the purposes of expression, emphasis, and interrogation, and it is these modifications that will be studied.

Before going any further it is necessary to reiterate the principal features of the tone system of Lingala. There are two :—

(*a*) There are only two relative tone levels, normal and high, and almost all tones are static. A semantic falling or rising tone, produced by contraction, is so rare as not to need notice here, and all inflexional tones are static.

(*b*) There are no syntactical tones, either to indicate grammatical relationship between words, or produced by such relationship. This means that once the function of a word is clear, its intonation is invariable.

In this way the only possible variations in the intonation of a word or sentence are these :—

(*a*) A widening or narrowing of the interval between the high and the normal tones.

(*b*) A raising or lowering of the pitch of voice, i.e. a change of key.

(*c*) A gradual rise or fall of the pitch of voice, i.e. a continuous change of key.

In Lingala the only two variations that seem to exist are (*a*) and (*b*). The gradual fall of the pitch of the voice during a sentence is so slight as to be almost imperceptible. There is, however, another modification which affects the last syllable of a phrase or sentence only. This may be called the final cadence, and means that a high

tone becomes a high-falling, while a tone that would be normal becomes normal falling to low.

The use of the first two variations mentioned above is such that they are definitely interrelated, with the result that four distinct ranges of tones are produced. To illustrate these the solfa system of musical notation will again be used, l_1 being taken as the normal pitch of the speaking voice.

Here are the four ranges :—

(1) Normal range . l_1-**d** (a minor third)
(2) 1st degree range . **d-m** (a major third)
(3) 2nd degree range . **m-l** (a major fourth)
(4) 3rd degree range . **l-m'** (a major fifth)

From this it will be noted that a rise in the pitch of the voice also involves a widening of the interval between the two tones. These four ranges have well-marked use, and in conjunction with the final cadence provide many varieties of intonation. Let us set them out under each tone range separately.

The Normal Range l_1-**d**

(1) This is used in all non-emphatic speech, and is characteristic of simple statements either affirmative or negative.

(*a*) Without the final cadence it indicates that the sense is incomplete :—

basombi mokanda (l_1 **d d** l_1 l_1 **d**) they have bought a book.
basombi mokanda tɛ (l_1 **d d** l_1 l_1 **d d**) they have not bought a book.

(*b*) The final cadence marks the end of the sense group :—

basombi mokanda (l_1 **d d** l_1 l_1 **d-**l_1) they have bought a book.
basombi mokanda tɛ (l_1 **d d** l_1 l_1 **d d-**l_1) they have not bought a book.

basombi mafuta (l_1 **d d** l_1 **d** l_1**-**m_1) they have bought oil.

(2) Non-emphatic questions with an interrogative word have the same intonation as simple statements, and so have this tone range. Here also the final cadence serves to mark the completion of the sense.

nani asombi mafuta . . .? (**d** l_1 l_1 **d d** l_1 **d** l_1) who has bought oil ?
nani asombi mokanda tɛ? (**d** l_1 l_1 **d d** l_1 l_1 **d d-**l_1) who has not bought a book ?

The First Degree Range **d-m**

(1) In simple statements the use of this range indicates emphasis, and in this case the final cadence is never used.

basombi mokanda! (**d m m d d m**) they have bought a book!

basombi mokanda tɛ! (**d m m d d m m**) they have not bought a book!

Quite often a high tone untranslatable particle **ko** is placed at the end of affirmative statements of this kind. This appears to throw into relief the absence of the final cadence, as the particle always has a firm tone.

basombi mokanda ko! (**d m m d d m m**) they *have* bought a book!

(2) Just as in the case of the simple statement, so in this case, the emphatic question with an interrogative word has the same range of tones as the emphatic statement. These emphatic questions are used when the question is repeated either because of doubt or through impatience.

nani asombi mokanda? (**m d d m m d d m**) *who* did you say has bought a book?

nani asombi mafuta tɛ? (**m d d m m d m d m**) *who* is it that has bought no oil?

(3) Questions with the verb in the subjunctive mood have this range of tones, but these have the final cadence.

basomba mafuta? (**m m d d m d-l$_1$**) should they buy oil?

basomba mokanda tɛ? (**m m d d d m m-d**) shouldn't they buy a book?

(4) The imperative also has this tone range and there is the final cadence.

somba mafuta! (**m m d m d-m**) buy oil!

somba mafuta tɛ! (**m m d m d m-d**) do not buy oil!

In the second person plural the imperative and the remote past have identical forms, but it is always possible to distinguish them by the tone range that is used. The imperative has this first degree range of tones, whereas the remote past in a simple statement has the normal range.

bosomba mafuta! (**d m m d m d-m**) buy (pl.) oil.

bosomba mafuta (**l$_1$ d d l$_1$ d l$_1$-m**) you bought oil.

If the remote past occurs in an emphatic statement, then it is only distinguished from the imperative by the absence of the final cadence.

bosomba mafuta! (**d m m d m d**) you did buy oil!

The Second Degree Range **m-l**

(1) Simple interrogative sentences have this range of tones, but the final cadence is only used when the negative adverb comes at the end.

basombi mokanda ? (m l l m m l) have they bought a book ?

basombi mafuta tɛ ? (m l l m l m l-m) have they bought no oil ?

(2) Emphatic questions with the verb in the subjunctive mood are spoken with this tone range. These are used when a question is reiterated, as has already been noted under those with an interrogative word. There is, however, another use that these forms have. The affirmative question implies a negative answer, and the negative question implies an affirmative reply. As in other emphatic forms there is no final cadence.

basomba mafuta ? (l l m m l m) { did you say they should buy oil ? they shouldn't buy oil, should they ?

basomba mafuta tɛ ? (l l m m l m l) { did you say they shouldn't buy oil ? they should buy oil, shouldn't they ?

(3) Another use of this tone range is somewhat assimilated to the last, but it is used with the imperative negative. This produces what is in fact an emphatic question.

somba mafuta tɛ ! (l l m l m l) { you had better buy oil hadn't you ? aren't you going to buy oil ?

The Third Degree Range **l-m'**

The sole use of this range of tones is in direct emphatic questions, which never have the final cadence. These have the same use as those already referred to, which have the verb in the subjunctive.

basombi mafuta ? (l m' m' l m' l) do you mean to say they have bought oil ?

basombi mafuta tɛ ? (l m' m' l m' l m') they have bought oil haven't they ?

From these examples it will be seen how much may be implied in the intonation of a sentence without altering the relative tones of the syllables. Although there are actually five different levels used the language remains essentially two-tone, as in learning forms the

only thing to be noticed is whether any syllable has a high or a normal tone. It is, moreover, interesting to notice how regular is the system of tone ranges. Emphasis shifts the intonation to the next higher range. Interrogation moves the tones two ranges higher, while the use of the subjunctive reduces the pitch to the next lower range.

It was noted earlier that interval and pitch are interrelated, and in fact either is sufficient to determine which range is being used. Normally in connected speech it is much more easy to detect the variation in the pitch, but occasionally the interval is the only guide to the meaning of a sentence when one has had no opportunity of hearing the normal pitch of the speaker's voice. In this way there are two ways in which a third person may reply to the question, " Which do you think is the chief's house ? "

ayebi tɛ ! (**d m m m**) he doesn't know (emphatic statement).

ayebi tɛ ? (**l m' m' m'**) he *knows*, doesn't he ? (emphatic question).

In these cases the meanings are exactly opposite and the interval is the guide to the meaning.

It is interesting to note that the tones used form the minor common chord, which of course is to be found in the pentatonic scale. This raises the provoking question as to whether in a tone language the ranges of tones used will not of necessity be consonant with the normal musical scale used by the people.

Supplementary Notes on Lingombe

This language is spoken by a large group of people; there are known to be at least 100,000 of them and are probably many more. It is certainly spoken as far north as 3° N., and possibly as far as 5° N. Phonetically it belongs to the same group as Lingala, and all that has been said for that language applies here. The influence of Sudanic languages is clear in the large number of words (estimated at ten per cent) that contain the labio-velars, **kp** and **gb**.

The following are some of the most important features of the tonetic structure. The general system is the same as Lingala, two levels of tone—high and mid. The tones are semantic, huge numbers of words are distinguished by tonal difference only.

Nouns.—There are the same four types as in Lingala, and a final high-tone is always resistant. The prefix in nouns is very often high, though it seems that this is mostly in the case of words that may have been borrowed from nearby languages which always have a high-tone prefix.

Associative Particle.—The **-a** is missing, the prefixes alone (with certain modifications) are used. The tone is always high, except in two cases—class 1, **moto o esika** " man of the forest ", and class 9, **ndáko e moto** " house of the man ", the particle is identical for class 7, except that it has a high-tone **esíká é ndáko** " place of the house ". This same rule holds good for the adjective concord, but not for the verb.

Verbs.—As in Lingala it is impossible to distinguish verbs of type (1) from (1 (*a*)), and (2) from (2 (*a*)), so there are effectively only two types. The pronominal prefixes are ideally mid-tone, and the concordial prefixes (including **ba-** 3rd pl.) are high tone, but as in so many forms the prefix is grammatically high tone this is frequently masked. Grammatical tones play a vital part in the verb system, and many tenses are distinguished by tone alone. The following is the schema for **-lángá** " count " :—

	Positive	*Negative*	
Remote Past .	**nalángá**	**naílánga**	(point of time)
	nalángáká	**naílángaka**	(habitual and continuous)
Recent Past .	**nalángâbí**	**naílángabí**	(point of time)
	nalángákâbí	**naílángakabí**	(habitual and continuous)
Immediate Past .	**nalángí**	**nálángíti**	(point of time)
	nalángákí	**nálángákíti**	(continuous)
Present . .	**nalángakǎ**	**nátalángakǎ**	(continuous)
	nâlángáká	**ténálángáké**	(habitual)
Future Immediate	**nâlángá**	**nátalángá**	
Remote .	**nalángabí**	**nátalángabí**	
Infinitive .	(*a*) **bolánga** (used after certain verbs and prepositions)		
	(*b*) **lángá** (used after certain auxiliary verbs)		
Subjunctive .	**nálangé**	no negative	
Imperative . .	**lángá**	no regular negative	
Conditional . .	**nákalángá**		

The grammatical tones in a verb like **-dipa** " shut " are identical except in the Remote and Recent Past. In all these tenses, affirmative only, the prefix has a rising tone—**nǎdipá, nǎdipáká,** etc.

There are many monosyllabic stems but for the most part they fit in with this scheme. Another group, however, of quasi-monosyllables is rather interesting. There are a number of very common

verbs that are dissyllabic in the imperative, but apparently monosyllabic in all other cases. The initial syllable which is dropped is always an **a-** or an **i-**, and comparison with cognate languages shows that this may represent a variety of syllables, e.g. **imbɔ** for **kɔmbɔ**, **amba** for **lamba**, etc. Investigation has shown that whenever the dropped syllable had a high tone it is now represented by **i-** and where it had a mid tone by **a-**. Under inflexion an interesting result is observed. **íma** "stand" may become **má** in the imperative, but the stem for all purposes of inflexion is **'ma**, i.e. where the prefix has a high tone there is no trace of the dropped syllable, but where it should have a mid tone it rises, cf. **námíti nămí** from **íma**, and **námíti** and **namí** from **ma**. The converse is true in verbs with a dropped mid-tone syllable. A mid-tone prefix is unchanged, while a high-tone prefix falls, cf. **nalí, nâlíti** from **ala**, with **nalí, nálíti** from **la**.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

SOME INFLUENCES THAT MADE THE BRITISH ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM IN INDIA. By M. RUTHNASWAMY. pp. viii + 660. London: Luzac and Co., 1939. 21*s*.

This closely packed volume forms a review of British administration in India from a somewhat unusual angle. Mr. Ruthnaswamy approaches the subject with the object of ascertaining what has been the influence on the methods of government exercised by the commercial character of the East India Company, by the military organization, by the existence of the various forms of land revenue. He then passes on to consider the nature of the British frontier system, the nature of the Anglo-Indian state, and the ideas implicit in its structure. In a number of details the volume scarcely comes up to our expectations. The proof-reading has been careless. For instance, more than once Mr. Ruthnaswamy cites the as yet unpublished volume ii of the *Cambridge History of India*, apparently instead of volume vi. Major Symes, our envoy to Burma in 1795 and 1801, appears in the unrecognizable form of "Major Lyner". Other names, like Caldwell, the historian of Tinnevelly, are misspelt. Then, again, on occasions Mr. Ruthnaswamy trips. The well-known *Notes on Indian Affairs* were not written by Sir John Shore, but by his son, Frederick John Shore; and the appointment of military collectors of revenue became illegal, almost as soon as it had been made, under the statute of 1793. It was only in the Madras and Bombay armies that the sources of recruitment were more mixed before than after the Mutiny. These are only slips. What is much worse, in a work of this size and diversity of reference, there is no index.

Turning to more vital matters, we think that the book has been over-elaborated and that the course of lectures out of which it has been developed were probably clearer and firmer in outline and more generally interesting than the volume as it now appears. It has become confusing to read. Mr. Ruthnaswamy's method of approach compels him to move from province to province, and the diversities which characterize the various provinces of India strike across and obscure the unity of the influence exercised by the Revenue administration or the military organization. Again, the reader must sometimes pause to wonder whether Mr. Ruthnaswamy is speaking in general terms or whether he is referring to special local conditions. This is particularly evident in the chapter on land revenue.

As against these strictures, it should be observed that the volume contains ample evidence of the width of Mr. Ruthnaswamy's studies, and of the independence of his judgment. He accords full recognition to the difficulties which at first lay in the way of organizing an effective administrative system, to the merits of the system that gradually arose, and to the services which it rendered to India. And his volume well repays careful reading, even though at times he makes heavy demands on the attention of his readers.

H. H. DODWELL.

WARREN HASTINGS AND OUDH. By C. COLLIN DAVIES. pp. xv + 271, maps 2. Oxford University Press, 1939. 12*s*. 6*d*.

Slowly the myth of Warren Hastings's monstrous iniquities, created by the malevolent mind of Francis and fathered on a credulous world by the inspired but misguided oratory of Burke and the brilliant prose of Macaulay, is being destroyed. This book helps in the good work and is to be welcomed as clarifying our conception of Hastings's policy towards Oudh. Furthermore, as Dr. Davies points out, as soon as a detailed examination of the influence of the home government upon Hastings's Indian administration has been made, a knowledgeable and complete survey of his work in India will for the first time be possible.

Strong military powers often choose to maintain subordinate buffer states as a convenient form of defence against their more dangerous neighbours. Clive wisely established a friendly but dependent Oudh to cover the East India Company's interests in Bengal from direct attack. The central pillar of Warren Hastings's foreign policy was the alliance with Oudh and, with his usual insight, he saw that if it was to fulfil its function of sheltering the Company's territories it must be strong enough to protect itself. Hastings, therefore, at once sought to strengthen Oudh by a subsidiary alliance, and when the question occurred whether Oudh or the Marathas were to occupy Rohilkhand he had no hesitation in co-operating with the former in the conquest of that area. Unfortunately, the difficulty inherent in the policy of bolstering up Oudh was the character of its ruler, and Asaf-ud-daulah, who succeeded Shuja-ud-daulah in 1775, was quite unfitted for his position; as Bristow, the Resident in Lucknow, reported in February, 1776: "His Excellency is juvenile in his amusements, volatile,

injudicious in the choice of his confidants, and so familiar in his conversation as to throw aside the sovereign and admit his favourites to a freedom destructive to all subordination and a cause for the inattention paid by them to his commands. He frequently passes whole days in dissipation and is of late much given to liquor. . . . By this mode of passing his time he can have little leisure for business and, indeed, he hardly attends to any."

Under him the condition of Oudh became deplorable and Hastings's evident difficulty in controlling the English Residents at Lucknow made matters worse. Moreover, as Dr. Davies shows, the policy of Hastings was reversed by the hostile majority on the Bengal Council; by the time he had gained a freer hand, he was in need of large sums of money to extricate Madras and Bombay from their difficulties. Hastings, who did not doubt that the end justified the means, obtained the money but necessarily involved himself in questionable proceedings such as the spoliation of the Begams of Oudh, and the coercion of Raja Chait Singh of Benares.

By far the best section of the book is that which concerns Chait Singh. Dr. Davies makes quite clear the important point that Chait Singh was a mere zamindar, not an independent prince, and therefore not in enjoyment of inherent rights. Yet the Benares charge in the impeachment rested on the independency of Chait Singh! Hitherto, it has generally been held that Chait Singh's insurrection in 1781 was unpremeditated, but Dr. Davies has found no difficulty in adducing evidence to prove that prior to 1781 Chait Singh was by no means loyal to the Company. It seems that Hastings's journey to Benares precipitated a revolt which had long since been a likely event.

The author does not make things easy for the student. The characters, abilities, and previous careers of Bristow and Middleton, the Residents at Lucknow, are essential to a full understanding of the story, but little attempt has been made to portray them. The footnote references, too, at times incline to be vague; for example, reference to the volume number only in the Add. MSS. series at the British Museum is hardly sufficient; sometimes the date of a letter is omitted, often the pagination. I should be loth to trace "Add. MSS. 29233, Hastings to Pitt", or "Markham to his father, Benares, 3 January, 1782".

C. H. P.

THOMAS PARRY, FREE MERCHANT, MADRAS, 1768–1824. By G. H. HODGSON. pp. xiii + 357, plates 17, maps 5. Madras: Higginbothams, 1938. 7*s*. 6*d*.

This volume is most disappointing. The materials for a life of Thomas Parry, free merchant of Madras, are scanty and the book as a whole tends to be scrappy.

Parry's career well illustrates the hazardous nature of the free merchant's livelihood in South India in Georgian times. Sailing from England for Madras in 1787 at the age of nineteen, he had made by 1793 " a snug fortune ", which he lost just as quickly. Affluent again by 1805, he was nearly ruined by the trade depression of the following years. By 1820 he had made another fortune but his exertions and the climate killed him four years later. In his own words, he had been " tolerably well buffetted about by that jade fortune . . . what a bitch she is ! "

The author has missed an excellent opportunity of describing the function and working of the Agency Houses, about which at present we know little. The book lacks an index but contains a number of interesting photographs.

C. H. P.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF MODERN INDIA, Volume I. Edited by RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE. pp. xix + 443. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1939. 10*s*. 6*d*.

This volume, which embodies contributions by more than a dozen distinguished British and Indian scholars and members of the I.C.S., contains much significant detail but necessarily lacks coherence. The various contributions—which are grouped in three parts, headed respectively: The Background; Agriculture; Trade—bear the following titles: The Agricultural Regions of India; The Social Background; The Economic Aspect of the Caste System; Population; Organization of Agriculture; Crop Production and Agricultural Practice; Animal Industry; Irrigation and its Possibilities; Rural Indebtedness; Co-operation; Land Tenures and Legislation; Rural Reconstruction; Communications and Transport; Agricultural Marketing; The Depression; The Problem of Protection; The Ottawa Pact.

No problem of present-day England compares with any one of India's major problems. The contributors agree that India faces a

grim economic future. Most of the essays contain a multitude of statistics: figures fairly tumble over one another, and one point common to the writers is that they are generally as reluctant to reveal the source of their statistics as they are eager to use them.

C. H. P.

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER IN INDIA. By B. SHIVA RAO. pp. 263. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1939. 10*s.* 6*d.*

This book, which gives a vivid picture of the Indian industrial worker (under more favourable conditions) repeating the bitter struggle of English Trade Unionism in the nineteenth century, is excellent. It is thoughtful, well-planned, fair, sympathetic, and informative. Mr. Rao is well qualified to write this, the first informed account of Indian Trade Unionism and of the condition of the industrial worker in India, having taken a leading part in the movement from the beginning.

During the war of 1914–18, and in consequence of the policy of the British Government, Indian industry developed rapidly; a development which still continues, though at a slower rate. To mention two significant examples: in 1936–7 Indian mills produced nearly three times the pre-war amount of cotton goods; and, whereas in 1929 she imported nearly one million tons of sugar, she is to-day almost self-sufficient in that commodity. This development is timely because India must provide occupation for her surplus agricultural labour. Her population—which may top 400,000,000 by 1941—is increasing much more rapidly than the output of food and other commodities; part of the superfluous agricultural population is being driven to the cities in quest of work. To-day there are something like thirty millions engaged in industry, and many more clamouring for employment.

Until towards the end of the war (1914–18) there was no real organization among the industrial workers of India. There had been, it is true, occasional strikes; spasmodic outbursts which subsided as soon as some definite end was achieved. In 1918 the first organized Trade Union in India, the Madras Textile Workers' Union, was formed, and in the following couple of years, with the Government of India and Lancashire (from whatever motives) actively demonstrating their interest in the workers' welfare, a number of such associations sprang

to life. Through their efforts, Trade Unions were legalized, Factory Acts passed, and a ten-hour working day established. In the frenzied political excitement following the Amritsar tragedy, industrial and political unrest inevitably mingled in one stream, and in 1921 alone nearly four hundred politico-industrial strikes took place. This was unfortunate because the Government of India, rightly suspecting that the workers' movement would be exploited by political leaders, thenceforth tended to throw in its weight on the side of the employers, conceding protection to industries without adequate safeguard for the workers.

The politicians for the most part served the workers ill, and although an All-India Trades Union Congress, based on its British counterpart, was formed in 1920, the activities of the extremists, especially the Communists, caused the moderate elements in 1925 to secede from the main body. Unity in the movement was only achieved, though not consolidated, in April, 1938. Meanwhile, throughout India, there had been a steady fall in wage rates, and the too-frequent, often ill-timed and unsuccessful use of the strike had shaken the workers' confidence in the Unions. As might have been expected, the inauguration of provincial autonomy in April, 1937, was accompanied by a revival of industrial unrest, especially in the Congress-governed provinces. But the new Governments on the whole faced their task courageously, in particular setting up independent tribunals to solve disputes, with a resulting and notable increase in workers' wages. However, in the Congress provinces the pace has proved too fast for many employers, who have already revealed a tendency to build their new factories in the Native States, which positively discourage Trade Unionism.

Mr. Rao has first-hand knowledge of the condition of the workers; like their brethren in the rural areas, "they are born in debt, live in debt, and die in debt." The bulk of the income of the lower-paid workers "goes to the creditor as interest, to the drink or drug shop, and for ceremonies such as marriages and funerals". Their housing conditions are shocking, some three-quarters of the working-class families living in noisome, one-roomed tenements. With the rapid expansion of the population and the consequent abundance of cheap labour, it is doubtful whether existing standards can be maintained in the coming years. We may deduce from Mr. Rao's evidence that the struggle between the capitalists and the Unions is likely to become more bitter. It remains to be seen which party the provincial ministers will favour, although it is probable that the outbreak of war in Europe

and the political crisis in India will assure the w
support.

I enjoyed this book, my only complaint being that
insisted on remaining too much in the background.

C. H. PH

MINARET AND PIPELINE. Yesterday and To-day in the Near East. By MARGRET BOVERI. Translated from the German by L. M. SIEVEKING. pp. xvi, 422. Oxford University Press, 1939. 21*s*.

Dr. Boveri opens her survey of recent and contemporary events in the Near East with a prolonged, and in the main, unnecessary historical introduction, tracing the general and religious history of the region from Sumerian times down to the present day. This preliminary survey, covering more than one hundred pages, is replete with inaccuracies, and is written, at least as far as the Islamic period is concerned, with an almost complete disregard of modern research. Among the more grotesque errors the following may be pointed out. "The Egyptians refused to recognize the legitimacy of the 'Abbasid Caliphs; they established a Caliphate of their own under the Fatimid dynasty" (pp. 67–8). This, moreover, in a context that suggests that the alleged action of the Egyptians was an immediate reaction to the establishment of the 'Abbasid Caliphate. "The House of Safavi . . . was the second Shi'ite dynasty in the history of Islam" (p. 84). "'Ali . . . was the fifth Caliph in succession to Mahomet" (p. 115).

Throughout the book, one finds constant evidence of the authoress's lack of acquaintance with the languages and cultures of the Near East. The few Arabic words and phrases used are often misspelt and mis-translated, and many names and institutions are mutilated almost beyond recognition. Sheikh al-Mahrab (pp. 388 and 394) is presumably Sheikh al-Maraghi. The "layman's glossary" at the beginning is particularly bad in this respect. Arabists will be puzzled by the entry "Waqf, also Evka (plural, Vakif)" (p. 18), while historians will wonder at the statement that "the first Egyptian Mamluke Sultan was a woman, Ayubid-al-Shali, an Armenian or Turkish slave who bore the Caliph a son" (p. 11). The plural of Effendi is not Effendim, nor does Kemal mean "The Excellent One". Similar examples could be multiplied.

It might have been hoped that the authoress's knowledge of pipelines would compensate for her ignorance of minarets. The chapters

ary Orient are, however, disappointing, and save ly original inaccuracies and a number of personal travel contain little that could not be found in numerous works ar East, both in English and German. Important oil wells red, and non-existent ones referred to. " Oil runs through the pipe-lines . . . from Ahwaz to Abadan for the British Admiralty and not for Iran " (p. 185). There is no oil-field in Ahwaz, although the pipe-line passes through it. A large part of the oil reaching Abadan is reserved for the use of Iran. The remainder, moreover, is, in normal times, by no means monopolized by the British Admiralty.

The translation is competent and uninspired. The translator has apparently attempted to Anglicize the German transcriptions of Arabic words in the original—a laudable undertaking, but dangerous for one not knowing Arabic. The result is a transcription that is neither English nor German. " Hedjas," " Gesireh " and " Chatibé " are specimens. It is also confusing to find the term " Asia Minor " used in the German sense of " Near East " instead of the more limited English meaning. Finally, " Benjamin von Tudela," on p. 86, seems to be due to a regrettable misunderstanding. The person in question was a medieval Spanish Rabbi, and not, as the translator would seem to think, an Austrian aristocrat.

B. L.

LA SCIENCE CHEZ LES TURCS OTTOMANS. By ABDULHAKK ADNAN. pp. 101, index. Paris: Librarie Orientale G.-P. Maisonneuve, 1939.

It is a relief to find a book on Ottoman history that deals neither with the dynastic difficulties of the house of Osman nor with the military exploits of its followers. In this excellent little book, Dr. Adnan gives a brief survey of a much neglected branch of Turkish cultural history—namely, the history of physical, natural, and medical sciences. Very wisely, Dr. Adnan refrains from discussing the racial origins of the great scientists of medieval Islam, and confines himself to that section of the Turkish peoples which has come to be known under the name of Ottoman. Beginning with the origins in fourteenth-century Anatolia, he discusses the development of Turkish science, and the works of its chief protagonists, until the supersession of the older type of science by European knowledge early in the nineteenth century. The underlying theme of the story is really the slow and gradual emancipation of Turkish thought from the shackles of medieval

Arab traditions, and the penetration, albeit with considerable difficulty, of European ideas, until eventually the whole of the older scheme is discarded and Turkish science takes its place in the European system. The author shows at once the difficulty and the necessity of this process.

Of particular interest are the short monographs contained in this history of several outstanding personalities. Special mention may be made of the thumb-nail sketches of Haji Halfa, the seventeenth-century geographer and bibliographer, Piri Re'is, the sixteenth-century navigator, and Ibrahim Muteferrika, the converted Magyar who, in the early eighteenth century, founded the first Turkish printing press and himself made an important contribution to the introduction of European science into Turkey.

The book also contributes a number of interesting details to the social history of Islam, particularly as regards the regulation of medical practice and the habits of medical students.

B. LEWIS.

NAVANĀDHACHARITRA. A Dvipada Kavya by GAURANA. Edited by K. RAMAKRISHNAIYE. pp. xxxix, ii, 281. University of Madras, 1937. Madras University Telugu Series, No. 7. Rs. 3.

The poem here edited for the first time is a classical Telugu composition composed in the fifteenth century by Gaurana Amātya. This poet was already represented by the Hariścandropakhyānamu which has been available in print for some time. The present work has not been edited before and is a useful addition to the Madras University's Telugu Series. The poem, written in the popular *Dvipada* verse form deals with the Śaiva legends concerning the nine Nāthas or Siddhas, the most important among them being Mīnanātha or Matsyendranātha. In addition to its interest for the study of later Śaivism, the work is of interest as containing a version of the story of Sāraṅgadhara, one of the most popular in Telugu literature. The editor deals with this at some length in his Telugu introduction. The manuscript material is not completely satisfactory and there are certain lacunæ in the text, but the editor has done what can be done unless further material turns up, which is unlikely. A short introduction in English and a longer one in Telugu deal with the life and date of the author and certain questions of literary history raised by the poem.

T. BURROW.

THE KṚṢṆA-KARṆĀMṚTA OF LĪLĀŚUKA. With three Sanskrit Commentaries . . . Critically edited by SUSHIL KUMAR DE. pp. lxxxvii, 384. Dacca University Oriental Publications Series, No. 5. University of Dacca, 1938.

The Kṛṣṇa-Karnāmṛta has been edited twice before, in Bengal with the commentary *Sāraṅga-raṅgadā* of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, and in South India with the commentary Suvarṇa-caṣaka of Pāpayallaya Sūri. They differ inasmuch as the Bengal text contains one section of 112 verses while the South Indian has three of roughly the same dimensions. In the present volume Professor De gives us a careful and critical edition of the Bengal recension, together with three commentaries, the oldest of which is the *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā* by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, an immediate disciple of Caitanya. It was Caitanya who introduced the work into Bengal, having discovered it in his wanderings in South India. As a result of his great admiration for the work it acquired almost canonical status among the Bengal Vaiṣṇavas and was [illegible]ed side by side with the famous work of Jayadeva. Consequently [illegible] text was treated with greater respect than it received in the south [illegible] other parts of India. Professor De demonstrates in the course of [illegible] long and careful introduction how, except in Bengal, the text has been added to with spurious material. In fact, the 2nd and 3rd *āśvāsas* in the southern recension as commented on by Pāpayallaya Sūri are shown not to have formed part of the text at all in the first place.

The edition presents us with a completely reliable text of a famous Indian devotional poem. There are many problems, however, touched on in the introduction, which still await treatment. Līlaśuka or Bilvamaṅgala appears as the author of a variety of devotional works. For the most part these exist only in manuscript and such descriptions of them as appear are brief and inadequate. Whether any of them are genuine works by the author of the present text, or whether they are a miscellaneous collection of later compositions attributed to a name which soon became a centre of myth and legend, cannot, of course, be said until they have been studied and edited. Likewise, the date of the poet has not been fixed with any certainty and hardly can be without further material.

T. BURROW.

THE AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES. By A. P. ELKIN. pp. xiv, 262, Map, Photographs. Sydney and London: Angus and Robertson, Ltd. 1938. 8*s*. 6*d*.

Dr. Elkin is Professor of Anthropology in the University of Sydney, N.S.W. His book, *The Australian Aborigines*, owes its origin mainly to his field work among the Aborigines over a period of eleven years. In addition, he has had recourse to existing literature dealing with sectional studies of the Aborigines. This is the first complete study of Aboriginal culture over the whole of Australia, and doubtless owes a good deal of its thoroughness to the work done in the Department of Anthropology in Sydney University.

The book was written professedly to help the Australian people to understand the Aborigines, and, by correlating things Aboriginal with Aboriginal views of the nature of life as a whole, to enable the Australians who have dealings with Aborigines to adopt a different and wiser attitude towards native customs, and also towards those who practise them. But the book has a wider appeal, and it may well prove to be a standard work for the study of Australian Aborigines.

Dr. Elkin gives no estimate of the number of Aborigines left in Australia. He reckons that in 1788, at the outset of European colonization, the natives were not more than 300,000 in number. To-day their number is probably little more than a fifth of this.

One finds interesting suggestions here and there in the book as to the way in which the existing missions to the Aborigines might try and equate aboriginal ideas about life, its source and means of preservation through time-honoured ceremonies, with the presentation of Christian teaching. And also as to a possible introduction of totemic rites in connection with whatever horticulture can be taught to a semi-nomadic set of peoples like the Aborigines, thus softening the break with the life of the past which comes from the enclosing of the natives in reserves. "The true goal is the weaving of horticulture into the social and economic life of the tribe, and not in the forsaking of that order in the interests of food-growing."

Native reserves are held to be a necessity in order to prevent the drift of the people towards townships, cattle stations, or mining centres. The life of the Aborigine is bound up with the associations of his own area, with the belief in the life-giving activity of the culture-heroes of that particular area, and with the rites and ceremonies connected with these heroes through which the life of the tribe is communicated and maintained. A man's own territory is the proper

home of his spirit, and is also the place where he can maintain connection with the spiritual source of life of those natural species on which he depends for his sustenance. The rites and ceremonies for the maintenance of the life both of the tribe, and of its food, are learned by the men on initiation into the cult-lodges, and the tendency is for the younger men to drift away to " civilization ", and to be lost to the tribe, thus endangering its very existence.

The mental powers of the Aborigines, too often rated at a low level, are shown by their having successfully managed their tribal and inter-tribal affairs for unknown ages, and also by the fact that as customs spread from tribe to tribe those who adopted them found a way of grafting them on to their own cultural system. In particular, attention is called to the successful combination of the sub-section system of classifying relatives (in which cross-cousin marriage is not allowed), with a marriage rule which permits or even encourages marriage with cross-cousins.

Stress is laid throughout the book on the inter-dependence of the Aborigines' totemic view of the universe, their system of economics, and their art and religion. Their philosophy of life is spiritual, totemistic, and historical; the " spiritual " being " animistic ", or " spiritistic ", carrying with it a personification of natural species and phenomena, and everything in nature is fitted in to the totemic system, thus joining together the whole universe. The life and increase and preservation of both man and nature is held to be due to the action of the culture-heroes of the dim past " dream time ".

Through totemic ceremonies the life of a tribe is maintained by communion with sky- or cult-heroes, or even with natural objects which are considered to be personifications of cult-heroes, or even the heroes themselves. Life centres for the tribe are situated along the mythological path or track of cult-heroes, and these paths or tracks constitute a person's " country ", the place where he belongs, where his mother conceived him through the incarnation of an existing spirit-child, and where he obtains life from a cult-hero. The mythology of the Aborigines is concerned with these heroes and their doings, and the totemic cult-lodge of each tribe is charged with the preservation of the myths in so far as each area is concerned. The whole complete myth may be spread over hundreds of miles. The failure in any given area to pass on the myths to the younger men, and to perform the accompanying ceremonies, results in the withdrawal of life from the particular tribe concerned.

The book contains chapters on Social Groups, Kinship and Marriage, Totemism, Initiation, Aboriginal Philosophy, Rites and Beliefs, Medicine Men and Magic, Death and the Hereafter.

W. G. I.

SOME UNDESCRIBED LANGUAGES OF LUZON. By MORICE VANOVERBERG, C.I.C.M. pp. 200. Dekker and van de Vegt. Nijmejen, 1937. Fl. 2.50.

This publication is one of a series projected by the Belgian *Commission d'Enquête Linguistique* in order to deal with little known languages. The author, who writes in English, is a Belgian missionary in the Philippines, and he presents a study of Casiguran Negrito (CN) speech, with which he has been acquainted for over ten years, and gives grammatical notes, a vocabulary, and several texts in the language. He expresses the opinion that the texts represent the original language of the (Casiguran) Negritos, though (presumably) it is not the language spoken by them to-day.

In addition, the publication contains a list of 313 words and phrases drawn from fifteen of the languages of Luzon, four of which, spoken by Negritos, were practically unknown hitherto to linguists. Certain others of the fifteen languages have been studied only slightly in the past. In conclusion, there is a note on the method of numeration in use among the Ilongot people, specimens of whose language are included in the second part of the publication.

The study begins with the Personal Pronouns in CN; and one notices immediately their Indonesian character, and also their likeness to the Personal Pronouns of the Melanesian languages in the Solomon Islands. The latter have been shown by Codrington and Ray, as well as by scholars of other nations, to be importations due to immigrants from Indonesia (IN); and since the Negritos of Luzon are surrounded by Philipinos speaking an IN language, e.g. the Tagalog, one is inclined to question the author's statement that the texts given represent the original language of the (Casiguran) Negritos.

Furthermore, the Articles *i*, nominative, *na*, Genitive, are also IN. One notices, too, the paucity of Demonstratives, a characteristic of IN languages. Also the decimal system of numeration in CN contains all IN words.

The system of conjugating the verb by means of prefixes corresponds to the IN use, and several of the prefixes used for this purpose are

IN ; e.g. *ka, um* ; the causative prefixes are *pa, paka,* and there is an infix *um* ; all of which are IN.

The IN verbal prefix *ma* (*me*) makes the passive in CN, and also forms the bulk of the adjectives. In Melanesian (MN) languages it is often hard to say whether a word with the IN prefix *ma* is a passive or an adjective. The extensive use in CN of the oblique form of the Article *ta* (*to*) corresponds to the use of the Preposition *ta* in the language of Florida, Solomon Islands.

The use of the ligative article *a* in CN can also be referred to IN influence. Examples of such articles occur here and there in MN languages.

The MN genitive particles *ni, na* may be compared with the genitive articles *ni, na* in CN.

The CN vocabulary given shows many IN words, forms of which are found also in MN languages ; e.g. *ama,* father ; *ina,* mother ; *enak,* child ; *mata,* eye ; *talinga,* ear ; *olo,* head ; *tian,* belly ; *tulang,* bone ; *buaya,* crocodile ; *manok,* bird ; *ikan,* fish ; *busug,* bow ; *pana,* arrow (MN "to shoot") ; *bito,* stone ; *langit,* sky ; *bitun,* star ; *kilat,* lightning ; *uden,* rain ; *kilala,* to know ; *teleng,* to swallow ; *sangit,* to weep ; *tubo,* to grow.

The CN texts given, with interlinear and also free translations, may be taken to be examples of the folk-lore stories of the people.

The Ilongot quinary system of numeration, supplied by the author, has forms of IN numerals from "one" to "four" (as occurs also in several MN languages). These are repeated from "six" to "nine" with a prefix *no.* There is a non-IN term, *tambian,* for "five", and an IN term *tampo,* i.e. *tampulo,* for "ten".

W. G. Ivens.

The Tell el-Amarna Tablets. Edited by S. A. B. Mercer. 2 vols. Toronto : The Macmillan Company of Canada, Ltd., 1939. £4 4*s*.

Nearly sixty years ago the discovery of these tablets astonished Biblical scholars. Since the Danish scholar Kundtzon published, in 1915, an edition of all the tablets known to him, with a translation in German which was very sound for its time, a few more tablets have been published ; some have reached museums from private collections, some from excavations. A good English edition for students and scholars not specialized in cuneiform has long been an urgent need. The manuscript of this edition was ready in 1929 but

could not be published in America for financial reasons. Friends have now made it possible for the work to be printed in very handsome style; the format is admirable. The author says the book "assumes the knowledge and use of *Die El-Amarna Tafeln* on the part of technical students"; he regards his work as "an attempt at the last word to date on the subject, but yet as merely tentative—a stepping stone to a future and better edition whenever new material and new knowledge shall make that desirable". As the "last word to date" and as a "stepping stone" it must be judged.

The introduction is so brief as to be uninformative except as to the publications of tablets since Kundtzon. Nine essays at the end deal with certain subjects as relevant to the letters; (1) Babylonia, (2) Assyria, (3) Mitanni, (4) Alašia, (5) the Hittites, (6) Gubla, (7) the Ḫabiru and the SA.GAZ, (8) the Hurrians, (9) Egypt in Asia, two, nos. 7 and 8, being from the pen of Dr. F. H. Hallock. The desire for brevity even in these essays is commendable, but the result has not been to produce "the last word to date", far from it. The abundant material from Boqhaz Keni and other excavated sites has not been used, or not used fully. The arrangement alone is odd and out of date, for subjects (3) and (8) cannot be treated separately. The sections on Assyria and Babylonia are jejune but not wildly inaccurate as is that on the Hittites. In this essay Professor Wright of Cambridge, the famous Arabic scholar, is confused with the pioneer of Hittite studies in England. von Luschan's generalization about the Hittite racial type is quoted, more full and searching descriptions of the monuments neglected. A "Bata" people is allotted an important rôle; there is no such people, but there is a Pala province and a Pala language. The Hittites did not "grow out of five groups" which include these "Bata", Luvians, Hurrians and "Kanisians". Ḫanigalbat was not "probably their capital", but a province of Mitanni round Nisibis. Such errors ought not to have been possible, even in 1928. It is intelligible that a work like this, the result of years of labour, should be unequal in its various parts; but these essays should have been re-written before publication in 1939.

Dr. Hallock's essay on the Ḫabiru is by far the best piece of work, reasonably up-to-date, thoughtful, and useful to students. His negative conclusion as to the meaning of the word Ḫabiru will not be shaken by two recent attempts to elucidate the matter, by E. Dhorme in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, cxviii, pp. 170 ff., and J. Lewy in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, xiv, pp. 581 ff. In discussing the phonetic relation of Egyptian *'pr* to Ḫabiru, Dr. Hallock might have

adduced Egyptian *Kpn*, Gubla, Byblos. And we ought not to speak of "gods of the Ḫabiru", but only of *Ḫabiru*-gods, whether *Ḫabiru* be an adjective derived from a place-name or a participial form. It is interesting to note that though Dr. Hallock quotes Chiera's translations of SA.GAZ and *ḫabbatu*, "cut-throats, robbers," he has not seen, p. 844, that Chiera took SA = *šir'anu*, "tendon, vein," with good reason. The conclusion, that not all Hebrews were Israelites, is by now, or should be, universal. The Ḫabiru of the Amarna letters serve to explain why invading Israelites found related tribes in Palestine.

The translations of the letters and of the miscellaneous texts follow Kundtzon and the other editors closely but not carefully. The Amarna letters present great difficulties; even to-day no two scholars would translate certain obscure passages in the same way. This is partly because the statement in the Introduction, p. xvi, that all the letters apart from nos. 24, 31, and 32 are in the Akkadian language, is not correct. Many of the letters conform to a grammar which is not Akkadian, though the vocabulary is; a Babylonian scribe could not have understood some of them. If the glosses can reasonably be called Canaanite, some other term is needed for the language of such letters, which use a perfect as well as a permansive, and place verbs at the beginning, not the end, of clauses. There are also local and personal idiosyncrasies. Scholars have avoided the task of translation into English because our views change so quickly. Professor Mercer has been brave and industrious, but he has not observed ordinary standards of careful diction. The errors in transliteration may often be misprints, e.g. 1 : 22, *li-qa-bi-ši-i* for *li-qa-bi ši-i*; but 1 : 53, *aššut(ut)-ti* for *aššatu-u(t)-ti* is an impossible form. In nos. 53 and 55, since Sturm's important essay on the chronology is quoted, p. xvi, *Nam-mur-ia*, Amenophis III, should have been corrected to *Nam-hur-ia*, Amenophis IV. Inconsistencies such as the translation of *ubbuqu* as "massive" in 26 : 53 while it is left untranslated in 27 : 32, are perhaps pardonable. But there are some unpardonable mistakes through carelessness in following the German translation without reference to the original. *ṣalmu* never means "a picture", though "Bild" does. In 38 : 8–9, *šu ahia la ite* K. translates "Jenes sollte mein Bruder nicht wissen?" Mercer "that should my brother not know?"; it means "Oughtn't my brother to know that?". In 26 : 47–8, M., following the German, produces "now has he not given what his father would give", a question without the mark. 28 : 23, *ipparašūma*, K. "fliegen", M. "flee";

the word only denotes the flight of birds. In 20 : 3 *ardutu*, pl., is translated as singular, perhaps a slip. But 230 : 5–10 the same error leads to nonsense, " In the place where I am, behold there where I am, are all thy cities and I thy servant. Thy regents I indeed protect " ; the original reads " In the place in which I have been (perf.), lo ! the places in which I have been, all are (still) your cities. It is I, I am the protector of (permans.) your subjects (*ardute-ka*) and your town-governors ".

Little attempt has been made to make elementary improvements on K. In 3 : 15, *30 ma-na huraṣa ša ki kaspi ipšu ana šulmania tultebila* does not mean " thou hast sent me 30 manas of gold, which is like silver for a present to me " ; the objection is not to the amount, a very considerable sum, but to the quality of the gold, " which had been made like silver ", that is, there was too much alloy. 27 : 26 is inadequately rendered " And when they were cast my ambassadors saw with their own eyes ", for *šapaku* refers to the pouring of molten metal, *tāru* to repetition. *ki ana šipki turru* means that the ambassadors saw " how they (impersonal) returned to the pouring ", i.e. how the gold was twice refined. In no. 252 K. offered tentative suggestions about certain passages, which are now impossible, though M. accepts them. *ki uṣṣuruna amelutu* cannot mean " Then how can the people be guarded ? " ; it might mean " How should the officers protect us ? ". *nukurtu* does not mean " treachery " but " war " ; as there was a war, the Egyptian officers should have been prepared, however strong the enemy. Lines 10–11 should be transliterated, not *ki-it-mi ša-li-me u ki-it-me it-ta-me* but *ki it-mi ša-li-me u ki-it-me it-ta-me išten rabu ittia ṣabtatma alu*, " though one of the sheikhs had sworn peace with me, and sworn again (*t*-form) ' It is the truth (or right) ', yet the town was taken." *qabi* is not a permans., and not plural, but an infin. construct. *ki naṃlu tumhazu* cannot mean " when the agreement (?) was broken " ; *tumhazu* is a noun, not, as Ebeling gave it in his glossary, a verbal form, and *namlu* is IV 1 permans. *ki anaku išahaṭu* does not mean " when I was hard-pressed ", *umannutu* is a dialect form or solecism for *ummanatu* ; translate " where I am, the troops continuously attack, so that 2 cities of mine have been taken ". For " come now, let the people whose city has been taken be watched " read " Announce (*ibi* from *nabu*) ' The officers are to protect us, even where the city has (already) been captured ' ", a Palestinian use of *ša*. *ili šuzume abia* cannot mean " If my father is discontented " but only " Oh my father (that is, lord) order (troops) to march out to me ", for *šuzu* is III 1 imper. 2nd s., and *me* is the

particle of direct speech; the verb is not from *nazamu*. In no. 8 Burnaburiash of Babylon tells Amenophis III of bad treatment meted out to his ambassadors in Palestine. Shum-Adda cut off the feet of one, and kept him prisoner, *u amela šanā Šutatna Akkaiu ina riši ki ulzizušu ana panišu izzaz*. This is treated as a *crux*, but it is a simple reference to court ceremonial, "and though Shutatna of Akko (at first) set another officer at the head (of the courtiers, behind the king), he (the officer) now stands before him (as a suppliant)." There is nothing about standing a man on his head! 149 : 42–3, *ummanu* here is not "the army" but the officer in charge of accounts, or as the Egyptians call him, the Treasurer. Abimilki is explaining how he has kept an insubordinate district faithful. "The king should not pay attention (to any) from that city and its district. Because I heard the king's name and his *ummanu*-officer's name (i.e. because I obeyed orders from Egypt), then they were frightened and all the district was frightened, even such as were not subject to the king." These examples are cited at random; they could be multiplied, and are fairly typical.

Translations of the two Hittite letters, nos. 31 and 32, are included. The introductory remarks are baffling. "The language of these letters looks more like Hittite, Mitannian (or Hurrian) and Luvian than anything else." "This letter is in the Hittite, Mitannian (or Hurrian) or Luvian language." Who would believe that scientific decipherment of the Hittite cuneiform inscriptions has been progressing for twenty years? And how do you translate a language which may be any of three distinct tongues? The translation of no. 32 is from Hrozný's version of 1931; in adopting that translation, Professor Mercer does not seem to see that Hrozný's inference, that the language was called "Nesite", is inevitable. Dushratta's famous letter in the Ḫurrian language is also translated, a bold performance at a time when texts from various sites, in both the cuneiform syllabary and a cuneiform alphabet, are available. The odd thing is that the parallelisms, Ḫurwuḫe : Mašrianni : : Tesupa : Aman, and Ḫurwuḫe : Mašrianni : : Tušratta : Immuria, have not apparently convinced Professor Mercer that Mašrianni must refer to Egypt, the land of the god Ammon and the Pharaoh (N)immuria, Amenophis III. That inference, originally I think due to Bork, must inevitably be right.

The notes have been kept commendably short; the abstracts of contents are of little use and more information in the notes would be desirable. The vocabulary is only intended to supplement the

dictionaries; it contains the same omissions as Ebeling's in K., as, e.g. under *makū* the form *damikki* for *tamikki* in 222 a : 14. The lists of foreign words are also from K. The map is useful but not absolutely up to date.

So many students will turn to this English edition with relief, so many scholars will wish to use it for reference in following up scientific work, that a serious *caveat* must, with very great regret, be registered. Students should only use the translations under the direction of a teacher; scholars must not rely on it as a firm "stepping-stone" but must examine the foundations.

SIDNEY SMITH.

VARIA COPTICA. Texts, translations, indexes. By W. E. CRUM. 56 pp. Aberdeen University Press, 1939. 10*s*.

Texts of various *provenance*, some in museums, others in private hands: 130 in number, of which only four have been previously published, and these four much improved. A translation is attempted of all of them but, as Mr. Crum says, some of the renderings are very uncertain, especially of three or four in the Fayyumic dialect. There are a few literary texts, more legal, some eighty letters, and a few interesting lists and accounts.

In the first category there is a rather tantalising fragment of a dialogue between a bishop and a pagan, a noble prayer, and a fine fragment of a controversial epistle or dialogue; among the letters, some interesting references to current events, such as the Persian invasion, and an allusion to Pisenthius of Coptos; a legal document mentions a Pachomian monastery in the nome of Coptos, which must presumably be the famous Tabennêse, as the Pachomian monastery at Pboou was in the nome of Diospolis. It need not be said that Mr. Crum has extracted the last drops of etymological and historical deduction from his very varied material.

No. 117 has a considerable Biblical interest, being a list of the contents of a MS. of the Old Testament. Mr. Crum translates: " . . . Jesus (son) of Naue. The Judges. The [first ? of] the Kingdoms and the [second ? of Kingdom]s. The Chronicles [an]d the first of Esdra and the [second . . .] and the Psalter and the Pro[verbs and the Preacher] and the Song of Songs. The twelve [Prophets. Es]aias and Jeremias, Barouch [. . .] of the Idols being in a [single] book. These be the twenty-two [books of the . . . Testame]nt."

The reference to the book about the Idols is difficult. Mr. Crum tentatively explains "Presumably the epistle of Jeremiah, wholly concerned with the folly of idolatry. I have not found it so named elsewhere". This hardly seems to me satisfactory: coming soon after Bauch, might it not refer to *Bel and the Dragon*? In that case we must fill the gap at the beginning of line 8 with something like ⲡⲧⲁⲕⲟ] ⲛ̅ⲛ̅ⲉⲓⲧⲟⲗⲟⲛ.

S. G.

A Coptic Dictionary. Compiled by W. E. Crum. Part VI: ϫ-ϭⲁϭⲟⲩϩⲟⲣ. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939. 42*s*.

With the publication of the sixth and last part (the earlier parts have been noticed in the *Bulletin* V, 111, VII, 1 and 4, and IX, 2), this great work sails *in optatum portum*, and Dr. Crum must have breathed a sigh of relief when he passed the final proof of a book that has occupied the best part of his time for thirty years. The feeling of all Coptic scholars is one of great gratitude, alike to Dr. Crum and to the Clarendon Press, for this can never prove a lucrative publication.

ϫ and ϭ are purely Coptic letters, and the great majority of words in this part are of purely native origin, some of them very obscure in meaning. ϫ, I think, had a sound like our *j* in *judge*, though it occasionally seems to be equivalent to *ts*; ϭ is more difficult, as may be seen from ϭⲓⲑⲁⲣⲁ, ⲁⲗⲟϭⲟⲛ, ϭⲓⲛⲉ (= ϣⲓⲛⲉ), ⲧⲁⲛϭⲟ (= ⲧⲁⲛϩⲟ), and its transcription in Arabic by both ج and ش. We can but represent it by *gh* and hope for the best. Some interesting words, with well-arranged articles, are ϫⲉ-, ϫⲓ, ϫⲱ, ϫⲱⲕ, ϫⲓⲛ-, ϫⲡⲟ, ϫⲟⲉⲓϩ (in Bohairic always in the compendium ⲟ̅ϩ̅, of which we hardly know the expansion, but for an Arabic transliteration شيس), ϭⲱ, ϭⲟⲕ, ϭⲱⲧⲡ, ϭⲓϫ.

The conclusion of the vocabulary takes up but half of this part. At the end are indexes, English, Greek, and Arabic, of extraordinary value: the Greek index is the work of Sir Herbert Thompson, who has given Dr. Crum unfailing help throughout. The five pages of preface replace and extend the prefaces to the early parts, and give a concise account of the manner in which Dr. Crum planned his work and carried it out, his lexicographical principles, and acknowledgments of his debts to other scholars.

The individualistic character of the British has often brought it

about, from Dr. Johnson onwards (or may I look back even further, to Horman, Littleton, Minsheu, Cotgrave ?), that our great dictionaries have usually been the work of a single man, rather than of an academy or commission: modern instances are Murray, Badger, Liddell and Scott, Wright, Craigie. But here surely is one of the most notable of all: Dr. Crum generously acknowledges the help of other scholars, but indeed the long and sustained labour is essentially his own, and he has put Coptologists (and indeed Egyptologists at large) under an enormous obligation for all time. Let us remember that when the last serious Coptic dictionary[1] appeared (Amedeo Peyron, 1835), there was available *none* of the vast papyrus material (to say nothing of ostraca) which has so greatly enriched our knowledge of the language, especially in secular and non-literary matter. All this has been sifted and made available by Dr. Crum, down to the most interesting Manichaean liturgical manuscripts, in a broad Fayyumic dialect, only now in course of publication. In such lines as these, there will be room, in time, for additions; but those wise men who bind up their Dictionary interleaved will find their *addenda* few for a good many years yet. I hope they will obey Dr. Crum's behests as to both *corrigenda* and *addenda* which come after his preface: the true lexicographer cannot but rejoice in a copy amended after his own second thoughts or new discoveries.

I ask however for something more: and something that need not necessarily take the time of Dr. Crum himself, if he has important texts to edit which nobody can transcribe, emend, and translate as competently as he. In 1844 Dr. G. Parthey, no great scholar, but an agreeable polymath, published at Berlin an octavo volume which, in spite of all its imperfections, is still useful, and fetches rather a high price; *Vocabularium Coptico-Latinum et Latino-Copticum*: useful, if little more than a compilation from Peyron and Tattam, because if you go to some foreign library to collate a Coptic manuscript, you can put it into your suit-case, where Peyron would be a burden and Crum an impossibility. The Clarendon Press like to issue "concise" editions or abstracts of their own lexicons or dictionaries: and a "pocket" Coptic dictionary should be considered by them in the near future. Its compilation (or condensation) will not be difficult, and need not take up Dr. Crum's own time: some young scholar

[1] I have not forgotten Spiegelberg's *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1921): but the aim of this is largely etymological. It is a fine work, on which see Crum in *The Journal of Egyptian Archæology* VIII, pp. 116 and 187.

could, with the help of the English index, occasionally controlled by the Greek, make such an *editio minor*, to be published at fifteen shillings or so, which would be a great boon to all Coptologists—the traveller in Egypt, or the young man investigating the fragmentary leaves of Coptic manuscripts in libraries in this country and in Europe: it would need but a general supervision by Dr. Crum himself. The result would be of great value not only to the professional Coptologists, but to Biblical scholars and Orientalists at large. If I have here slightly enlarged the proper bounds of a review of Dr. Crum's *Dictionary*, I will come to an end with the words occasionally found at the end of a hymn in the *Theotokia*, ϧⲉⲛ ⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫ̀ⲧ ⲙ̀ⲁⲣⲉⲛϫⲱⲕ ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ. ⲁⲙⲏⲛ.

STEPHEN GASELEE.

THE AVESTA CODEX K 5. Third part. Codices Avestici et Pahlavici Bibliothecae Universitatis Hafniensis, vol. ix. With an introduction by K. BARR. Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard, 1939. D. Cr. 205.

The ninth volume of this admirable series of facsimile editions of Avesta and Pahlavi manuscripts contains the final part of K 5, foll. 218 v.–328. It comprises Yasna 47–72, with Pahlavi translation, and the colophons; the first part has already been reviewed in this *Bulletin* (IX, p. 1052). Written in A.D. 1323, by Mihravān-i Kay-Khosrou, K 5 formed the basis of the first critical edition of the Yasna, by Westergaard, and despite a considerable increase in the available material it has maintained its position as one of the most important manuscripts of the holiest Zoroastrian book. It was therefore highly desirable that the leaves of this ancient codex should be preserved from the dangers of old age and decay, and surely no better method could have been devised than the presentation of a facsimile edition which fully replaces the original. All those interested in the study of the Zoroastrian religion will be deeply grateful to the publisher, Mr. Munksgaard, for enabling them to possess themselves of a copy of this grand codex.

W. B. H.

ARCHAEOLOGISCHE MITTEILUNGEN AUS IRAN. Edited by ERNST HERZFELD. Vols. vii–ix. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1934–8.

The latest volumes of this valuable periodical contain again a vast wealth of interesting material. Most of the articles have been contributed by the editor, Professor E. Herzfeld, himself. It will be sufficient here to give the titles of the various papers, with occasional remarks on the contents.

vii, 1–8: A silver dish of Artaxerxes I (with four plates). The cuneiform inscription on the rim of these four beautiful dishes has given rise to serious doubts against the authenticity of this piece of plate, voiced by H. H. Schaeder, *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1935, pp. 489 sqq. Its Old Persian is incredibly vile, and there is at least one word which appears to be due to an erroneous retranslation into Old Persian of a Modern Persian form: *sa-i-ya-ma-ma*, obviously = Pers. *sīm* "silver". In later papers Professor Herzfeld has defended the admissibility of this spelling (*AMI.*, viii, pp. 5 sqq.; *Altpers. Inschr.*, pp. 296 sqq.). Since at the time of Artaxerxes Greek *ἄσημος*, the prototype of MPers. *asēm*, NPers. *sīm* "silver", was "bullion", not "silver", H. proposes the former meaning also for the suspect *sa-i-ya-ma-ma* of the dishes. However, as similar inscriptions on various objects of art usually indicate the material of which these are made, not the accidental state of the material before its treatment, one might prefer to think that the author of the inscriptions wanted to use a word for the material of the dishes, viz. "silver", and was compelled to invent it as the word for silver was not available for him (it occurs only once in a recently discovered inscription). The spelling *sa-i-ya-* for *sī-* can be explained from the knowledge that NPers. *ī* is the regular equivalent to any Old Persian group of sounds which is spelled *consonant* + *i* + *ya*. There is no reason to cast doubt on the genuineness of the first vowel of Pahl. and Man.MPers. *asēm* (*Altpers. Inschr.*, p. 298); no inverse spelling of such a type, unthinkable for Man.MPers., is attested.

vii, 9–64: Median and Parthian. Mainly with the help of etymological explanations of local names Professor H. attempts at a determination of the dialectical peculiarities and differences of Median and Parthian. According to him, the language of the second ("Arsacid") version of the Sasanian inscriptions is Middle Parthian, but the "North-Western" dialect used by Manichæans is Middle Median. Whilst nobody will quarrel with the former conclusion, objections of a

historical as well as dialectological nature can be raised against the latter. Mani sent his disciple Ammo to Abarshahr, the centre of Parthia, because he was acquainted with the *pahlawānīγ* = Parthian language. The mission of Ammo forms the starting-point for the creation of the second Manichæan language: *ergo*, the correct name for this language is *pahlawānīγ*. The inconsiderable differences between inscriptional Parthian and Manichæan Parthian (such as *uχ-* from *χu-*, ending of abstracta *-yft* from *-ypy*, i.e. addition of an unetymological *-t* in the later dialect) can easily be explained as due to disparity in linguistical age; for the Parthian tongue as represented in Sasanian inscriptions was orthographically fixed about half a millennium before Mani's time (pp. 44 sqq.). In determining the date of the origin of Parthian writing, H. makes use of Sogdian material. In his view Sogdian writing is a descendant of Parthian, whilst the reviewer prefers to regard Sogdian and Parthian as mutually independent provincial developments of that Aramaic style of writing which had been introduced by the chancelleries of the Achæmenian empire.

vii, 65–73: Myron Bement Smith, Imām Zāde Karrār at Buzūn, a dated Seljuk ruin. With six excellently executed plates and a plan of the ruins at Buzūn, or Buzān, to the east of Isfahan. The date, given by a Nasḫī inscription, is H. 528. In an annotation (pp. 73–81) Professor H. gives a valuable list of the earliest known Nasḫī inscriptions (with some new material).

vii, 82–137: Xerxes Areios. A contribution to the study of Median history and Achæmenian military affairs (Heerwesen). Having enjoyed the privilege of living in Xerxes' harem for several years, Professor H. felt it incumbent upon him to defend the Great King's dignity against indelicate etymologies of his name (p. 84). For *aršan-* "male, stallion, (perhaps) hero", usually regarded as the second part of the compound (nom.) *Xšayāršā*, he substitutes an otherwise unknown word **ṛšāh-*, translated as "recht" (p. 136) and derived from Iran. *raz-*. Linguists will find it difficult to agree with the proposed derivation, in view of the irregular formation of **ṛšāh-* and the unexplained length of the second vowel of *Xšayāršā*; these difficulties which jeopardize the new explanation, have been noticed by the author (p. 135, n. 2), but not overcome. As parallel formation H. quotes (p. 134) Assyr. *ma-mi-ti-ar-šu*, the name of a Median chieftain, rendering **vahmat-ṛša-* or **vahmyat-ṛša-*; however, the presumed participle **vahmat-*, derived from a noun (*vahma-*) instead of a verbal stem, will hardly be given credence.

The discussion opens with an interpretation of the well-known gloss Herodotus, vi, 98 . . . Ξέρξης ἀρήιος, Ἀρταξέρξης μέγας ἀρήιος. I do not agree with H.'s opinion that the Greek owed to Persians this explanation of Xerxes' name (p. 89). The similarity in the rendering of the two names (the names being like each other only in Greek) rather suggests a Greek as the author of the gloss. However that be, the word ἀρήιος has led Professor H. to a discussion of the Iranian Ares, Vṛθraγna, and of texts relating to him, in particular Yasht, xiv (pp. 90 sqq.). His study of this Yasht, built to some extent upon Hertel's ideas, is an instructive specimen of the method employed by Professor H. for the interpretation of Avestan texts. Characteristic points are: liberal use of the possibilities of the legendary "Arsacid text" and the highly hypothetical "Avestan metrics", large-minded treatment of grammatical niceties and philological rules (e.g. *vīraʃa* from *raz*, pp. 93 sq., 135), ruthless emendation, implicit trust in the value of etymology, and exaggerated application of the "principle of mutual elucidation". This method, hardly paralleled in other branches of historical or philological studies, is bound to produce the most astonishing results. Its main drawback is the divergence in results which of necessity follows its application by several scholars so that, e.g. what to Professor Herzfeld appears to be a legionaries' ditty (on the Prussian discipline but ineffectiveness of the objectionable "Jambudvīpa-kerlchen", p. 101) may seem a shamanistic text on rituals or a learned discussion of law questions to other scholars.

The following pages (113 sqq.) contain further suggestions in favour of H.'s theory of the dependence of the Avestan Kavi legend on facts of Median history. In connection with these problems the opening words of the Pahlavi text "Khosrou and his page", previously studied by Professor Bailey (*BSOS.*, vii, pp. 70 sqq.), are corrected. It may be useful to point out that there is no need to change the unanimous reading of the manuscripts: *Ērān vinārt kawātīk rētak-ē* (*PT.*, i, p. 27). These words mean "a page from the county of Ērān-vinārt-Kawāt", i.e. a *kūrah* of Isfahan (ایرانوثارث کواذ, read ایرانونارت کواذ, see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 28, n. 1).

viii, 1–3: Karl Bergner, "Report on unknown ruins of Achæmenian times in the Persepolitan plain" (with a map and eight plates). Three groups of ruins in the middle Kur valley, two of them remainders of ancient dams. In an annotation (p. 4) Professor Herzfeld recalls Herodotus' story of an enormous irrigation system in Eastern Iran

(iii, 117), which has been carefully analysed by the late Professor Markwart (*Wehrot*, pp. 8 sqq.).

viii, 5–51 : The silver dishes of Artaxerxes and the gold foundation document of Ariaramnes. The problem of the authenticity of the silver dishes has been touched on above. Similarly, the genuineness of the famous inscription of Ariaramnes has been doubted ; several scholars regard it as a fabrication of late Achæmenian times, whilst Professor H. writes in favour of its full authenticity. The main point in the rather heated discussion of the problem is the undeniable fact that the language of the Ariaramnes inscription is grammatically debased and far less correct than the Old Persian used in the monuments of his great-grandson Darius. Even if one accepts Professor H.'s point of view that already at the outset of the Achæmenian period, even before that date, the Old Persian language of our grammatical handbooks was more or less a dead language and that the actually spoken language was changing into an early stage of Middle Persian, even then one imagines with some difficulty only how Darius' Aramæan scribes possibly could be so successful in their restoration of handbook Old Persian from the changed spoken language, without their being able to rely on clerical or linguistical tradition. At the end of his article H. has given a clear *résumé* of his views on the history of Old Persian (pp. 46 sqq.). It is interesting to note the date suggested by him for the origin of Iranian from Indo-Iranian. The old name of Ṭabaristān, *Patišχwār* = *pati* + OP. **Hwāra-* "(the mountains) in front of Hwāra", can have been created only by the immigrant Iranians who appeared in Media from 836 B.C. onwards and hardly arrived in Parthia before 900 B.C. The phonetical change of *pati* + *hwāra-* into **patiš(h)wāra-* can have taken place only at a time when **Hwāra-* was still **Swāra-*, i.e. a pre-Iranian form. *Ergo* in about 900 B.C. the "Iranians" who immigrated into Persia, were still "Indo-Iranians" (pp. 46 sqq.). To the reviewer this argument seems to be based on a mere *petitio principii* : why should the change of Iranian *h* into *š(h)* in certain positions not have remained a feature of the living Old Iranian dialects ?

viii, 53–5 : M. Duchesne-Guillemin, Note sur la provenance asiatique d'un tambour égyptien. Namely, "le tambour sur cadre de l'espèce quadrangulaire," which occurs first pictured on a Nihavand vase, about 2200 B.C. (see Herzfeld, *Archæol. Hist. of Iran*, p. 7).

viii, 56–77 : Xerxes' ban of the Daiva cult. Professor Herzfeld, to whom we owe already the discovery of several Xerxes inscriptions

(particularly the "foundation document", *Pers. Harem*), here publishes a further inscription of this king, of 60 lines, undoubtedly the most important Xerxes monument so far available. A full Accadian and a nearly complete Elamite version have also been discovered. A transliteration of the three texts will be found in the author's later publication, *Altpers. Inschr.*, pp. 27 sqq., photographs, ibid., plates x–xii. In § 3 (13–28) we have the first list of satrapies under Xerxes' rule, with the noteworthy mention of the *Dahā* "Δάοι" (26) and the *Akaufačiya*, convincingly identified with the medieval *Kōfič* (*Kōč*, *Qufṣ*) in Kerman (see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 31). The introductory formula is the same as in Dar. NR. a § 3, except for line 15, *dahyāva tyaišām adam xšāyaθiya āhām* [*sic*] = *tyā adam agrbāyam*. Curious is *abrn* = *abaran* (17), besides *abara*, *abara(n)tā*, and *abaraha* in the same sentence in other inscriptions; *patiyaxšaiy* (17) instead of *patiyaxšayaiy* is merely a misprint. The Greek satrapies are given as *Yaunā tya* [r. *tyaiy*] *drayahyā dārayantiy utā tyaiy paradraya dārayantiy*; it seems preferable to take *paradraya* as an adverb and *drayahyā* as a loc. sing.

§ 4 (28–56), the centre-piece of the inscription, deals with difficulties which Xerxes had to face at the beginning of his reign. There was a rebellion in one of his provinces which he quelled (29–34). In some provinces (or province) *Daivas* were worshipped: he destroyed their temples, banned the Daiva cult, and substituted the belief in Ahuramazdā (35 sqq.). These events are interpreted by the editor as the compulsory introduction of Zarathushtra's teaching, the pure Ahuramazdā religion, into those provinces of Iran where the ancient Indo-Iranian belief in *Daivas* still persisted. On the other hand, since the provinces where these measures were taken are not named, we have to consider the alternative that the inscription refers to the suppression of non-Iranian religions in some parts of the vast Achæmenian empire (hence *daivā* = "false gods"). At any rate, the occurrence of the word *daivā* with distinctly pejorative meaning will form a valuable point in future discussions on the history of religious movements in ancient Iran. 31/2 *ayud* should perhaps be read *āyauda*, either Nom. sg. masc. from *āyauda-* "rebellion" = Parthian *āyōz* ("there is [= 'there was'] a rebellion in these provinces which [*tyaiy* inst. of *tyā*] are mentioned above"), or 3rd sg. impf. of *ā* + *yauda-* "to rebel" (*hyā* left out after *nipištā*? "There is amongst these provinces one that revolted"). The second solution seems preferable in view of the singulars in the following sentences:

ava [*sic*] *dahyāvam* and *-šim*. 38 *ptiyzbym* could also be read *patiyaza(n)-bayam* = Av. *-zəmbaya-*. 39 *yd*^{a}*iyiš* (*yd*^{i}*iyiš*, *Altpers. Inschr.*, p. 28. is misprinted), if not blunder for *yd*^{a}*iš(a)* (50) = *yadaiša* = Av. *yazaēša*, can be regarded as an imperfect spelling of *yadiyaiša*, 3rd pl. opt. pass. (= Skt. *ijyeran*), with the *-ša* ending of *akunavaša*, etc. 41 (etc.) *artąča brzmniy*: since there is no possibility of explaining *-čā* as conjunction here (against Herzfeld, p. 69, and H. Hartmann, *OLZ.*, 1937, p. 148), one might consider *artāčā* as an early contraction of OPers. **artā hačā* (cf. *θātiy*, etc.) = GAv. *ašāṯ hačā*, all the more so if any value can be attached to the Elamite transcription *^{i}r.ta.^{h}a.ci* (cf. also Hartmann, op. cit., pp. 146 sq.). *brzmniy* is best explained as nom. sg. of the adjective in *-iya-* from *brzmn-*, therefore possibly = Av. *barəsmanya-*. One might translate: "I worshipped Ahuramazdā, holding Barəsman (twigs) according to the Holy Law."

viii, 78–102: Arabic inscriptions in Iran and Syria. Discussion of the Arabic inscriptions on various monuments recently published by M. André Godard (*Āthār-é Īrān*, tom. i, fasc. 1), from Lajim (Mazenderan), Abarqūh, Marāgha, Nāṭanz. An interpretation of the difficult Pahlavi inscription on the tomb tower at Lajim (A.H. 413) is here attempted for the first time; the Pahlavi ductus closely resembles the writing of the Egyptian Pahlavi Papyri. Several hitherto unknown Arabic inscriptions from the Seljuk period, mainly from Isfahan and Aleppo, are quoted.

viii, 103–160 (first part), ix, 1–79 (second part): The art of the Near East during the second millennium B.C. With 11 plates and numerous illustrations in the text. An archæological study, based mainly on seal pictures and ornaments.

ix, 80–9: *Aχvarta- Xvarnah-* = *Naphtha*. Avestan *χvarənah-*, OldPers. *farnah-*, NPers. *farr(e)*, the royal glory of the Iranians, means simply "the eating", according to H., and *aχvarəta-* "without eatables". Therefore, *Aχvarəta- Xvarənah-* should be "the eating without eatables", or (with a slight but hardly permissible turning) "the devouring (flame) which is not in need of food", viz. a burning oil-well. Similarly, OIran. **nafta-* "Naphtha" (a word of which the Iranian origin is by no means assured) is simply the same as OIran. *nafta-* (Av. *napta-*) "wet", which H. in common with Bartholomae (and others) derives from $\sqrt{nebh}$ (p. 86). On the other hand, **nafta-* is "somehow connected" (p. 89) with the name of the Indo-Iranian god *Apām Napāt-* "the son (grandson) of the waters". As these two explanations obviously exclude each other,

H.'s conclusion is that *Apām Napāt* "*alludes* to naphtha". In view of the established connection of *Apām Napāt* with the *Axvarəta Xvarənah* on the one hand, and the rather nebulous allusion of *Apām Napāt* to naphtha on the other, H. finds the cult of burning oil-wells established as a feature of the ancient Iranian religion. The reviewer finds it difficult to accept the general conclusion as well as the etymologies offered here. It will be noted that the Pahlavi passage quoted on p. 80 (GrBd. 128[2–11]) while dealing with burning oil-wells does not indicate that they were regarded as divine manifestations (the first words are: *ātaš ī plmkl rāy paitāk*; *paitākīh* forms part of the preceding sentence; further on read *ayārēnd* "they dare", 128[6], instead of *hilēnd, pat āturastar nihuftan* "to cover with ashes", 128[8–9], not "to blow into a flame with fans"). They are mentioned merely as a curiosity of natural history.

ix, 91–158: Khusrau Parwēz and the Ṭāq i Vastān. With twelve plates. In a series of articles K. Erdmann had suggested that the famous relief sculptures in the second grotto of Ṭāq i Bostān should be ascribed to Pērōz, not to Khosrou Parwēz as is usually done. With a great number of historical and archæological arguments H. convincingly vindicates the current opinion. After a detailed and highly interesting discussion of the various means available for the dating of Sasanian monuments (crowns, crests, etc.; of particular import: notes on Hephthalite coins and the Khwarāsān Khwarreh, pp. 150 sqq.), H. arrives at the conclusion that the sculptures are from the 21st–37th years of Khosrou II.

ix, 159–177: Bronze "patent letters" granted by a king of Abdadana (with a plate and a historical map showing North-Western Iran in about 900–700 B.C.). This bronze tablet had been referred to in *AMI.*, ii, p. 117. Its Babylonian inscription, presumably from the ninth century B.C., mentions privileges granted to an Assyrian by a king of Abdadana. Through a careful analysis of the nomenclature of Assyrian historical records H. shows that Abdadana is to be localized in the southern part of Garrūs, the region of Bījār.

W. B. H.

ESSAI SUR LA LANGUE PARTHE. Son système verbal. D'après les textes manichéens du Turkestan Oriental. By A. GHILAIN. Bibliothèque du Muséon, vol. 9. Louvain, 1939. 18 belgas.

The study of the grammar and vocabulary of Middle Iranian has not kept pace with the publication of new material. Neither Manichæan Middle Persian nor Parthian, neither Sogdian nor Saka can boast a complete dictionary, and the number of grammatical essays on any of these languages is depressingly small. The present work, which has been submitted as a *thèse* to the University of Louvain, is therefore highly welcome. It offers a complete survey of the verbal system of that Middle Western Iranian dialect of Manichæan texts which in earlier days was called " North-Western dialect ", or " North-Western Middle Iranian ". Happily, this clumsy denomination has now been superseded by the more or less generally accepted term " Parthian ", viz. that dialect of the province of Parthia which was raised to the rank of the language of administration under the rule of the Parthian (Arsacid) kings, and which the Manichæan emissaries used as a missionary language because at their time (about A.D. 300) it formed the κοινή of the north-eastern provinces of Persia. We are fortunate enough to have the correct name of this language mentioned in a Manichæan fragment, as *pahlavānīγ* = Parthian. The problems connected with this name and its history have been set forth by M. Ghilain in the introduction to his book.

The introduction contains also a more satisfactory classification of the Parthian Man. texts than had previously been attempted. M. Ghilain has been able to distinguish two different strata of texts: those of the third and fourth centuries, composed by authors who spoke Parthian, and later Turkestanian texts, written at a time when Parthian was a dead language used solely for ecclesiastical purposes. The recognition of this fact has enabled the author to discard a number of troublesome forms as unauthentic.

The survey of the verbal formations follows the usual division into three main chapters: present stem, past participle, inflection. M. Ghilain has been able to mention a number of hitherto unpublished forms, a fact which greatly enhances the value of his book. He has done his work with commendable care, and so conscientiously that it is difficult to find a verbal form which he has not recorded. The only verb that seems to have escaped his attention is '*skrf-* " to stumble " = NPers. *šigarfīdan*, cf. also Pahl. and Man.MPers. *škarw-*, *əškarw-*, Zaehner, *BSOS.*, IX, p. 315, and further Skt. *skhal-*, Arm.

sxal-, etc. Some additional remarks: p. 56 *'wsn-*, cf. the causative *'ws'n-* "to make descend, to let fall" (see the Pahl. forms quoted by Zaehner, *BSOS.*, IX, pp. 892 sq.). p. 56 *brm-*: read *brām-*; here Avestan *bram-* in *brāsat yimō Yt.* 19[34] "Yima wept [*sic*]" should have been quoted; Saka *brem-*, Bailey, *BSOS.*, IX, p. 73. p. 57 *wxrn*: Arm. *xoran*, etc., see Andreas in Rothstein, *Lachm.*, pp. 144 sq., Bailey, *BSOS.*, VI, p. 593. p. 58 *'wystr-*: Pahlavi [illegible] = *'wstltn*, explaining [illegible] = *kplwn-tn*, *Frah. Pahl.*, p. 68 (Syriac *kpar* "*purgavit*"). Ibid., *gš-*: the etymology is supported by Arm. *garšim* "to abhor", see Meillet, *Gramm. Comp. Arm.*, 2nd ed., p. 39; cf. NPers. *gaš* "pleased, proud". p. 59 *x'z-*: the alternative explanation is to be rejected on account of Saka *khāš-* (< *χāzya-*), *khaṣṭa-* "to drink". p. 66 *wzw-*: a reference to Saka *buysu-* would have been desirable (see *Mir.Man.*, iii, *s.v.*). p. 67 *'stwb-* was clearly pronounced *əstōβ*, cf. NPers. *sutōh*. p. 69: for *M I* 343 read *wx'st*[*w'nyft*]. p. 71: one might be inclined to find √*stan* in Av. *apastanaṅhō*, *Yt.* 19[42]: †*apa.disimnāi dāuru apastanaṅhō gatō.arəza(ṅ)he* (dat. of comp. *gatō.arəzah-*) "who killed *Arəzō.šamana* ..... (by) robbing him of his mace when he turned away after he had come to fight". p. 73: two roots *ram* are to be assumed (1) "to have pleasure, or peace", (2) "to move" (as in Saka *ttrām-*, *narām-*, etc.). p. 74 *nydf'r-*: cf. Pahlavi *niθvār-*, see *BSOS.*, X, p. 105, n. 3. p. 76 *'xr'w-*: my explanation has been misquoted; the root is presumably *xrū* as in Av. *xrūta-*, *xrvant-*, etc., *xrūišyant-* (fut. ptc., hardly denominative). Further, Saka *grute*, *uysgrute*, *E*, vi, 7; xxiv, 15. NPers. *χarāš-* possibly from **χrāuš-* (not **χrauš-*), but other explanations have been proposed (see Benveniste, *BSOS.*, IX, p. 515); connection with Av. *χrafstra-* is not possible. p. 79 *'zgrysp-*: cf. Sogd. *zγrwβs-*, *Dhuta*, 257. p. 81 *'rws-*: cf. p. 49! p. 82 *wmys-*: a discussion of Man.MPers. *wymys* (*Mir.Man.* ii) and of *wmys* in the Paikuli inscr. would have been of value. p. 82 *parmūs-*, *parmāw-*, *parmūdan* are evidently connected with Av. *amuyamna-* and *ava.mīvāmahi* (for the latter Parth. *'wmws-* is of interest). p. 84 *pdyn-*: Pamir dialects *paδīn-*, see Morgenstierne, *IIFL.*, ii, pp. 406 sq. p. 91 *wrwšn-*: besides Saka *b(ā)rūñ-*, cf. also Chr. Sogd. *wyrw*[*x*]*šd'rṯ*, *S.T.*, i, 16[8]. p. 92 *b'š-*: read Skt. *bhāṣ-*, *bhāṣā-* instead of *bhāš-*. p. 97 *whwr-*, *whyrd*: in favour of the derivation from √*far* one might point to Saka *āphār-*, *haphār-*, etc. p. 124 *ny'bg*: cf. Parth. Inscr. *ny'pk*, etc., see *BSOS.*, X, p. 105, n. 3.

Excellent registers facilitate the study of this important essay.

W. B. H.

ESQUISSE D'UNE GRAMMAIRE COMPARÉE DE L'ARMÉNIEN CLASSIQUE. By A. MEILLET. Seconde édition entièrement remaniée. Vienna: Imprimerie des PP. Mekhitharistes, 1936. 10*s.* 6*d.*

The second edition of the *Comparative Grammar of Armenian* is one of the last works which we owe to the tireless labours of the great French linguist. The book, indispensable alike to students of Indo-European philology and of Classical Armenian, appeared first in 1903 and has been out of print for a number of years. The considerable changes introduced into the new edition reflect the progress of Armenian studies since the beginning of the century. The greater part of the book is occupied with the discussion of phonology (pp. 19–59; alternations, pp. 60–3), and morphology (nouns, pp. 64–102; verb, pp. 103–135). Less space than one might have wished is devoted to syntactical problems (pp. 136–140). A final chapter (pp. 141–4) deals with the origin of the Armenian vocabulary. F. L. Mariès has enhanced the value of the work by adding a very elaborate register (pp. 145–205).

Occasionally words of which the origin, whether inherited from Indo-European or borrowed from Iranian, is not sufficiently well established, are employed to demonstrate phonetical rules for the conversion of Indo-European into Armenian. Thus *dēz* "heap" which easily might be Iranian is mentioned twice, p. 27 for Ind.Eur. *g'h* between vowels, and p. 45 for Ind.Eur. *ey* (both times as sole example); cf. also *mēg* "cloud", p. 28. The problem offered by the ending of *anjuk* "narrow" (pp. 29 sq.) can be solved by regarding the word as an Iranian loan (Man.MPers. *hnzwg-*, Parthian *'njwg-*). The troublesome *u* of *patuhas* "punishment" (p. 32) is best explained by reference to Pahlavi *pātufrās* (as in the *Psalter*; borrowed, therefore, as **patuhras*). The *h(r)* of this word and of *hraman*, etc., is now generally ascribed to a dialectical change within Iranian, so that the assumption of pre-classical forms **patiwrhas*, **whraman* is rendered unnecessary.

W. B. HENNING.

THE QUR'ĀN. Vol ii. Translated with a critical rearrangement of the Surahs. By RICHARD BELL. pp. 345–697. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1939. 12*s*. 6*d*.

The first volume was reviewed in the *Bulletin*, Vol. IX, p. 1084. This part contains a note on "dating" which makes it easier for the reader to understand the results. Dr. Bell has seen no reason to change the conclusions which he set forth in the *Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment*. At first Muḥammad believed that he was one of a succession of messengers from God who all taught the same truth. It was not till the Jews of Medina refused to accept him that he set up for himself and assumed the style of a prophet; previously he had been content to call himself messenger or warner (cf. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, p. 44). About that time he learnt that Abraham was earlier than Moses and claimed him as his spiritual forerunner, calling his religion the religion of Abraham and using the term *ḥanīf*. He also began to use the terms Muslim and Islām for his religion and his followers. There were other changes in vocabulary such as the use of *fasada* for moral evil. The battle of Uḥud produced the men and the term which described them, *munāfiḳ*, hypocrite or waverer. The result is that much, which was formerly ascribed to Mecca, is now given to Medina.

It is taken for granted that practically the whole Qur'ān was in writing before Muḥammad died. Involved constructions and clumsy expressions are got rid of by the theory of revision. Good examples are sūra 33, 53; 38, 40; and 44, 1. It is a surprise to find that Dr. Bell accepts 24, 60 as original for it is generally agreed that a phrase from 48, 17 has been interpolated.

A reviewer of the first volume regretted that the Qur'ān was not printed in the order of its composition. In view of the mixed nature of many of the chapters, this is probably impossible. It would mean that revised passages would have to be printed at least twice, in the original and then in the revised form. Here and there one would like more explanation. In the early chapters are oaths which are negative in form but are traditionally explained as positive. Dr. Bell translates them as negative but gives no reason.

This is the best translation to give to a layman and any scholar will be glad to have it.

A. S. T.

THE MYSTICAL PHILOSOPHY OF MUḤYID DÍN-IBNUL 'ARABÍ. By A. E. AFFIFI. pp. xx + 213. Cambridge: University Press, 1939. 12*s*. 6*d*.

It is a great thing to have read the substantial works of Ibn'l-'Arabī and a greater to have extracted the essence of them and condensed it in a book of reasonable length. Dr. Affifi has to be congratulated on his mastery of English; there is a mistake in grammar on p. 185 and an impossible sentence on p. 10. Complaints can be made. What is said in the preface about Nyberg's introduction to the *Kleine Schriften* is ludicrously inadequate. Nyberg's "few remarks" cover half of the present book and give a better idea of the origin of Ibn'l-'Arabī's thought than anything which Dr. Affifi has written. Ibn'l-'Arabī had a powerful imagination and vast knowledge and pressed all he knew into the service of his theology. As a result it is hard to separate the trimmings from the system. The same idea is clothed in different words and forms because the modes of expression come from various sources. Thus the author enumerated eighteen names for the *logos* idea before giving up the task. He does not try to decide whether Ibn'l-'Arabī was a pantheist who became a mystic or a mystic who developed a pantheistic system to explain his ecstasy. In general terms the system can be called neo-platonic but it has its own peculiarities. It might be called the heir of all the ages; the division of knowledge into necessary and contingent is taken from the Muslim theologians; on another basis of classification, the division into reasoned knowledge and intuitive is found in al-Ghazāli; and as thorough a determinism was taught by Ibn Sīna who allowed nothing contingent in the universe. On the other hand, Ibn'l-'Arabī differs from his predecessors in regarding the intellect as a tool of the rational soul, not as a part of it; also he identifies the world soul with the prime reason.

The argument that Ibn Masarra had little influence on Ibn'l-'Arabī seems to be sound. We know little about Ibn Masarra. He was a mystic and built a house on the model of that which Muḥammad built for Maryam; on some points of theology he agreed with the Mu'tazila though he may have given a more philosophical turn to his thought; his speculations on the throne of God might be called cabbalistic (it is odd to find the symbols of the evangelists figuring as the angels which support the throne); he indulged in allegorical interpretation of the Ḳur'ān; he is said to have been an enthusiastic follower of Empedocles and left behind him disciples. None of his works survive.

Granting that what was understood at the end of the third century, A.H., as the philosophy of Empedocles was a form of neo-platonism, this is a narrow foundation on which to build the theory that Ibn Masarra was the master of Ibn'l-'Arabī.

Dr. Affifi is to be congratulated on a careful piece of work; the book has a detailed table of contents and full indices.

A. S. T.

KITĀB AL-SULŪK LI-MA'RIFAT DUWAL AL-MULŪK. By AL-MAQRĪZĪ. Edited by M. M. ZIYĀDA. pp. xviii + 1177, fasc. 3. Maṭba'at al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyat: Cairo, 1939.

The first part of Maqrīzī's history to the year A.H. 703 is now complete. The editor has kept up to the high standard which he set in the first section which was reviewed in the *Bulletin*, Vol. VII, p. 1002. The printing is excellent, parallel passages are quoted freely, and references to European works are frequent. Some texts, which are too long for notes, are given in the appendix. There are letters between the Sultan and Christian rulers in Palestine, the oaths taken by both parties to observe a treaty, and a detailed account of the Nāṣiriyya *madrasa*. Most of the other texts would be better absent; they are horrible examples of the art of saying nothing in many words. They form a sharp contrast to Maqrīzī, who can tell a story; his narrative carries you along. If these extracts were chosen as a contrast, better examples could hardly have been found. There are three indices of persons, of places, and of words. This last supplies in part the place of an index of subjects. Usually on the first appearance of a rare word its meaning is given or there is a reference to a dictionary. *Baqṭ* has a long note giving suggested Arabic explanations but no mention of the Latin *pactum* as source. *Baṣṣāḳa*, spittoon, might have been explained as it is in none of the common dictionaries. But these are very small spots on a sun.

A. S. T.

ARABIC THOUGHT AND ITS PLACE IN HISTORY. By DE LACY O'LEARY. pp. vii + 327. London: Kegan Paul, 1939. 10*s*. 6*d*.

The words "revised edition" stand on the title-page; the revision consists of the addition of seven lines of text and a perfunctory and does not include any correction of misprints.

SHEBA'S DAUGHTERS. By H. ST. J. B. PHILBY. pp. xix + 485, pls. 47, map. London: Methuen and Co., 1939. 21*s*.

It is a pity that Mr. Philby has never caught the imagination of an enthusiastic and masterful millionaire. Had he done so, his books would have been published as they deserve, in several stately volumes forming the beginning of a gazetteer of Arabia, in two of three books of travel, and perhaps a book about the author himself. To come down from these clouds to realities; it must be confessed that pages in this volume are unreadable because they are only lists of names. The proofs have not been read as carefully as they should have been; the only amusing error is that the kadi of the first chapter has become a bishop in the last. The journey here described was from Najran to Hadramaut and back, skirting the edge of the desert; the extra trip to the sea was not part of the plan. The story is very small beer but that is because the expedition was planned with care, nothing being left to chance. There were no adventures because the plan did did admit of them; the unforeseen could not happen because it had been foreseen. The only thrill is the stolen glimpse at Marib, the reader can share the robbing-the-orchard feeling. The only surprise was certain pockets in the ground filled with fine dust in which the car sank. Of course, Mr. Philby had the advantage of a long acquaintance with Arabia and had the prestige of Ibn Sa'ūd behind him, but these alone would not have carried him through.

What are the results? Shabwa has ceased to be mysterious; we now know as much about the town as is possible without excavation. This is gratifying if not very important. Much has been added to our knowledge of geography, especially of the river system of old Arabia. The inscriptions, which were found, are a big addition to the sources for the history of Arabia. The appendix on the inscriptions is a model of editing. Unfortunately, several of them contain a phrase which cannot be interpreted. The translation suggested is, "proclaimed himself and assumed his title." It is hard to see how these words could be used both by the king and his brother. Further, they were found on a rock which was crowned by a small blockhouse. The object of the blockhouse, apparently, was to guard a tract of cultivation; there is no suggestion that it was a sanctuary. One cannot imagine [illegible]ing being proclaimed at a police station; if it can be proved that [illegible] was a frontier post, the explanation might hold. The second [illegible] is probably the record of a shooting party. Parallels

to that can be found in Assyria. It would be difficult to sacrifice a leopard gracefully.

It is worth nothing that Arab brigands have developed a technique for dealing with motorists.

A. S. TRITTON.

LA RELIGION MUSULMANE EN BERBÉRIE, Esquisse d'histoire et de Sociologie religieuses. Par ALFRED BEL. Tome I, Établissement et dévellopement de l'Islam en Berbérie du VIIe au XXe siècle. pp. 411. Paris : Geuthner, 1938. 75 frs.

This volume forms the introduction to a study of the present-day religion of North Africa to which other two volumes are to be devoted. It gives the historical background of such a study and in particular aims at tracing the way in which Islam spread, and the influences under which it assumed the form prevailing among the people of those lands. An introductory chapter on the Berbers prior to Islam brings out their tendencies to tribal independence and to primitive animistic religion, which had resisted all outside influences, and which still survive. M. Bel does not idealize the warriors who issued from Arabia, and in the name of new-born Islam penetrated into North Africa. But the foundation of mosques (notably that at Cairowān) shows that some of their leaders cared for the establishment of religion. These mosques formed islands of Islam, and the cantonments (*ribāṭs*) in which the Arab garrison lived tended also to become centres of religion. But for long Islam was more or less confined to the towns, and had little effect upon the rural and nomadic Berber tribes. During the Aghlabite period, North Africa was in close touch with the rest of the Caliphate, and developments there followed those in the East. It was decisive for the prevalence of the Mālikī school of law amongst instructed Moslems. But it was the revolutionary and democratic doctrines of the Khārijites that appealed most to the independence-loving Berbers. The Idrīsite and Fātimite schisms which each dominated the country for a time, did not penetrate deeply into the life of the people, and probably were not by them clearly distinguished from orthodox Islam. It was rather the invasion of the Hilāl Arabs let loose upon the country by the Fātimites after their removal to Egypt which by its destructiveness weakened Berber resistance, and by the gradual fusion of these nomads with the natives, reduced the language barrier which had impeded the spread of Islam. The

Moravide domination which followed was a revival of Mālikite orthodoxy. Its formalism appealed to a people always more interested in ritual than in doctrine, but as it discouraged intellectual activity, it soon degenerated, and fell before the radical, rationalistic movement initiated by the Mahdī, Ibn Tūmart. He wrote his works in Berber, but the movement did not capture the people ; its most lasting effect was to revive doctrinal study within orthodox limits. The collapse of the Mohade (*Muwaḥḥid*) empire, partly from within and partly by attack from without, was parallel with a return to a more traditional Islam. From about the thirteenth century onwards, Ṣūfī'ism in the form grafted upon Islam by al-Ghazzālī began to creep into the schools of North Africa. This mystic movement bridged the gulf between man and the austere deity of the dogmatists and legalists. The Ṣūfīs, by following the mystic path of devotion and religious exercises, appealed to the innate Berber regard for the "fetish-man" with a reputation for holiness and miraculous powers. The settlements in which these adepts lived, being spread over the country, finally broke down the urban character of Islam in North Africa. Ṣūfī'ism has also been, in M. Bel's opinion—and it is here, perhaps, where one is most inclined to doubt whether the emphasis is rightly placed—mainly responsible for the degeneration of Islam which has characterized the religion of North Africa from the sixteenth century to the present day.

In reaching these conclusions, M. Bel takes a wide range, and gives accounts, not only of the political vicissitudes of North Africa, but also of the general movements in Islam which affected its religion. These are on the whole adequate for his purpose. His main task of estimating the penetration of Islam into the country and its influence upon the population as a whole is, as will be acknowledged, a very difficult one. But, in addition to long personal contact with North Africa and its people, he has brought to its performance a wide knowledge of the available material in literature and archæology. The bibliographies, both general and special, prefixed to most of the chapters are a useful feature of the book. If at some points we have to be content with surmise and inference, that is due to the obscurity of the field and the lack of materials. Where knowledge is available, his conclusions are well supported by relevant facts. His work is probably the most detailed study of the actual penetration of Islam into the minds and lives of a people which we yet have for any country. It deserves a cordial welcome from Orientalists. Nor is it of interest for scholars

alone ; it has lessons, as he insists, for those who have to deal with the political administration of North Africa, or, indeed, with Moslem populations in any part of the world.

RICHARD BELL.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN MODERN EGYPT. By J. HEYWORTH-DUNNE. pp. xiv, 503. London : Luzac and Co., 1939. 25*s*.

The subject treated in this book is new in English literature, though there are occasional references in the notes to works in the language ; the author has more predecessors on the continent and especially in Egypt ; in addition to printed books and articles, he has used some unpublished materials. It is not easy to forecast the interest which his researches will arouse ; but his work may be described as monumental, and one for which ordinary literary compliments would be inadequate. Much of it is, indeed, statistical, and where lists of students at different schools are enumerated the writer has taken the trouble to ascertain something of their antecedent and subsequent careers. When he is not tabulating, but narrating, describing, or criticizing, his style is attractive, and his accounts of persons and things vivid. Hence we obtain clear notions of the educational ideas and aims of the rulers of Egypt from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the British occupation. His studies have extended not only to the institutions for the instruction of native Egyptians, whether Muslim or Copt, but also to schools established by Jews, Greeks, Armenians, French, American, and English missionaries, and private enterprises.

The record, so far as the government had a hand in the matter, is a gloomy one, being one of unsuccessful experiments. Schools were opened only to be closed after a couple of years or less ; successive rulers did away with their predecessors' institutions. Training was at first intended exclusively for the military career, afterwards for that and government service of other sorts. The endeavour to introduce Western education into a Muslim community had not quite the result symbolized in the Gospel adage about putting new wine into old "bottles" ; the wine in the Egyptian case was certainly spilt, but the "bottles" remained intact.

The author has thrown light on the characters and careers of many persons who play important parts in his narrative. Such are

Muḥammad 'Alī and his successors, among whom 'Abbās I receives the highest commendation. His treatment of the Khedive Ismā'īl may be resented in Egypt, where works written in defence of him have recently appeared. Among notables about whom his information is welcome mention may be made of 'Ali Pāshā Mubārak, author of a vast work on Egyptian topography, which is indispensable to students.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

THE ṬABAQĀT AL-SHU'ARĀ' AL-MUḤDATHĪN OF IBN AL-MU'TAZZ. Reproduced in fascimile. With an introduction and notes by A. EGHBAL. Gibb Memorial Series: London, 1939. £1 10*s*.

This is a facsimile reproduction of 'Abdallah b. al-Mu'tazz's eagerly awaited *Ṭabaqāt*, a work which many interested in Arabic poetry have been looking forward to see for some time. When it was given out that the Gibb Memorial Trustees had sanctioned the publication of this work, it was with a feeling of great satisfaction that the Trustees had attempted something so important and worthy of them. The work is of supreme interest partly on account of Ibn al-Mu'tazz's great name as a poet but more so on account of his influence on poets and poetry; also so many of the works of the *Ṭabaqāt* type have been lost that scholars will appreciate the publication of this one. Ibn al-Mu'tazz's *Ṭabaqāt* follows almost immediately his *Kitāb al-Badī'* and will give scholars fresh impetus to study this poet and critic. The works, too, of *aṣ-Ṣūlī*, a great admirer of Ibn al-Mu'tazz, will be useful as his verses and poems take up a large part of the *Ash'ār Aulād al-Khulafā' wa Akhbāruhum*.

The Arabic text takes up 201 pages, there are a few pages of *errata*, a useful index and fifty-five pages of notes and variants. The introduction takes up thirty pages in which the editor not only discusses the manuscript but tries to place this work in its place in Arabic literature.

In the preface, Mr. Eghbal finds some difficulty in tracing ابن نجيم which is obviously an error for ابن المنجّم النديم who is Yaḥyā b. 'Alī b. Abī Manṣūr (d. A.H. 300). Yāqūt gives a better account of him (VII/287–8) than al-Marzubānī. He was supposed to be, like most poets, the best of his time, اشعر اهل زمانه. He was a companion of al-Mu'taḍid and al-Muktafī. He compiled a work similar to the one described above entitled الباهر فى اخبار شعراء مخضرمى الدولتين. Aṣ-Ṣūlī refers to

him as Yaḥyā b. 'Alī (mentioned seven times in the three works so far published by the reviewer and three times in the *Akhbār Abī Tammām*, Cairo, 1937). He was of sufficient consequence for aṣ-Ṣūlī to write a special chapter on his relationship with Ibn al-Mu'tazz in the fourth volume of the *Kitāb al-Aurāḳ* (period A.H. 295 to A.H. 318), a work which is otherwise arranged in chronological order and which is shortly appearing as a subsidized volume of the Gibb Memorial Fund. He is also mentioned by Brockelmann (G.A.L. I/522). His father, 'Alī b. Yaḥyā (Yāqūt, V/459–477 and al-Marzubānī, p. 286), was a friend of Ibn al-Mu'tazz. According to aṣ-Ṣūlī, the grandson of this Ibn al-Munajjim, i.e. one of Yaḥyā's two sons, was a great friend of Ibn al-Mu'tazz. He is mentioned a number of times in aṣ-Ṣūlī's works (*al-Aurāḳ*, p. 229 ; *Ash'ār*, pp. 9, 21, 59, 137, and 149) and by al-Marzubānī (*al-Muwashshaḥ*, pp. 321, 329, and 330) ; Yāḳūt gives a biography of him (II/154–5) and states quite clearly that Aḥmad's father Yaḥyā compiled a work which he called اخبار الشعراء المخضرمين which this Aḥmad completed ; the title is different to that given under Yaḥyā's biography but it must be the same work. A description of the work done by the Munajjims is given in the Fihrist (Cairo, pp. 205–6) except that Aḥmad's share is not mentioned. The relationship between Ibn al-Mu'tazz and the Munajjims is interesting and it would be interesting to discover the connection between their *Akhbār ash-Shu'arā'* and Ibn al-Mu'tazz's *Ṭabaqāt* ; the description given in the biographies agrees with that of the *Ṭabaqāt*. A closer study of the present volume might help us to form fresh conclusions on the interests, tastes, and methods of the poets, scholars, and collectors of the later part of the third century and the beginning of the fourth.

In the list of works given on pp. xviii–xx, those of aṣ-Ṣūlī are not mentioned ; his *Akhbār ash-Shu'arā'* and *Ash'ār Aulād al-Khulafā'* come under the same category as this work. A comparison of the lists of the works written by aṣ-Ṣūlī and his contemporaries shows that they all treated the same subjects, one seems to have tried to find out a little more than his rivals. It was quite obviously a fashion at the time to collect the poems of little known poets or the little known poems of well-known poets and to classify them under the heading of *Akhbār ash-Shu'arā'* or some such title. Aṣ-Ṣūlī says that his note-book (*daftar*) was always with him ready to note down any poem or anecdote about a poet he had not heard before. By this

time, too, the written document was relied upon as much as the memory, although aṣ-Ṣūlī seems to have had a little more system than his contemporaries.

There is a lot of new material in this collection. Ibn al-Mu'tazz has a few notes about the poet Abān 'Abdal-Ḥamīd al-Lāḥiḳī but we do not get any really full information about him until we come to aṣ-Ṣūlī's *Aurāḳ* where he is deliberately supplementing earlier editions.

It is interesting to note that the *Ṭabaqāt* was rarely referred to by later writers and anthologists. Abū'l-Faraj quotes him only a few times in his *Kitāb al-Aghānī*; aṣ-Ṣūlī is quoted over 250 times.

J. H. D.

TATIMMA ṢIWĀN AL-ḤIKMA OF 'ALĪ B. ZAID AL-BAIHAḲĪ. Fasc. I. Arabic Text, II. Persian Version. Edited by MOḤAMMAD SHĀFĪ'. Lahore, 1935.

Ẓahīr-addīn Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Abī'l-Ḳāsim Zaid al-Baihaḳī (d. 565) is a striking example of the extent to which Arabic works have been lost. Yāḳūt, quoting his autobiography at length, gives the names of about a hundred works written by this 'Alī b. Zaid, some of them running into several volumes, while many of them are in Persian. A number of his works are on religious subjects while not a few are on language and literature such as his *Ma'ārij Nahj al-Balāghah*, his *Wishāḥ Dumyat al-Ḳaṣr*, his *Durrat al-Wishāḥ*, a continuation of the former, his *Mushkilāt al-Maḳāmāt al-Ḥarīriyah* his *Sharḥ al-Ḥamāsah*; his *Sharḥ Sha'r al-Buḥturī wa Abī Tammām* and others. The *Wishāḥ* is a continuation of al-Bākharzī's *Dumyat al-Ḳaṣr* a copy of which is preserved in the Brusa library in Anatolia and might be worthy of some attention. Al-Baihaḳī seems to have had a special interest in proverbs for he quotes a work entitled *Majāmi'-l-Amthāl wa Badā'i-l-Aḳwāl* in four volumes. He also wrote on scientific subjects including medicine and dietetics. Of all his works, Brockelmann gives us the names of three which are still extant, the present volume being one of them. As can be seen from the title, it is a continuation of Abū Sulaimān Muḥammad b. Ẓāhir b. Bahrām as-Sijazī's *Ṣiwān al-Ḥikmah*. The Arabic part contains one hundred and eleven biographies of medical scholars. The first one is Ḥunain b. Isḥāḳ and the second one is his son. The biographies are not arranged alphabetically but there are several excellent indices of (*a*) names of persons and tribes, (*b*) geographical names and (*c*) names of works. There are thirty-six pages of variants and forty-eight

pages of additional notes collected from other works. The Persian version is a translation of the biographies without the additional material. The works are well edited and are well up to the high standard shown by Professor Shāfī' in his other works.

J. H. D.

DĪWĀN "IBN AL-SĀ'ĀTĪ". Edited by ANIS E. KHURI (al-Makdisi). Vol. I. pp. 410. Beirūt, American Press, 1938.

Bahā' ad-dīn Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Rustum al-Khurasānī (d. 1208), was the brother of Fakhr ad-dīn, the well-known physician who died in Syria in 1230. Both Fakhr ad-dīn and his father were famous clock-makers and a treatise by the former on the subject is still extant and is preserved in the Gotha library. All the members of this family were gifted poets, though none so talented as Bahā' ad-dīn. Here, for the first time, are we presented with a fine edition of his poetical works. The Dīwān has been edited from four manuscripts and is but the first volume and we hope that Professor Khuri will complete the rest of this work although there is sufficient here to show the excellent taste of this Ibn as-Sā'ātī. He is one of the Egyptian school of poets (although he is of Syrian birth) which flourished at this time under the Fāṭimids and Ayyūbids, the principal of which were Naṣr-allah b. Ḳalāḳis (d. 507), al-Ḳādī as-Sa'īd b. Sanā' al-Mulk (d. 608), Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. an-Nabīh (d. 619), Majd al-Mulk b. Shams al-Khilāfah (d. 632), 'Umar b. al-Fāriḍ (d. 632), and Bahā' ad-dīn Zuhair (d. 656). Ibn as-Sā'ātī spent the best part of his life in Egypt and actually died there. The Syrians were represented by Bahrāmshāh b. Farrūkh Shāh (d. 627), ash-Shauwā' al-Ḥalabī (d. 635), and Amīn ad-dīn al-Ḥalabī (d. 643).

The editor of this delightful work devotes some thirty pages to the life and personality of the poet and to an analysis of the poet's style and method. The manuscripts upon which the editor worked appear to be quite good ones, beautifully written and well pointed. The text is printed in that familiar Syrian type with light pointing; an additional vowel here and there would have been useful to the reader. Comparing the facsimile on p. 6 (of the Bairūt manuscript), I notice the editor has preferred to use other variations without giving his references. The poem is to be found on p. 288; in line 6, for example, he has given the reading تثيرها for تعميرها of the Bairūt manuscript; in line 13, he has given حكمها for حملها, whilst in line 14, he gives بتّ اضمره for انت تضمره. There are a few other examples of this kind, but in

these particular instances the Bairūt readings appear to be preferable.

Professor Khuri is to be congratulated on having produced this volume as it is undoubtedly an addition to our collections for this period. The poets and poetry of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries are still to be studied; many of the Dīwāns are still unpublished but can be found in various libraries; apart from their value as poetry, they are of considerable interest from the linguistic point of view and can certainly be used by historians and sociologists. Perhaps the editor might have been a little more careful in giving the corresponding Christian dates of the birth and death dates of the poet; the equivalents of A.H. 553 and A.H. 604 are surely A.D. 1158 and 1207–8.

J. H. D.

ṢILAT AṢ-ṢILA. By ABŪ JA'FAR AḤMAD B. AZ-ZUBAIR. Edited by E. Levi-Provençal.

Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. az-Zubair was born in 627. He studied under famous teachers, specialized in *tajwīd*, *ḳira'āt*, *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, and *fiḳh*, wrote a commentary on the Koran and some biographical and historical material. He died in Granada in 708. This work is an edition of part of Abū Ja'far's *Ṣilat aṣ-Ṣila*, which Professor Levi-Provencal discovered in the Kattāniyah Library at Fez. The editor gives a description of the manuscript in his short Arabic introduction and then some extracts from Ibn Ḥajar, Ibn 'Abdal-Malik, and Ibn al-Khaṭīb regarding the life of Abū Ja'far. The compiler of this biographical work relied mostly on two works for his material, viz., Ta'rīkh al-Mallāḥī and the Dhail of Ibn Furtūn. The first of these two works was written by Abū'l-Ḳāsim Muḥammad b. 'Abdal-Wāḥid al-Ghāfiḳī (d. 619). Ibn Furtūn was one of Abū Ja'far's teachers; his full name was Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. Furtūn as-Sulamī (d. 660) whose interest in biography was due to his being a specialist in *ḥadīth*.

This part contains 434 biographies, the first section gives three short biographies of men whose names began with 'Abdal-'Azīz. It ends with the Yūsufs and is incomplete both at the beginning and at the end. There is an excellent index and the editor, who has referred to the work of Codera, Ribera, and others, promises us a number of other editions of biographies, such as the work written by Ibn 'Abdal-Malik al-Marrākushī. Professor Levi-Provençal is to be congratulated on having produced this carefully edited and beautifully printed text and we look forward to seeing further publications of this kind.

J. H. D.

KAŠF AL-ĠUMMA AL-ǦĀMĪ' LI-AḪBĀR AL-UMMA. Arabic text. Edited with introduction and notes by HEDWIG KLEIN. Hamburg, 1938.

The full title of this monograph is *Akhbār Ahl 'Umān min auwal Islāmihim ila Ikhtilāf Kalimatihim* and is the thirty-third chapter of the *Kashf al-Ghummah*, the author of which is unknown. The Arabic text comprises forty pages, there are six pages of Arabic index and sixty-six pages devoted to an excellent introduction with notes.

The early history of 'Oman is somewhat obscure. Professor Grohmann has written a long article in the Encyclopaedia of Islam on this remote province of Arabia but it deals mostly with the modern period. The chronicler gives us an account of the penetration of Islam with a certain amount of legend. He does not give a satisfactory account of the rise of the 'Ibādīs in this province. The general reader would have liked a translation of this edition which has been very carefully done.

J. H. D.

ILLUMINATION IN ISLAMIC MYSTICISM. A translation, with an introduction and notes, based upon a critical edition of Abu-al-Mawāhib al-Shādhili's treatise entitled QAWĀNĪN ḤIKAM AL-ISHRĀQ. By EDWARD JABRA JURJI. pp. x, 130. Princeton University Press. London: Oxford University Press, 1938. $2·50.

The volume under review will be a welcome translation of Abū'l-Mawāhib ash-Shādhili's treatise entitled *Qawānīn Ḥikam al-Ishrāḳ*. The translator begins with an account of the *Ishrāḳī* school, the first great exponent of which was Ibn al-'Arabī. The translation is divided into fourteen chapters dealing with the Novice on the Mystic Way, Repentance, Sincerity, Veracity, Watchfulness, Love, Renunciation, Poverty, Hypocrisy, Gnosis, Annihilation, Subsistence, and Sainthood. It is impossible to pass judgment on the translation without access to the Arabic text. *Akbād* on p. 47, note 45, could be, and, in fact, should be translated as " hearts " here, that is what it means and it is used in poetry with that meaning. On p. 82, note 120, *'alam al-ghayb* means the " invisible world " and not the " visible ". There are several unfortunate misprints that spoil an otherwise well-printed book, e.g., p. 43, " lightening " for " lightning " ; p. 52, note 60, " mishkāh " for " mishkāt " ; p. 71, *'wāmm* for *'awāmm* ; p. 78, " alib " for " alif ". The index, which contains all the technical terms used in the work, will be very welcome.

J. H. D.

THE SPIRIT OF THE EAST. AN ANTHOLOGY OF THE SCRIPTURES OF THE EAST. By IKBAL ALI SHAH. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1939. 5*s*.

The Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah has endeavoured here to give a popular and readable anthology of the scriptures of the East. He draws on all the principal religious works and Holy Books and gives us a selection which has been well thought out and planned. There is an introduction of some length in which he gives a few notes about the principal religious systems about which he is writing. He has presented his material in a very fascinating and attractive manner which will appeal to the English reader. At the same time, he has not robbed his material of the Spirit of the East, the title of his book. The Arabic title, written in rather ultra-modern Kufic, the work quite obviously of a European artist, from the tell-tale points and feminine "t", is not (1) the translation of the English title and (2) is not the usual expression used in the East among Moslems. The proper expression is *rūḥ ash-sharḳ* and not *ḳuwwat ash-sharḳ*. The word *ḳuwwat* suggests something which is not spirit-like and sounds a little too aggressive here. Or did the artistic feelings of the author urge him to use two words each with a *ḳāf* for the sake of symmetry!

J. H. D.

FÜNFTAUSEND SPRICHWÖRTER AUS PALÄSTINA. VON MARTIN THILO. Beiband zum Jahrgang xl der Mitteilungen der Auslands-Hochschule an der Universität Berlin, 1937. R.M. 10.

This publication is a translation of an Arabic text published in 1933 by Dr. Thilo, Dr. Kampffmeyer, and Pastor Sa'īd 'Abbūd. There is a short introduction to proverb literature. The system adopted is a good one; the German translation is given of each proverb which is then followed by an explanation. Both the translation and the explanations are very carefully done. There are about one hundred and fifty pages of tables and lists which enable one to turn up proverbs with ease. The Arabic text is not under review here, but it would be easy to comment on some of the proverbs collected. No. 1178, Ein Achmadi-Teppich—بساط احمدى—is usually preceded by the verb *khallī*—it is a very common saying, the idea behind it being that a Moslem of any sect can pray behind an Aḥmadī, i.e. *sans façon*. The explanation of No. 1179 is correct but the wording is usually حصيرة الصيف واسعة

because the *ḥaṣīrah* is much cooler to sleep on in summer than the *busāṭ*; the *ḥaṣīrah* can be rolled up and put away in any corner when not in use. The common Palestinian proverb دود الخل منه فيه appears to have been omitted. The translator has not interpreted No. 2074 properly; this proverb has a much wider meaning than that implied in the explanation; it may not necessarily have anything to do with relations. No. 1996 is, indeed, a pretty proverb as Dr. Thilo states in his preface (p. vi), but he has only registered half the saying; the complete one is دارهم مادمت فى دارهم واعرضهم مادمت فى ارضهم. No. 2073: read المُحَال for المَحَال. No. 1977: the story behind this is well known but the correct saying is إن كان خير ازعق ياطير وان كان شرّ خده وانجرّ No. 1589: the same expression can be used with ولد instead of جاب; it is commonly used of someone who looks depressed or angry and not necessarily quiet; the saying quite obviously has a Koranic reference (v. 16–60).

The collection is very rich; a number of the proverbs are peculiar to Palestine, but many of them are common in other Arab countries. When better collections are available for al-Irāḳ and other parts of Arabia, it will make an interesting comparative study. A large number of the classical proverbs have come down to the present day and are in use everywhere, the difficulty is always to get the local interpretations and phonetic transcriptions.

J. H. D.

FAMOUS CITIES OF IRAN. By LAURENCE LOCKHART. pp. 115. Brentford, Middlesex: Walter Pearce and Co., 1939. 7*s*. 6*d*.

Dr. Lockhart has produced a very readable and instructive book on sixteen of Iran's famous cities. The book is loaded with beautiful illustrations giving views of ancient and modern Iran. It is essentially a book for those who intend travelling to the country and for lovers of Iranian art and architecture.

All the chapters have been published previously in the *Naft Magazine*, the idea of reproducing them here is to give a simple historical account of the principal cities of the country from their origins to the present day in handy form. Dr. Lockhart is to be congratulated on having produced this delightful work.

J. H. D.

A STUDY OF SOME EARLY ISLAMIC TEXTILES IN THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON. By NANCY PENCE BRITTON. pp. 89. Figures 100. Boston, Mass., 1938.

Miss Britton has provided the student and connoisseur of textiles with a first class handbook on the early textiles of Islam. She opens her book with an introduction on the calligraphy, the names used and a description of the technical evidence required to date the fragments which have been discovered. Miss Britton has restricted herself to the collection preserved in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts but she has not only sought advice from the best known experts but she has made extensive researches into the sources and other authoritative works on her subject. Section II deals with Mesopotamia and covers the eighth to the thirteenth centuries; Section III deals with Egypt; Section IV deals with the Yaman and V with Persia. The work is provided with a hundred illustrative figures which have been well produced and are very instructive. Miss Britton has made use of Professor Grohmann's article on *ṭirāz* in the Encyclopaedia of Islam, an article which is well documented but is not provided with illustrations.

J. H. D.

ORIENTAL MYSTICISM. A TREATISE ON THE SUFISTIC AND UNITARIAN THEOSOPHY OF THE PERSIANS. By E. H. PALMER. pp. 129. 2nd edition. Introduction by A. J. ARBERRY. London, 1938. 5*s*.

This little work is a reprint of a translation written by Palmer in 1867. It is interesting to note that there is sufficient demand to merit another edition seventy years later. Dr. Arberry has contributed a useful and interesting preface; the great Palmer is a source of inspiration for many a young Arabist. The work is indeed written in clear and simple language and can be easily followed by the beginner for whom this short manual is intended as a general introduction to the theological and philosophical basis of the *Sūfī* system. The reproduction of this early work is a compliment to its author.

J. H. D.

BULLETIN OF THE FACULTY OF ARTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF EGYPT. Vol. IV. Part I. Cairo, May, 1936. 10 P.T.

This number contains two sections, one European dealing mostly with Ancient Egypt and the other Arabic which contains two articles, one by Professor Shafik Ghorbal and the other by Professor M. M.

Ziada. Ghorbal's is entitled "*Egypt at the Crossroads*" and Ziada's "*Some New Observations on the History of the Mamlūks*". Professor Ghorbal's article is an important contribution to the study of the economic and social structure of Egypt at the time of the French Occupation and deserves to have been published separately in a complete form as this is only the first part of the article. As a separate publication, it would have been more accessible to the ever-increasing number of scholars who are turning their interest towards the Near East in general and to Egypt in particular.

When the French were in Egypt, Estève addressed a document to Ḥusain Efendī, Director of the Rūznāmah, containing sixteen chapters, each containing a number of questions on the military, financial, economic and legal organization and administration of Egypt. This is Estève's document together with Ḥusain's answers. It is preserved in the Egyptian Dār al-Kutub (*Ta'rīkh* No. 1152—v. Cat. Vol. V, p. 136, col. 2) under the title of *Tartīb ad-Diyār al-Miṣriyah fī 'Ahd ad-Daulah al-'Uthmāniyah* and is now edited by Professor Ghorbal with copious notes, a useful documentation and an analysis. It is hoped that the editor of this document will provide an English translation for the benefit of those who do not know Arabic.

Professor Ziada's article contains a few observations on the Mamlūk dynasties of Egypt which his work on al-Maḳrīzī's *Kitāb as-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat al-Mulūk* has caused him to make. Particularly interesting are his remarks on the terms *mamlūk*, *khushdāshiyah*, *ustādh* and *tarābī*.

J. H. D.

THE SULTAN'S TURRETS. A Study of the origin and evolution of the Minaret in Cairo. By SAMUEL HASSID. pp. 111. Cairo, Imprimerie Misr, S.A.E. London Agents: Luzac and Co., London, 1939. 8*s*. 6*d*.

This small work is an attempt to cover the origin of the Minaret in Egypt and its subsequent evolution. There are eleven chapters, each dealing with the subject according to the dynasties that ruled in Egypt. The work is fairly well printed and illustrated, although the illustrations are not of a very high order. The book can be recommended to the general reader but from a scientific viewpoint, it cannot be regarded as an original piece of work, for it does not supersede Creswell's well-documented article entitled "The Evolution of the

Minaret, with special reference to Egypt". Mr. Hassid does not give a single reference to his authorities; he *is* capable of doing good work and should turn to Professor Creswell's works as a model if he intends doing any further research in this field.

J. H. D.

STUDIES IN POPULAR ISLAM. By SAMUEL M. ZWEMER. pp. xi, 148. London: The Sheldon Press, 1939. 7*s*. 6*d*.

Dr. Zwemer is always at his best when he is describing the superstitions of the Moslem World. A certain amount of this material has already been published in the *Moslem World* and so is familiar to some readers. There is plenty of evidence that this publication has been hurried through the press without any careful re-editing. The opening chapter on the Rosary in Islam is of great interest and so are the three chapters dealing with the Translations of the Koran, with the illiterary of the Prophet and the Hadith Qudsi. The student of Islam should read these essays as no doubt the author has given a lot of information on the beliefs and practices of the people of the Moslem World. His main thesis is that the undertow acts as a brake to the forward movement of the modernists. This will take generations to eliminate as not until the woman of the East is forced to break away from her old traditions will these superstitions disappear. A hundred years hence, writers will still be able to collect enough data to fill a much larger volume than this. At least, we hope so. I am looking forward to the day when I can read a similar work on superstitions in any one European country written by some educated Moslem. It will make interesting reading.

J. H. D.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD. By Dr. ZAKI ALI. Lahore, 1938.

Dr. Zaki Ali, in his work on Islam, has derived his inspiration from his sincere belief in the supreme mission of Islam. The writer is an Egyptian whose writings remind us of that pre-1914 Moslem school of writers which produced pamphlets and small works, mostly in French; this school was represented by Turks, Egyptians, and Syrians, many of whom produced their writings while in France, but more especially in Switzerland, and the fact that Dr. Zaki Ali has written his work in Geneva and dedicated it to H.H. 'Abbās Ḥilmī II, shows the continuity of the same kind of thought, except that the present author has endeavoured to cover the whole field of Moslem history,

thought, and culture in one volume. The chapters on the Awakening of Islam and its Emancipation are probably the most interesting. He tries hard to reconcile his sympathies towards the tendencies in Modern Turkey, the solidarity of Islam irrespective of international frontiers, and the pan-Arab movement. That Islam has often been misrepresented, one cannot deny, but there is growing up in Europe a number of scholars and others who are not only sympathetic towards Moslems but are endeavouring to place Islam in its true place in history and society. The author occasionally exaggerates, there are some misrepresentations and a few errors but it would serve no useful purpose picking holes in such a work. The intention of the author is to give us a picture of true Islam and its place in the world; he endeavours to show up current misconceptions about the Moslem world and for this reason the book is worthy of praise. The work is full of idealism and sincerity and this alone should recommend it to everyone interested in the world problems of to-day.

J. H. D.

THE BUILDINGS OF QĀYTBĀY AS DESCRIBED IN HIS ENDOWMENT DEED. Edited by L. A. MAYER. Fascicle I. Text and Index. pp. x, 96. London: Arthur Probsthain, 1938. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Professor Mayer is to be congratulated on having edited this highly valuable document of the Mamlūk period. It is a complete legal document which, in addition to its value as such, provides us with numerous technical terms used in architecture of which Professor Mayer is to make a glossary; it also gives us a considerable amount of topographical detail on the study of Cairo.

It is hoped that the time will come when all the legal and *waḳf* documents preserved in Cairo will be studied by scholars. 'Alī Pasha Mubārak used a good many for his work *al-Khiṭaṭ at-Taufīḳiyah* including the present one edited by Professor Mayer.

This endowment deed was drawn up in A.H. 879 by Sultan Qāytbāy mainly for the benefit of that beautiful mosque which he built and which is still standing in the desert to the east of Cairo. There are no chapter headings or divisions but a considerable number of marginal notes and lines over certain words which mark some of the subdivisions of the subject matter. The legal introduction takes up the first six pages; pp. 6–18 give the description of the mosque, its annexes and boundaries; pp. 20–51 describe a number of other

properties in Cairo included in the endowment; pp. 52–60 describe lands in other parts of Egypt included in the same endowment; pp. 60–4 give the Sultan's wishes regarding the purposes of the buildings and the upkeep of the properties and lands; pp. 64–83 describe in detail the allowances to be issued to the officials and students and their duties; pp. 84–7 deal with the appointment and removal of the administrators while on p. 97, there is given the usual validation of the deed and a statement regarding its inviolability.

The advantage of having such a document can at once be seen from the fact that it was not drawn up by a historian but by a lawyer whose statements had to be accurate and were not subject to the desire to gain favours from some patron; the descriptions are not drowned in the use of exaggerated figures of speech and rhymed prose. Scholars interested in topography and law will be interested to have this document in front of them, so too those interested in the material side of education and cultural history. We look forward to further work in this field by Professor Mayer and we should like to see a series of such documents published by Egyptian scholars as they have more opportunities to obtain access to them than the European.

J. H. D.

HISTORY OF THE ARABS. By PHILIP K. HITTI. pp. xvii, 767. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1937. 31*s.* 6*d.*

In this work, Professor Hitti has covered the history of Arabs from the earliest times until the beginning of the sixteenth century. He has summarized the history of the various dynasties in North Africa, Spain, and Sicily, and has given us accounts of the development of literature, science, art, and architecture. There is very little new material in the work but it can be recommended to the student as an introduction to Arab history and culture. It is written in a simple and straightforward style and the author has given the student a very full documentation of the Arab sources to which the work might serve as a guide. Perhaps there is insufficient recognition of European works. One appreciates the proper spelling of names. Chapters IV to VII are probably the best in the book; the author has summarized the available material and given it to the reader in a very concise form, one realizes that there is still a great amount to be done in this field; the results of the recent researches undertaken by Philby, Thomas, and the Misses Stark and Thompson are to be taken into consideration,

while, of course, there is a great amount of field work to be done before a fuller history of early Arabia can be written.

Professor Hitti attempts to correct several current ideas on certain events. His ideas about the battle of Poitiers are debatable. There are one or two misprints, e.g., p. 83, read Mā' for M'ā, and p. 438, *takīya* for *taqīya*. Students interested in pp. 105–8 should do well to consult Professor Jeffery's new work, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'an*. Referring to the subject of ophthalmology on p. 364, the Rev. Paul Sbath published in 1935 a further contribution on Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq's work, which corrected Dr. Meyerhof's earlier conclusions on the work in question. With reference to the Bīmāristāns in Cairo (v, p. 365), it is worth while noting that according to Ibn Duqmāq (*al-Intiṣār li-Wāsiṭat 'Aqd al-Amṣār*, vol. iv, p. 99), there was a Bīmāristān in Zuqāq al-Qanādīl in al-Fusṭāṭ during the Umayyad period. The author allows his admiration of aṭ-Ṭabarī (v, p. 390–1) to affect his judgment upon this historian.

That Professor Hitti has given a great deal of time and care to his researches can be proved by the index which takes up about sixty pages. There are a number of maps and still more illustrations, but why select such a subject for the frontispiece is hard to understand; the work goes up to the sixteenth century, while the frontispiece is a reproduction of a photograph of a curtain made in Egypt in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The famous calligrapher, 'Abdallah Bey Zuhdī, was responsible for the design while the work is that of Egyptian craftsmen. For a long time, a new curtain was made annually and then sent to Makkah, then, owing to political circumstances, the practice was stopped. King Fu'ād was afraid the art would be lost and so he encouraged the workmen to continue the making of the curtain yearly and opened the *Madrasat Taḥsīn al-Khuṭūṭ* (the School for the Improvement of Calligraphy) under Ghuzlān Bey, the specialist in the Dīwānī type of calligraphy which is so popular in Egypt at present. The craftsmen are made to attend classes and there has been a remarkable revival of interest in this side of Arab art.

J. H. D.

MEDIEVAL TRADE ROUTES. By J. N. C. BAKER. pp. 19. Published for the Historical Association by G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., London, 1938. 1*s*.

Mr. Baker has produced a fascinating account of Medieval Trade Routes. There are four diagrams, the fourth of which gives the

Asiatic routes. He has dealt with the geographical considerations and the preliminaries of medieval trade, with the development of North Italy as a route-centre with the decline of Moslem power; he deals with the development of Flanders as a route-centre and with Venetian trade, while chapter vii deals with the renewal of direct contact with Asia. Such an account would have been incomplete without some reference to that great traveller Marco Polo.

There is very little in the pamphlet on the early routes in Africa, now mostly forgotten. The Arabic word for these routes is *darb*. The most famous of these *darbs* was the Forty Days' Road from Fasher in Darfūr, across the Libyan Desert to the Southern end of the Kharga Oasis and from there to Asyūṭ. Another such *darb* was the great caravan route which ran from Wadai, east of Lake Chad, through the Oasis of Kufra to Jalo and Benghazi to Alexandria. There was also the route from Lake Chad through Fezzān to Tripoli and the famous road from Timbuctoo to Algiers. Another route was the one which ran from Kufra to Dakhla and then to the Nile valley.

In Arabia, there was the famous old road from al-Madīnah to Amman and then to Hebron and Damascus. There was always a road between Palestine and Egypt and another between Damascus and Baghdad. Hartmann's article in the Encyclopaedia of Islam gives a few notes on the subject.

J. H. D.

FEUDALISM IN EGYPT, SYRIA, PALESTINE AND THE LEBANON, 1250–1900. By A. N. POLIAK. pp. viii, 87. The Royal Asiatic Society Prize Publication Fund, Vol. XVII. London, 1939. 8*s*. 6*d*.

Dr. Poliak has set out to write a concise account of the feudal systems in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and the Lebanon and to give us lists of the principal technical terms used in the Arabic sources relating to them. He has also endeavoured to give the student of the Middle East a key to the vestiges of feudal relations still traceable in these countries.

This monograph is of great interest and is full of interesting suggestions and notes. It is worth noting that some of the terms used by Muḥammad 'Alī in Egypt at the beginning of the nineteenth century were not always identical in meaning with those used during the earlier period, in spite of the fact that Egypt was not ottomanised

until the reign of Muḥammad 'Alī, e.g., the *mamlūks* of Muḥammad 'Alī were referred to as *ghilmān efendīnā*, this meant, of course, his white slaves and not the black or native ones (v. *Waḳā'i' Miṣriyah*, No. 401, 9th Ṣafar 1248). The term *awlād al-nās* is of interest. In Modern Egypt, this is a polite term for reference to prostitutes but without the definite article (*awlād nās*) it means *persons of noble birth*. The idioms used with the word *nās* are worth while collecting. The terms *ibn nās*, *bint nās*, have the same meaning in the singular; the word *nās* without any further qualification can mean *of noble birth*. Dr. Poliak has given a reference to *'ilm al-furūsiyah* in Ibn Iyās, but there are several copies of Najm-addīn Aiyūb al-Aḥdab ar-Rammāḥ's (d. 1294) work entitled *Kitāb al-Furūsiyah fī Rasm al-Jihād* available in various libraries (Paris, Berlin, three in Istanbul and Mr. Chester Beatty recently acquired a very fine copy in Cairo).

The references given to the history of some of the well-known families are of great interest and should inspire Arab scholars to produce more monographs on family histories; this would entail a lot of useful research among *auḳāf* documents and family papers and records. The term "Turkish" is certainly vague as the writer states.

The word Marcel gives for *chameliers* is *gamoulyan* and not *gamulyan* (v. p. 40). This is more likely his way of writing the Egyptian Arabic word *gammālīn*, for Ibn Iyās distinctly uses كموليه which cannot have anything to do with camels. The Turks called their *chameliers devejis* دوه جى. The first five regiments of the Janissaries were called دوه جيلر. The word in Ibn Iyās may be a corruption of كوله من, although from the text of Ibn Iyās (p. 369, lines 20–1), where the words ويسمون انفسهم الكموليه ويتزايوا بزيّهم are used, it would appear as though it might be a local term and would mean some kind of volunteer or auxiliary regiment.

Although Dr. Poliak describes the peasants as being the serfs of their immediate landlords, it is hard to agree with him that the word *fallāḥ* can mean *serf*. There may be examples of treatment as quoted on pp. 64 seq., but we have also plenty of cases of successful intercession by the religious *shaikhs* where *multazims* have oppressed the people (v. al-Jabartī, II/8–9; II/103; II/104; III/117–18). It is worth while pointing out that Shaikh Rifā'ah Badawī aṭ-Ṭaḥṭāwī, when he was trying to deal with the question of serfdom in Russia

in his *Kitāb al-Jughrāfiyah* (Būlāḳ, 1841), he called it simply نوع من الرقّ, i.e. a kind of slavery. He was obviously unable to find a suitable Arabic word for it. Bocthor in 1828 translates *serf* as رقّ; Handjéri in 1841 translates it as رقّ in Arabic, as چاكر in Persian and as قول in Turkish. Badger translates it as عبوديّة, Bercher as رجال السُّخْرية, Ḥusain Fu'ād and Muḥammad 'Abdallah as دقيق عبد and Elyās as قنّ and ابن الارض and عبد يفلح الارض وتنتقل ملكيته معها. Not a single one of them thought of using the word *fallāḥ* as meaning *serf*.

Some important sources have not been used such as Deny's *Sommaire des Archives Turques du Caire* and Estève's *Mémoire sur les finances de l'Égypte*.

J. H. D.

THE MEDITERRANEAN IN POLITICS. By ELIZABETH MONROE. pp. x, 259. Oxford University Press, 1938. 10*s*.

Miss Monroe has had the encouragement of the *Centre d'Études de Politique Etrangère* in Paris and the help of Mr. Robert Montagne, one of the leading French authorities on the Mediterranean and the Moslem World, this alone should assure the success of Miss Monroe's study, a part of which, unfortunately, is already out-of-date owing to the dynamic changes which have taken place during recent months.

The work is a remarkably good one which, I understand, is being brought up-to-date. The position in the Mediterranean has entirely changed since the outbreak of hostilities; with the arrival of Russia on the scene, the eastern end of the Mediterranean will probably become more complicated as time goes on. The capture by Italy of a great deal of the Mediterranean traffic was entirely unforeseen and it was indeed strange to see the majority of the steamers in the port of Marseilles last September were Egyptian, there were four of them and three Italian.

Miss Monroe begins with a study of British diplomatic, strategic, commercial and political interests. The arguments against the exchange of Gibraltar for the Spanish city of Ceuta are interesting but here again, the position has changed so much that the arguments no longer hold. Malta is much more sure of herself and the author's remarks about the Maltese language are appropriate. The people of Malta are finding expression in their interesting language and the

pro-Italian school has lost a great deal of its popularity in late years. With the growth of the new literature under Cremona, Aquilina, Pisani, Saydon, Cuschieri and many others, the Maltese are making deliberate efforts to develop their own culture. The story of Cyprus is perhaps sad for the neglect of this island is unforgivable.

The Arab problem in Palestine seems to have diminished but it is still there, but perhaps the changed position in the Mediterranean will not necessitate so urgent a solution. The chapters on French and Italian interests are illuminating. Miss Monroe is encouraging about Turkey. Her hopes and judgment have proved what an excellent grasp she has of the character and affairs of the people about whom she has written.

There are several tables and maps but a bibliography would have been useful since there is so little in English on the subject. Miss Monroe must be congratulated on having attempted to cover such a large field for investigation in such small compass.

J. H. D.

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN EGYPT. By A. E. CROUCHLEY. pp. viii, 256. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1938. *7s. 6d.*

Mr. Crouchley's book is the first of its kind in English and is worthy of some attention. He devotes a short chapter to the pre-Muḥammad 'Alī period, another on Muḥammad 'Alī, and a third on 'Abbās, Sa'īd, and Ismā'īl. The fourth, fifth, and sixth chapters are by far the best. Here the author has used his materials very skilfully; in the chapter on Dams and Barrages, Mr. Crouchley describes the irrigation schemes of the pre-war days and shows how Egypt gradually fitted into the world market system. In the chapter on the period 1914–1922, he gives us the account of the fluctuation of the cotton market and of the financial benefits the Egyptians reaped from the British Government's demand for that commodity and from the huge sums the British spent in Egypt through the existence of the army of occupation in that country, مصايب قوم عند قوم فوايد as the Egyptians often say.

There is a very useful statistical appendix and the work is provided with plenty of other tables which are of great value. There is no index and there are far too many printer's errors, no less than four on the second page of the preface. Some of the names given in the text and in the Bibliography are so badly spelt that it is almost impossible

to recognize them; Tossidga (p. 105) should read Tossizza, Mumuan (p. 280) should read Merruau. The Bibliography also excludes the names of very important works by Amici, Guémard, Clerget, Lozach, Hug, Douin, Politis and others in Arabic, such as ar-Rāfi', Zaghlūl, Shafīḳ, Mubārak, and Sarhank. The system of transliteration is appalling. Many important names are left out of the work altogether, such as Boghos, Artin, and Hekekyan; some are not given their proper place, such as 'Uthmān Nūr-addīn, who was Muḥammad 'Alī's right-hand man until he deserted. The Saint-Simonite school is ignored altogether. Brocchi states that Lorenzi Masi had something to do with the Maḥmūdiyah Canal, Coste certainly had his share, too.

The year 1840 can be signalled as the end of Muḥammad 'Alī's career, as not only did his industrial system break down, but many of his other schemes, particularly the school system. It is wrong to accuse 'Abbās of being opposed to Muḥammad 'Alī's policy of development and westernization. The reactionary movement set in in 1840, i.e. nine years before the accession of 'Abbās to the throne. The official records which the author claims to have used and Sāmī's *Taqwīm all* prove this. Many of the sources speak highly of 'Abbās but simply tradition has blamed him for many things which he did not do. He is credited with more common sense than both his successors. It should be enough that he made full use of the services of 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, one of the best brains and the most energetic men ever produced by Egypt. It is wrong to state that 'Abbās had a small army; Sarhank shows that he had well over a hundred thousand men under arms; he actually reformed the system of conscription. 'Abbās utilized the services of many Egyptians who had been trained in Europe as engineers on the Railways. As Vingtrinier rightly states, Egypt had six years well-earned rest during the reign of 'Abbās Pasha. No mention is made in this work of Sa'īd's shipping enterprises, nor is there any emphasis laid on the poverty and misery of the *fallaḥīn* during the period 1870–1880. Regarding the gift of land to *rich* Egyptians (p. 129); this is not altogether true. Were there any rich *Egyptians* during the Muḥammad 'Alī period? He gave land to his officials (amongst others) who were mostly Egyptians of the poorest families. One can name many a family which came into land in this way. Mr. Crouchley has brought out the difficulties of giving credit to farmers, especially the smallholders. The author appears to have ignored the volume of material which has appeared in the Arabic press during the last few years on the question of Taxation. The

reactions of the Deputies and the Senators to the Motor Tax and the Inheritance Duties, taxes which affect them considerably, would be worth while recording. The whole question of the division of land will probably have to be studied in the near future by the State. The author has not given sufficient information about the *Banque Misr* (p. 250), admittedly there is little in European languages but the Arabic press is full of interesting accounts of its many activities and contains many criticisms. Nor has the author touched on the question of unemployment in Egypt. There is an excellent manual in Arabic on this subject which has just appeared. Regarding the question of overpopulation, Mr. Crouchley has confined himself to this problem only as far as it affects agriculture and cultivation. Surely the problem is more acute in the towns where the schools turn out certificated students by the thousand who are useless for working on the land and who are unqualified for any other work or craft. Egypt has yet to build up a school of economic thought and has yet to create a body of public men capable of dealing with these problems.

J. H. D.

ATATÜRK AND THE TRUE NATURE OF MODERN TURKEY. By GÉRARD TONGAS. Translated by MAJOR F. F. RYND. pp. 79. London, Luzac and Co., 1939. 3*s*.

This short work is an attempt to give a rapid survey of Modern Turkey by a writer who seeks to form a tie of closer friendship between the Turkish and French peoples. He complains of French misunderstanding and ignorance of Turkey. One can admire his sincerity, he is certainly writing of a noble and worthy people who will appreciate his attachment to them. The second chapter deals with Atatürk and his philosophy; the third deals with Ankara which he describes as "the symbol of the Turkish renovation". The fourth, seventh, eighth, and tenth chapters deal with the economic and agricultural structure of the country and the reforms undertaken under the new regime. The work, which is provided with a chronological table of events from 1919 to the present day, can be recommended to the general reader who is looking for a short concise account of the country. A select bibliography would have been useful, including works on the language and literature.

J. H. D.

LESSICO TURCO-ITALIANO. By LUIGI BONELLI. pp. xi, 145. Roma, Istituto per l'Oriente, 1939. L. 50.

Good dictionaries of Modern Turkish are rare. Quite a number have been compiled in Turkey, the best so far are Sermet Muhtar's *Türkçe-Fransizca Lûgat* and Heuser and Şevket's *Türkisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch* published in 1931. Heuser is engaged on another and more up-to-date dictionary as he admitted to the present reviewer that this work is already out-of-date. It was rather optimistic to hope that any of the earlier compilations would have had a chance of being of permanent value for practical work. Since 1931, there has been a great development in the language ; the *güneş* theory appears to have had its day but the intense industrialization of the country and the adaption of Western scientific method mean a constant importation of new words into the language. Professor Bonelli's dictionary then will easily fill a big gap ; in his preface, he gives a list of the more important dictionaries compiled in recent years and appears to have given first place to Heuser and Şevket. It has been very well printed and can be easily referred to without any eye strain. All the Turkish words are printed in thick clear type which is a great boon to the beginner who has to do a lot of dictionary work. We must be allowed to congratulate the compiler on his meritorious task. This is the first time such a work has been attempted outside Turkey and, appearing at the same time as Professor Rossi's grammar, calls for praise of Italian scholarship and industry.

J. H. D.

MANUALE DI LINGUA TURCA. By ETTORE ROSSI. Vol. I, Grammatica elementare esercizi-vocabularietti. pp. 159. Roma : Istituto per l'Oriente, 1939. L. 50.

Professor Rossi has provided us with an up-to-date grammar of the modern Turkish language and is to be congratulated very sincerely for having supplied this much-needed manual. All students of Turkish will be very grateful to receive this very fine piece of work. The only other serious modern grammar is that of Messrs. Ludner and Preusser, which has already run into its third edition. It is not provided with any exercises, however, although it is used in German Universities and in the German School in Turkey, where the teachers have to supply their own exercises. The author of the manual under review has taken infinite pains to introduce the subject to the student ;

the latest methods are employed in presenting the phonetics of the language and the system of vowel-harmony.

The verb is not introduced until the fifteenth lesson and all the conjugations are carefully set out in a table at the end of the book which can be referred to at a glance. There are two long vocabularies at the end of the book, the author has taken care to include in the Turkish-Italian list about one thousand important words, while the Italian–Turkish list contains about eight hundred words. This is more satisfactory than giving long vocabularies at the end of each lesson for the student to learn by heart which he never does and it is always difficult to find a word which is only given once at the end of some lesson or other. The addition of such useful vocabularies as this also saves the student the extra expense of an expensive dictionary at the very beginning of his course.

The great advantage of this first-class publication is the inclusion of graded exercises at the end of each lesson, thus obliging the student to refer continually to the selected vocabularies at the end of the work ; the student's work is further facilitated by the use of thickly printed numbers in the exercises referring to the paragraphs of the grammar. This saves the student a great deal of boring work looking for a rule on grammar and gets him to know the " geography " of his manual without forcing him to memorize.

The course lends itself to class work with a teacher and also to private study. It is a model of accuracy and method and a pleasure to work through. We hope that this work will serve as a model for a similar work in England where Turkish is very popular, but where its study is discouraged on account of the lack of a good manual.

J. HEYWORTH-DUNNE.

PERSIAN LITERATURE. A bio-bibliographical survey, Section II, fasciculus 3. M: History of India. By C. A. STOREY. London: Luzac and Co., 1939. 20*s*.

The present review records a new stage in the progress of Professor Storey's important work (cf. *BSOS.*, VIII, pp. 255–7, and IX, 1, pp. 253–4).

The new fascicle is particularly welcome as filling a gap which has been badly felt for many years ; it inventories the extensive branch of Indian historiography in Persian. The fascicle contains 476 individual personal items, many of which enumerate several works by the same

writer. For a student of Indian history, the book will be a vade-mecum saving the trouble of researches in many bulky catalogues; by the enumeration of various editions and translations it shows what has been done and what remains yet to be done or reconsidered in the study of the history of India "as told by its historians". Meanwhile the book widens the horizon of Persian students, for the existing manuals of Persian literature leave out its Indian branches or treat them very sketchily.

Although many Indian historians were closely connected with Persia and the nisbas *Ardabīlī*, *Astarābādī*, *Nīshāpurī*, etc., abound in Professor Storey's repertory, the Indian Persian follows a definite Eastern tradition of the language as developed in Transoxiana, Eastern Khorasan, and Afghanistan. To one acquainted with the "Persian" Persian, i.e. with the evolution of the language at the Isfahan-Tehran period of the history of Iran, "Eastern" Persian sounds like Scottish English to a Southern Englishman. No comparative study exists for India, but Bogdanov's very able essay has shown how many unsuspected archaic traits and novelties exist in Kābulī Persian (*JAS. Bengal*, 1930, xxvi, pp. 1–125).

pp. 742–6. The University Library of Belfast possesses an incomplete history of Bījāpūr (especially of the Khāqān-i Sikandar-iqbāl = Muḥammad, 1035–70/1626–60 ?), beginning: *shukr-va-sipās-va sitāyish-i bi-qiyās haḍrat-i pādshāh-i 'alal-iṭlāq*. It must be identical with Abul-Qāsim's *Guldasta-yi gulshan-i rāz*, Browne Coll. H. 17 (13) which begins: *ḥamd-va-sipās-i bi-giyās*.

PS.—In the previous fascicle (p. 313, No. 391) Professor Storey gave expression to the view that the history of the Safavid Shāh-Ṣafī by Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm b. Khwājagī (Aumer 31) may be identical with the *Khulāṣat al-siyar* which Dorn, *As. Mus.*, p. 382, described as the continuation of Iskandar-munshi's *'Ālam-ārā*. Some light on the question is now thrown by Romaskevich (*Materialī po istorii Turkmen*, ii, 1928, p. 12) who confirms the view that Muhammad Ma'ṣūm's biography is found in the MS. (a detail overlooked by Dorn). The only point still obscure is how much of the book belongs respectively to Iskandar-munshī and Muḥammad B. Ma'ṣūm. In the introduction of the book it is stated that when Iskandar-munshi brought his *'Ālam-ārā* to completion, he was requested to extend his famous annals over the reign of Shah 'Abbās I's successor, Ṣafī I. After some hesitation, the aged historian (then 70 years old) started on this new work, which he began by describing the accession of Ṣafī I and by a paragraph on

the education which 'Abbās I gave to the future 'Abbās II. The style of the work does not allow to discriminate between its two parts but, as Ṣafī I ruled 14 years, while Muhammad b. Ma'ṣūm says that he wrote the history of his 10 years, it would seem, Professor Romaskevich remarks, that the first four years of this shah (namely 1038–1042/1628–32) were written by Iskandar-munshi. If so, the famous historian must have lived to the age of 74 years, at least. The *Khulāṣat al-siyar* stops at the accession of 'Abbās II (1052/1642), but M. b. Ma'ṣūm records his appointment as vazīr to the governor of Qarabāgh (Ganja) Murtaḍa-quli khan Ziyād-oghlī, in the fourth year of 'Abbas II. M. b. Ma'ṣūm's previous employment recorded by Professor Storey: *ishrāf-i iṣṭabl-i nāmvār* points only to his employment as mushrif ("controller") in the administration of the Amīrakhor-bāshī (the real Master of the Horse!).

V. M.

A POLITICAL HISTORY OF PARTHIA. By NEILSON C. DEBEVOISE. pp. xxiii + 303. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1938. 15*s*.

The book was begun in 1927 as a dissertation at the University of Illinois, but during the eleven years which elapsed before its publication much additional work has been done on it. It is a very complete synopsis of the available sources on the long and dark period of Parthian dominion. As the best part of our information is of western origin, the survey necessarily amounts much more to a history of Seleucid and Roman campaigns in the East than to a "political history of the Parthians". Dr. Debevoise's analysis of the details scattered in classical authors is considerably more complete than the one found in the works of his predecessors (George Rawlinson, Gutschmid, and Justi).

Where the original Parthian information is so scanty, single important facts ought to have merited some special attention. It is true that the author reserves the discussion of the cultural aspects for a future work on Parthia but this reservation makes his present work look like an expanded article for some classical encyclopædia. Even such outstanding documents as the parchments found in Avroman are squeezed into, and drowned in the general scheme, pp. 47, 202. The chapter "Parthia in commerce and literature" (pp. 203–212) is disappointing. The important question of the silk trade is only

touched upon on three pages; the rest of the chapter consists in bare references to the chapters and verses in Latin authors.

In an obscure subject, each point of indirect evidence acquires importance but hardly any of these "Marquartian" side issues (cf. the origin of the name Vologases) are mentioned in the book. One of the most important aspects of Parthian history is its connection with many foreign states and civilizations. The advantage of such surveys as Gutschmid's and Justi's is that in them the events in Armenia, Osroene, etc., are arranged as a background to the history of the Parthians. In Dr. D.'s book the thread of Armenian politics is left in the dark, to say nothing of the events in the farther Middle East. In general the author rarely sums up but limits himself to the thread of his narrative.

The Map at the end of the work is very neat, but in the text no particular attention is paid to geographical problems such as the routes followed by Antiochus III (pp. 16–18) and Antony (p. 128), and for details readers are usually referred to Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopædie*. p. 173: It is hardly right to say that the Diyālā in summer is so small that "the troops would scarcely notice it". p. 205: The "Stone Tower" is now identified with Daraut-qurghan in the Alai valley (Marquart, *Vehrot und Arang*, and Sir A. Stein).

As in most American works, the bibliography in Dr. D.'s book is very thorough. He even quotes theses still awaiting publication (p. 58) as well as articles in Hebrew (p. 218).

In spite of the dullness of his historical methods, the author's work will certainly be appreciated by scholars, especially the Orientalists who (unless they are Nöldekes and Marquarts) need guides to the remote corners of classical studies. The author's references are both rich and exact.

V. M.

CROYANCES ET COUTUMES PERSANES, SUIVIES DE CONTES ET CHANSONS POPULAIRES. Par H. MASSÉ. 2 volumes (539 pages). Paris: G. P. Maisonneuve, 1938.

To Professor H. Massé belongs the honour of having first brought into a comparative order the scattered facts of Persian folk-lore. The works of European travellers (especially the older ones) contain a prodigious mass of references to Persian manners and customs, and the younger generation of Iranian authors begins to take a great

interest in the popular habits and beliefs. The subject was first looked upon with some diffidence as giving food to foreign persiflage, but the creation in Tehran of the Museum of Ethnology indicates the triumph of a cultural and scientific attitude towards this field of studies. Professor M. has gone through the majority of Western European literatures (his bibliography comprises 208 names), he has made wide use of the contemporary Persian writings (especially those of the talented Ṣādeq Hedāyat) and he himself, during his visits to Persia, has completed his written sources by personal inquiries. Both the general plan and the style of the two volumes, written with the usual French taste, merit great praise. For many years to come the book will be consulted by specialists and amateurs. The material is so conveniently arranged in chapters that any future additions will be easily incorporated in it.

Almost simultaneously with Professor M.'s book Mrs. B. A. Donaldson (Mashhad) published a similar work under the title of *The Wild Rue*, Luzac, 1938. Her method is slightly different for she has used to a greater extent the religious Shī'a books. Her personal observations, however, are fresh and interesting and form a useful parallel to Professor M.'s investigations.

Here are some stray suggestions to Professor M.'s text.

p. 44 : On the front page of the original MS. of the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* there is a later entry on a charm against the dīv Āl (= Umm al-ṣibyān) consisting of the Arabic letters HYWH. Cf. also V. Ivanow, *Muhammadan Child-killing demons*, in *Man*, 1926, p. 195. p. 60 : On the "zargarī" artificial slang, see Brugsch, *Reise*, 1862, i, 337. p. 80 : The village of Ändäre (Andreyeva) lies north of Daghestan, far from the regions affected by Iran. p. 88 : M. Toscanne (Mission archéologique de Suse) has collected abundant material on the tattooing of Lur women. p. 103 : It would be necessary to add that the earlier colour of mourning in Persia was blue (*kabūd*), as recorded in many sources (cf. p. 132, and Neẓāmī, *Haft paykar*, 221 : *azraq-pūsh*). p. 116 : At the cemetery of Marāgha I saw stones with holes in them ("the hole of eternity" !)[1] ; very curious are the tombs of the Kalhur tribe, near Kel-i Dāvūd, with figures of horsemen, rifles, swords, etc., engraved on them (for women : combs, etc.). p. 122 : Many references on ta'ziyas are found in Krymski, *Le Théâtre persan*, 1925, of which Rypka has given a convenient résumé. p. 130 : In fact not Kakasch, but his secretary Jabel visited Āzarbāyjān. p. 138 : The rite of fraternization is very curious ; the practice is regular among the

[1] I see in a note-book of mine that the funeral stone of Marāgha belongs to the Ahl-i Ḥaqq saint Sarkhosh. The hole serves now for the purpose of divination : if a small stone inserted into it does not fall down the particular wish will be fulfilled.

Ahl-e Ḥaqq sect, see *EI.*, cf. also "the sisters of Eternity" (*ukht al-ākhirati*) among the Yazīdīs. p. 150: *Gavan* is the resinous plant (*astragalus*) from which the *katīrā*-gum (*gummi taracanthae*) is obtained. p. 155: On the marriage ceremonies see the article of Mme S. Marr, in *Sbornik muzeya antrop. i etnogr.*, ix (1929), pp. 197–208, which, among other things, contains a description of the realistic wedding scenes on four curtains (*qalam-kār*) from Isfahan. p. 163: On the renewal of the ancient custom of *āb-pāshān* by Shah 'Abbās, see *'Ālam-ārā*, 556; [note the names of festivals in *-ān*, *'Omar-koshān* (p. 166), and even the Armenian *khāch-shūrān* "immersion of the Cross"!] p. 165: The pantomime of Küera-Mīr "The Blind Amīr" in Sauj-bulaq probably echoes some episode of the career of the famous Mīr of Rawānduz who was suffering from eye-trouble. p. 233: The spring near Dāmghān is described in many sources, see Ibn-Faqīh, 310, Yāqūt, iii, 490, etc. p. 235: The story of the desiccation of the lake of Sāva on the night when Muḥammad was born seems to have been created as a replica to the Zoroastrian legend on the semen of the future Saviour Saoshyant being preserved in a lake (H. H. Schaeder). To the number of "subterraneous" rivers must be added the river of Dārābgerd which was taken for a reappearance on the surface of the river Kor, cf. Chardin, viii, 235, 499. p. 267, etc.: Although Professor M. excludes a limine (p. 16), the pre-Islamic sources, we would like to quote, for memory's sake, a work on omens in Sasanian Persia, namely Inostrantsev's extensive commentary on the Arabic *Bāb-al-'irāfa wal-zijr wal-firāsa 'alā madhhab al-Furs* (by Jāḥiẓ ?) in *Zap.V.O.*, xvii, 1907. p. 352: The story about the cripple son of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba is in Neẓāmī's *Haft Paykar*, ed. Ritter and Rypka, p. 156. p. 378: A Qal'a-ye dokhtar exists near Sāva (see *EI.*). p. 387: Hulagu's treasure was kept on the Shāhī peninsula and not at Gövärchin-qal'asï. p. 400: The late khan of Mākū used to visit the famous Armenian monastery of Thatevos-Arakel and ring its big bell to propitiate the Heavens. p. 411: It would not be out of place to mention under Games the practices of Persian gymnasiums (*zūr-khāna*, see *EI.*). p. 432: D. L. R. and E. O. Lorimer collected a series of popular tales in Kerman and Isfahan and published their translation in an attractive volume in 1919. p. 492: In the *Proceedings* of the Hungarian Academy, 1899, xvii, 3, S. Kégl published a series of Persian popular songs, etc. In 1902, Professor V. Zhukovsky edited a book of 279 pages on the same subject (and previously, in 1889, wrote a special article on Persian lullabies). Cf. also V. Ivanow's collection of popular quatrains in the *Zap.V.O.*, xxiii, 1915, etc.

I shall conclude this review with a few minor points:—

p. 71: *Leng* read *long* "loin cloth". p. 90: Kaksar are certainly Khāksār darvishes. p. 115: *Youzka* "a hill" read *yuskha*. p. 116: *Qazrun* *Kāzrūn (and p. 401 *Qazimain* *Kāẓimeyn!). p 120: *kodafa*

read *khulafā*, a ṣūfī dignitary in the Safavid administration. p. 288 : Sirius must be *karvān koshan*, cf. in Turkish *k'ervan qīran*. p. 313 : *Kôli*, read *Kāoli* < Kābulī, i.e. a Gipsy. p. 377 : The fortress was called *Tabarak* " a hillock ". p. 405 : *Ala qapu*, in Turkish " la porte bigarrée ". p. 411 : *Saturīq*, in the *'Ālam-ārā*, 106, the name reads *Suyūrtaq*. p. 533 : In spite of the final correction, read : *Fatémé Zahrā*.

V. MINORSKY.

LEHEN IL-MALTI. Għadd 103–4, 1939. In 8vo. Malta : Empire Press.

This number of the little magazine brought out by a group at the local University is, as usual, a miscellany of prose and verse. Aquilina has an article entitled Nisel il-kliem (i.e. etymology), in which suggestions are made about a few words which present problems.

There is no doubt that the writer is correct in identifying the word Qoċċied (nit, which Falzon also spells kuċċied) with the Algerian kaššâd which has exactly the same meaning. But I don't think the word has anything to do with Freytag's verb kašad (to bite), for I gather that qoċċied is applied to the sucking lice that pester humanity rather than to the biting lice found in birds ; hence, I surmise that the Maltese spelling with the Q is more nearly correct than the Algerian, standing possibly for the intensive qaššâṭ. The descriptive Arabic term, " daughters of the seams," benät ed-durûs, is not known in Malta.

There is a word which Vassalli spells btil, or btir, seemingly preferring the first spelling, and which Falzon also gives under the two forms, with the meaning " quintessence ". Caruana, in his vocabulary, gives an example (which some suspect to be of his own manufacture), btir il-ward, attar of roses. It is true that this sounds wonderfully like 'iṭr el-ward which happens to be Freytag's rendering of attar of roses. But even assuming that Caruana had really heard the term he gives and that btir was ever used in Malta for essence (of roses), the initial *b*, the omission of the 'ain, and the long vowel, is all very strange. Arabic 'iṭr would normally in Maltese give għetr, or, għatr, just as 'irf gives għerf, 'irq gives għerq, 'ilk gives għelk, and 'ind gives għand. The conclusion is, therefore, very questionable. " Teodozju," by the way, is a mistake for Theodotion.

To explain the appearance of a *b* at the beginning of btir the writer appeals to an equally venturesome attempt he made some time ago to elucidate another Maltese word. In his Dictionary, Falzon,

for the Italian opposito, gives Maltese biswit. Most of us had assumed that biswit was simply a deformation of the Latin stem opposit-. According to Aquilina, however, substituting *bi* for *fi*, it is the equivalent of Bocthor's fi-sewâh. Beithu fi-sewât el-ǧâmi', his house is in a line with the mosque, i.e. on the same side of the street, a meaning very different from that of the Maltese. We should have to assume that Maltese not only exchanged the regular final hemza or elif maqsurah for a t-marbutah in the Maltese words sewwa, or, siwi, but also, that, in this one adverb, the t-marbutah became incorporated in the word and hardened into a ṭa. All this is admittedly *possible*, but *a posse ad actum non valet consecutio*.

Another word dealt with is beghren, which I don't find in any of my dictionaries, though Vassalli and the rest give belghen with the meaning " to inflame ", obviously a metaphoric use from the ordinary meaning of this latter verb.

A hard word is the verb bera, jibri (to look carefully, to observe attentively). I had suggested tentatively that it might be berraq (to open the eyes). Aquilina points out that the verb is never used in the past but only in the present, and proposes to take it as a foreign word. It is true that the word is not given by Vassalli, which raises a suspicion, though Vassalli did undoubtedly miss many genuine Maltese words. It is now argued that jibri is from the Italian brillare. This is ingenious, but did the word in Italian ever have the sense it has in Maltese ? In French it once did ; see briller 2, in Littré, which has the Maltese meaning given above. The word beryllus (which the Arabs made into ballûr, or, bilaur), is the Greek form of an Indian word, which by the Franks in the Middle Ages was applied not only to the beryl, but also to rock crystal, substances used for reliquaries, and, then, later, for lenses or spectacles, whence Ducange's beryculus, and modern German Brille, in the sense eye-glass. Beryl gave rise to a verb brillare, and apart from the meaning " to be brilliant ", it may also have meant " to make use of a beryl, or lens, to examine minutely ", which would tally with the Maltese meaning. But it is very difficult to account for the disappearance of the letter *l*.

About the word dudu, a term of endearment, it seems to be simply a variant of the venerable Arabic word wadûd.

As for the word Qarwas, it never occurred to me to derive it *from* qarwat. I simply *compared* the two words as possible parallels. Though the interchange of ṭa and ṣâd is uncommon in Arabic, it is frequent enough in the other Semitic dialects.

About the verb ħawtel, which Vassalli defines "to strive with all one's force" (totis viris—a delightful howler in so careful a Latinist !), and which he writes with a ḥ, not a ḫ, I had been inclined to take it as a deformation of form VIII of the verb ḥâl, which is used in rather similar meanings, but, in 1923, on the publication of O'Leary's *Comparative Grammar*, I saw that Maltese ħawtel could hardly be other than O'Leary's ḫanṭal (to work with energy), p. 83, even though this is written with the ḫ.

The Maltese nirra, or narra, as in narrak mgħallaq (I'll see you hanged) is obviously made up of the verb ra (to see), and the doubling of the *r* is usually explained by the frequent, angry, imprecative use of the word. The latest suggestion is to see in nirrak a reduction from min ra-k, i.e. (may) somebody see thee (hanged). Frankly, I think the older explanation more plausible.

C. L. DESSOULAVY.

AL INKISHAFI (THE SOUL'S AWAKENING). Translated from the Swahili texts and edited by WILLIAM HICHENS. pp. 190. London: The Sheldon Press, 1939.

With the increase of education among all people in East African, it is fitting that the Swahili literature should find a place in the foremost rank of educational works. The publication of the *Inkishafi* in its present form is therefore particularly welcome and it is hoped that all—Arab and Swahili alike—who have any pride in their literature will seek to possess a copy. Also in schools where the Koran is taught this book could do much to develop the cultural side of education among the boys in the upper forms.

The author is to be congratulated on the result of his labours, which must have needed a wide knowledge of current Swahili manuscripts and entailed an exhaustless amount of patience and countless hours of work.

His tribute to his friends in East Africa, the present Liwali of Mombasa, and many others, without whose co-operation the translation of the poem itself would have been a more formidable task, is indicative of the interest in Swahili literature—interest which is already alive and needing only to be cultivated.

It is inevitable that in a work of this kind not everyone will agree upon the interpretation of some of the passages, but this is in itself a good thing, for constructive criticism implies interest. This

work should stimulate interest, not merely that of the Arab and Swahili people, but of all students of the Swahili Language.

The theme of the poem is revealed in its title " The Soul's Awakening ". Not only is the poem well translated, both in literal meaning and in spirit, but the author has even managed to use in English the same rhyming technique found in the original, i.e. each stanza consists in four lines ; the first three lines rhyme with each other, but the fourth line rhymes with the fourth line of all stanzas. It is interesting to note that he has chosen the English sound—" ain "—alternating occasionally with—" ine "—own, etc., to bear this great rhyming burden of seventy-seven end lines. Each verse is accompanied by copious marginal notes, both grammatical and literary.

The illustrations have been wisely and carefully chosen, for they fit in and form part of the spirit which pervades the book. The printing is clear and the layout of the book is well adapted to the subject-matter.

E. O. A.

A STANDARD ENGLISH–SWAHILI DICTIONARY AND A STANDARD SWAHILI–ENGLISH DICTIONARY. By the Inter-Territorial Language Committee of the East African Dependencies, under the direction of the late FREDERICK JOHNSON. Two volumes. Oxford University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, 1939. 8*s*. 6*d*. each volume.

The long awaited revised edition of Madan's Dictionaries has at last been published and the two books are fully worthy of their new names, *A Standard English-Swahili Dictionary* and *A Standard Swahili-English Dictionary*. Indeed, one must be of a very critical turn of mind not to give them a generous measure of praise. Their compiler, the late Frederick Johnson, must have spent endless hours in painstaking research to have left in manuscript a work with such a wealth of sentences in illustration and explanation of the words treated, truly a splendid legacy to the Swahili-speaking world, which African and European alike cannot fail to appreciate. These illustrations and explanations are of high value both to the student of Swahili and to those who desire to attain a fair standard of fluency in conversational Swahili.

The inclusion of the many names of birds, trees, shrubs, etc., is another testimony to the richness of the language and the high proportion of words shown to be of Arabic origin illustrates the great flexibility of Swahili and bears out the remark made by one, whose

mother tongue is Swahili, that to deprive the language of its importations from Arabic would be *neno la muhali*. In fact, these dictionaries, being as they are a wonderful testimony to the richness and lucidity of the language, should lay for ever the ghost of the illusion that a primitive language is crude and incapable of expressing delicate shades of meaning.

To the members of the Inter-territorial Language Committee—under whose direction the dictionaries have been published—the hope is expressed that when the time comes for a new edition certain additions may be made. The time, one imagines will not be long in coming, for books such as these, well printed, well set out, and moderate in price, should become best sellers in East Africa and go through many editions. In these new editions the inclusion of a list of ideophones would be useful, also some blank pages for the recording of new words which make their appearance from time to time.

Perhaps, too, in a new edition, reference could be made to words which differ from the particular forms selected by the Committee as "standard" Swahili, for it will be many years before such words as WACHA, HARUSI, EKA give place *universally* to ACHA, ARUSI, WEKA.

Also in a new edition perhaps selections from the introductory chapters of Madan might be given, for some of his remarks on the structure of the language are most illuminating and thereby make the work of consulting a dictionary more profitable.

E. O. ASHTON.

THE BANTU IN THE CITY. A Study of Cultural Adjustment on the Witwatersrand. By RAY E. PHILLIPS. pp. xxix, 452. Johannesburg: The Lovedale Press, 1939. 10*s*.

The author of this monograph is a well-known American missionary on the Witwatersrand whose devotion to the cause of native progress and to the task of inter-racial conciliation have gained for him a place in the vanguard of these movements in South Africa. His experience and his enthusiasm for the cause of native betterment are reflected in this book. He has brought together in it a great mass of data about the social conditions, the economic existence, and strivings and strugglings and maladjustments of the native population permanently resident in the urban centres of the Rand. He has combed government reports, newspapers, and research records, and adds thereto answers to questionnaires of his own from Europeans and educated members

of the Bantu community as well as observations derived from his personal experience.

Dr. Phillips does not always use his data critically enough, or attempt a sufficiently coherent and penetrating analysis to enable one to accept his book as a good sociological treatise. But it is a mine of invaluable information not easily accessible to the ordinary reader. It will be especially useful to the student outside South Africa though he will have to be pretty well acquainted with the political and economic structure of that country in order to appreciate fully some of Dr. Phillips's material.

It is a gloomy, if not squalid and scandalous picture that emerges from Dr. Phillips's book. Many of its features are well enough known to South Africans, and some are not unfamiliar to people in this country who are concerned for the future of the Bantu race. Dr. Phillips does not bring out the fact that many of the disabilities and social privations of the urban Bantu are the inevitable outcome of economic and political forces which have nothing to do with local or racial peculiarities. The underprivileged proletariate living congested in slum conditions, drifting into crime and prostitution, suffering from malnutrition and cultural starvation, is a phenomenon which has appeared in the history of Western Europe and America quite apart from differences of race and culture. In South Africa, as in the U.S.A., the race conflict merely complicates and aggravates a state of affairs primarily due to the general social and economic relations of black and white. It is the more gratifying to read, in Dr. Phillips's book, of the many advances that have occurred in the past decade or so in the education of European opinion in South Africa, in the organization of inter-racial co-operation through clubs and other institutions, and in the growth of self-awareness, self-criticism, and cultural and political self-determination among the urban Bantu. The educated Bantu is coming into his own and through him his illiterate brethren will make their demands articulate with greater and greater success as time goes on. Not a little of the credit for this development must go to men like Dr. Phillips and one or two others, like Senator Rheinallt Jones, whom he mentions.

M. Fortes.

AN AFRICAN SURVEY. A study of problems arising in Africa south of the Sahara. By LORD HAILEY. pp. xxviii, 1,837. Oxford University Press, 1938. 21*s*.

This review will confine itself to the problems connected with the present and future of linguistic study in Africa.

The language problem in Africa is so great that, through its very magnitude and because it underlies nearly all other problems, it is often apt to be overlooked. (Even the *Survey* devotes only 34 pages to it, although this chapter is one of the most compact in the book.) The problem is simply that if we wish to establish contact with the African, either we have to learn his language or he ours. This simple pre-requisite has been, and still is, even in these enlightened days, constantly ignored, so that we may still find anthropologists publishing studies involving the most complex data collected in the field through the medium of a very halting knowledge of the vernacular, and responsible officials producing reports and recommendations of far-reaching significance, based on evidence obtained entirely through interpreters.

There are some 700 African languages and four main European languages involved. In the French and Portuguese areas it is tacitly understood that the African shall eventually learn the European language, and, except in the case of certain linguæ francæ which have an immediate commercial or administrative value, the vernacular has little place in education or in governmental policy in general. It is in the British sphere that the development of the vernacular receives most encouragement in keeping with the other principles which go towards the policy of " indirect rule ", and it is consequently in these areas, and in South Africa and the Belgian Congo also, that the main linguistic problems arise.

These problems are manifold, but may be discussed under two categories. The first concerns the learning of the African language by the European. " Not only must the student dispense with assistance from documents that is available in the case of languages which have been reduced to writing, but his task includes, in addition to analysis and translation, the devising of a system of transcription which will at the same time convey pronunciation and structure to persons to whom the language is unfamiliar, and be capable of manipulation by the native who is to be taught to read and write his own tongue " (p. 68).

The next kind of problems arise when the European, having (in most cases) imperfectly mastered the vernacular himself, sets out to employ the vernacular as the vehicle for both primary and advanced education of the native. One of the first discoveries he makes is that most African languages or dialects have a very limited geographical scope, so that one dialect has to be chosen in preference to others over the field in question. "It is in such cases necessary to decide whether the language chosen shall be a dominant vernacular, or a lingua franca (like Swahili in East Africa), or a composite or 'union' language, such as is employed in parts of West Africa" (p. 1638).

Lord Hailey has little to offer in the way of solution to Africa's linguistic problems, but by bringing them to our notice and, especially, by showing how they are faced under different administrations (pp. 81–96), he has given us a valuable store of comparative information.

It might give readers some idea of the size of the problem to realize that the languages of Africa are not yet classified, or rather that the main authorities are still disputing as to what are the principal groupings, while there are many languages of which nothing is known at all beyond a few badly recorded vocabularies from passing travellers or hunters. Except in the case of the Bantu language family, there is no philological study worthy of the name, while the study of tone, one of the Negro's outstanding linguistic characteristics, is yet in its infancy.

A special section has very wisely been given to the problem of orthography and spelling reform. The first people to write these languages were for the most part missionaries with often little phonetic ability, and their method was to represent those African sounds which they could distinguish by the symbols for similar sounds in their own mother-tongue—which might be English, French, German, etc., according to the missionary concerned. The first step towards unification in method of writing African languages was in the appearance of the Lepsius Alphabet, which has since given way in most parts of Africa to that of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures. An ideal alphabet is by no means an end of the problem, however. "Difficulties, both economic and psychological, lie in the path of the would-be spelling reformer. Existing stocks of literature, the expense and difficulty of adding new symbols to sets of type previously used in printing, the exigencies of modern mechanical means of transcription, such as typewriters, make for reluctance to adopt a change of spelling" (pp. 79–80).

The final section gives an account of the developments in linguistic research and in the technique of language study, in which psychology and sociology are closely bound. The chapter ends on a note of apprehension at the "striking degree of recognition given to the study of linguistics in America and the Continent of Europe on the one hand and in England on the other" (p. 101)—where, in the whole country, there is only one teaching post in this subject. This fact, taken in conjunction with his section on "Institutions for the Study and Teaching of African Languages" (pp. 70–4), where again Great Britain comes bottom of the list, is hardly to our credit.

That England, however, in spite of her shortcomings in the official recognition of the linguistics needs of her Empire, is still to be regarded as the potential clearing-house for all information on Africa is shown in his chapter on the "Future of African Studies", where he proposes a Bureau of Information, situated in London, and supported generously by the British treasury, which, to quote another reviewer, "must be brought to regard expenditure on research as capital investment from which future rich rewards can be expected, rather than as a dole to be distributed to impecunious governments and communities".[1] And although the British treasury is faced these days with an expense undreamed of at the time of the writing of the *Survey*, the principle still holds, and it is to be hoped that the ideals which led to the founding of the School of Oriental Studies in the midst of a world war will again be present when the future of African studies is at stake.

A. N. TUCKER.

[1] Major A. G. Church in the *Journal of the Royal African Society* (Supplement, Jan., 1939).

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PAPERS CONTRIBUTED

Rāma II

By H. W. Bailey

According to the promise in *BSOS.*, X, 365, I give translation of and brief commentary on the Khotanese Rāma text. Considerable progress has been made since the lecture published in the *Journ. Amer. Or. Soc.*, 59, 460 ff., and also since the printing of the text. Superseded views expressed in the lecture are ignored here. Certain introductory matter can be added.

1. References to the Rāma story in Khotanese.

(*a*) E 6, 4–5.

rāmā daśagrīvi sīysau nāte laṃggä kīnthai bāste
ttye kāḍāna jīvätu rruste rāmāyaṇä ttandī arthi
valmīki rāṣayī haṃbaste haṃtsa drūgyau hāḍe
cvī lovi mānya pyūṣḍe samu haṃdara-ysaṃthva karma

"From Rāma Daśagrīva took Sītā, he carried her to Lankā city. For that he lost his life. Such is the content of the Rāmāyaṇa. Vālmīki the sage composed it, but with lies. For the person who listens to him with honour, surely there is karma leading to other births."

(*b*) E 6, 90.

rāmā pāte karjunä karṇä ṣṣai ttä ysaṃthīgya samudru

"Rāma's father Karjuna and Karṇa these too are in the ocean of birth."

(*c*) P 2897.15.

bvaijsyā haphyau śūra pūñūda rauma kheṇḍa " possessed of virtues, valiant, virtuous like Rāma ".

(*d*) P 2739.40.

styauḍa bvaumaya daraujsa ṣąhaunī pañai brrī
baihai śūra ąkrrai dyainą rauma raiṣma jsa hamagaka

" Firm, intelligent, brave, virtuous, dear to all, very valiant, fine to behold, equal to Rāma and Raiṣma (Lakṣmaṇa)."

(*e*) P 2022.24.

brrīyījai brrīttā pajsāḍā ą mausta ṣṭā rausta
ąbai'ña pajsa ṣa' raudākā raumą ṣe' : :

= P 2956.72.

brī<y>īje brrīthe jsa pajāḍā māsta ṣṭau rauste
a<be'>ñe pajsi ṣi' ādrrakā rąma ṣai

" Overpowered by wind of passion, drunken, he lost, very unfortunate, even the prince Rāma."

(*f*) P 2956.67.

sītsa udaiśā diśagrrī kṣą pūnyau jsa ysira bai'stā

" For Sītā Daśagrīva was pierced to the heart with six arrows."

(*g*) Kha. 1.302a, 2 r 4 (fragment): *balysi daśagrīvā jsonātā*, " <before> the Buddha, Daśagrīva humbly. . . ."

(*h*) Ch. 00266.58.

ttyai drauma aidrā ya khu paraśu rauma
samattakara va ttaña kṣara pūñūda

= P 2025.103.

ttye drrauma aidrrā ya khu paraśu rauma
samattakara va ttaña kṣīra puñūda

" Druma had such powers as Paraśu Rāma, ruling the kings on the frontiers (?), virtuous in the land."

The name Sītā appears then as E *sīysā-*, P 2781, 2783 *sījsa*, P 2956 *sītsa*. In Agnean we find *sisā* (that is, **sīza* with unvoicing of the *z* to *s*), quoted in Sieg and Siegling, *Tocharische Grammatik*, §§ 86, 99*a*, 192 ; *sisā*, obl. sg. *sisāṃ*, comitative *sisāṃśāl*.

Other names occurring are: P 2781.34 *sūgrrīvā*, 35 *naṇḍa*, 47 *laphūṣa*, 54 *phūṣa*, P 2783.7 *nahauṣā*, 88 *aṃbharīṣā*.

2. Sahasrabāhu is represented as son of Daśaratha (P 2801.11), and Rāma and Raiṣma (= Lakṣmaṇa) are the sons of Sahasrabāhu. We have then a confusion of the story of Arjuna Kārtavīrya *sahasrabāhu* " thousand-armed " with the story of Rāma, son of Daśaratha. Arjuna carries off the calf of the *homadhenu* (a cow whose milk

is offered) of Jamadagni, father of [Paraśu] Rāma, in the Mahābhārata (summarized in Sörensen's *Index to the Names in the Mahabharata*, p. 68, col. a). Rāma Jāmadagnya slays Arjuna. This same conflation may appear in E 6.90 *rāmā pāte karjuna* "Rāma's father Karjuna (for Arjuna)", unless Paraśu Rāma is intended.

3. Incidents.

(*a*) The lucky milch cow (P 2801.8 *dīṇva gūha:*) corresponds to the *dhenu* in the story of Arjuna *sahasrabāhu*.

(*b*) Birth of Sītā and her exposure (P 2801.61 ff.), see Przyluski, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, 15 (1939), Epic Studies. (i) Rājavaṃśa and Rāmāyaṇa; (ii) Sītā's birth.

(*c*) Speech of animals (P 2783.6). Similarly *Arabian Nights* (translation, Lane, 1.9 ff.): A man knowing the language of animals, laughs, his wife importunes him to explain, but he replies, "I cannot reveal it; for if I did, I should die"; Kathāsaritsāgara, ii, 107; Rāmāyaṇa, ii, 35; Javanese Tantri Kāmandaki (ed. Hooykaas, p. 194), the story of King Aridharma: *mahyun wruha niṃ śabda niṃ satwa kabeh* "I wish to know the speech of all beings". He laughs, his wife demands he shall tell, but he dare not.

(*d*) Stories told to a king to dissuade him from folly (P 2783.4 ff.). So Kāḷahaṭṭhi admonishes Sutasoma in the Mahāsutasoma Jātaka.

(*e*) Magic circle around Sītā (P 2781.6). So in the Malay Ḥikāyat Srī Rāma, see Stutterheim, *Rama-Legenden und Rama-Reliefs in Indonesien*, p. 46. Sītā devī puts her hand outside the magical circle (p. 47).[1] See Zieseniss, *Die Rāma-Sage bei den Malaien*, p. 29.

Translation

P 2801

1. Welfare! When in the Bhadra-kalpa Krakasunda the all-knowing Buddha, Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa the Buddha were awakened to eternal awakening (= bodhi), their good law perished in the seventh

[1] Khotanese in transcription requires so many diacritical marks that errors are impossible to avoid. I have noted the following errata in the printed text.

Read *ṃ* for *m* in P 2801.21, 61, 62, 65, P 2781.16, P 2783.3, 16, 48, 61, p. 375, footnote; *ḡ* for *ḡ* P 2801.64, P 2781.58; *ī* for *ī* P 2783.46 *hīṇa*; *ī* for *ī* P 2781.66; *ś* in *nvāśāṃdā* P 2781.21; *tti* for *tii* P 2801.54; *r* dropped out in the printing from *ṛrkañai* P 2781.58.

P 2801.22 *caṃdā . . . pa'tte* is interlinear.

Abbreviations used are JātS. = Jātakastava = Ch 00274 (facsimile in Codices Khotanenses), and the signatures of unpublished texts as used in the Libraries where they exist.

year. Śākyamuni the all-knowing Buddha for the good time persevered with vigour, alone, for that Teaching's sake. When it had for them endured a long time, they passed away in the Indian land.

5 There was a Brahman (*māṇava*) of the lineage of Maheśvara—such his gotra. He had studied many treatises (*śāstras*) and commentaries. He lived then a course of life to do honour to Maheśvara. He went into the hills, he made magic circles (*maṇḍala*). Twelve years passed in a series, while he did him honour there. The worship was finished. Before him came the god Maheśvara visibly. The sage asked from them the jewel of the gods, the Brahma-siddhi. He gave him the milch cow, a means for the necessities of life. Whatever he desired, such he should have. He then according to his gotra he took 10 a wife for the sake of living. With his wife he went into the forests, long time he dwelt there.

In that country was a valiant virtuous king by name Daśaratha. His son was born valiant, he who was by name Sahasrabāhu. This King ruled the kingdom with ministers and merchants. The King rode hunting with a large troop. The *hasūra* (bird ?) came right through to the place where dwelt the aged Brahman. It is the custom 15 of Brahmans when people come to their side, that they practise the ways of hospitality. They send no one away unhonoured. Now he was in his own mind thinking upon the *cintāmaṇi*. The King passed beside him unhonoured. "When he returns back, I will then do him splendid honour. From the *cintāmaṇi*, too, there shall be food and drink, savoury and exquisite, so that the King shall deem it worthy. The garden is truly excellent where one may give the King to drink." When the King came back, he was weary, tired upon the dust. The Brahman invited the King. The King stayed. Thus he deigned to 20 think, "The aged Brahman was alone. No food appeared to me to be in the garden. The aged man is surely using magic." He asked the ministers and merchants, "Have you thought of the jewel (*rāṇi* = *raṃnā*, Skt. *ratna*), such a thing as I have not had ?" They made reply (?) to the King, "We will inquire, Your Majesty, at once that we may know something of it. However lowly a man may be, first an invitation must be given, at the last one must have recourse to fighting. At the last we shall know how to decide (?)." They asked the aged Brahman, "How did you not at first have much ? The King was now riding to the hunt, then the necessities were not ready." The Brahman explained the nature of the matter. Thus he had obtained the *siddhi-śrī*. He pointed out the cow before them. The

noble ministers and merchants made such report to the King. When 25
the repast was finished, the King rode to his palace. Next morning
he sent the merchants. "Ask that cow for me, (saying), You must
always serve strangers. There is no name, no speech needed." The
Brahman lost the cow. He became so miserable through hunger, he
went begging day by day. His son grew up at his side. He said to him,
"How then do you live who have neither food nor house?" The
Brahman explained the nature of the matter. The King has done
injustice to us, Sahasrabāhu, king of kings, he took away the cow,
whereby I lived. The son became so miserable, hatred arose in his 30
young mind, Paraśu Rāma, the brahman's son. Thereupon he gathered
the necessities of life, what magic circles were necessary. He then
went in the same way, he entered the mountains, he made magic
circles. Then in the twelfth year he gained the *siddhi-śrī*. He invoked
the god Brahmā. He prepared an axe to go after him. He then took
up the axe, and went right to the palace. There at the palace he
stopped. He beat the earth with a club. He kept up a great noise, 35
thus he spoke, "A man has been made for the sake of men, so that
men may know him to be a man." The merchants went out, they
looked. "Here the fellow stays, one planet-struck, who is beating
the ground." The other men thus spoke, "This one fellow is causing
these things." The merchants reported it to the King. The King
only looked to the ground. He spoke, gave this command, "Ask
him, whence are you, fellow, how have you come, who made this
noise?" He spoke loudly, "The person has come, Paraśu Rāma,
the brahman's son, whom my father brought up, whom you robbed
of my cow. Let him come out, or does he make a speech?" Being 40
furious the King ordered, "Bring an elephant, bow too and sharp
arrows. I have many hands. I will bring him down upon the ground."
The King went to encounter him upon the elephant with a host.
In the King's heart was great valour. "Now on him I will shower
a thick arrowy rain." But Paraśu Rāma, he had the invincible *siddhi-śrī*. As they raged beside one another, Paraśu Rāma crushed the 45
elephant's trunk, he cut off his arms with his axe. The King fell,
he gave up life. Paraśu Rāma turned back. He went among the
districts and cities. He slew kings, he set up brahmans.

The sons of Sahasrabāhu escaped beneath the earth concealed by
a covering. When the queen took off from them the covering in the
twelfth year, those young boys following the light from the opening
came out of the hole. Those boys, one was Rāma, the other was by

name Rraiṣmaṃ. They learnt all the cause of the enmity of Paraśu
50 Rāma who had slain their father. When the people of the lands heard, Rāma was among the heroes. Whatever he shot at, his arrow never failed. Under Rraiṣmaṃ's control was the treasure.

Then those two together arose, they sought for Paraśu Rāma, they asked, "Where is he seen?" "He is in the mountain, there he dwells." When they came before one another, they did not recognize the other, being saved from the massacre. When they came among
55 the mountains, where was Paraśu Rāma's abode, the place was empty, no one was there. The brothers shouted together, "Is there that man who has come to meet us?" At once he came back. When they met, the three spoke words on the spot, harsh, hostile which they had together. Rāma seized Paraśu Rāma, he embraced him, and threw him on the ground. He sank down to his breast. Right through him he shot him with an arrow. Paraśu Rāma's breath went forth. The
60 continent of Jambudvīpa came into their hand. Thereupon they slew the Brahmans, many, eighteen thousand. In the lands the peoples asked, "Where are these heroes now?"

When the conjuncture was broken up, by the ruin destined for the Rākṣasas, a daughter was born to Daśagrīva the Rākṣasa by the chief queen. They looked to her horoscope. They gave this prophecy of her, "This city will she ruin, burn up, will make it barren, void." Daśagrīva the Rākṣasa commanded, "Enclose her in a box. Drown her in the
65 great river. Her destruction is necessary." They accordingly enclosed her in a great box. They cast her on the great river. At first it did not sink, as it went. There on the river in a hut was a sage knowing *śāstras*, skilful, familiar with the details of events. When he saw the box sinking, he took hold of it, he stood beside it, opened it, and looked at it. "What is this thing here?" It was the girl. The sage brought her up in compassion.

P 2781

2 2. When she was of an age for a husband, then they came thither, Rrisṃa and Rāma together. When they saw the woman lovely to behold, their minds were greatly distracted. They remained bound by love. She did not go but stayed there. They asked for the woman,
5 they led her far away. She dwelt in a most excellent garden. Together with her they did the common deed, act of a lay person, improper,

contemptible. They made a circle round about. There is no bird flying which can cross that circle. There she stays in the midst of the circle. The vulture which they permitted there, spoke polite words with her. He permits no attack upon her at all.

When one enters to her company, there (? read <*vara*>*vīra*) he is wont to do her service. Though it is shame for us to one another, there is no fault at all. The second accordingly when he also does her service, there that is an approved act. When, too, one of their kinsmen behaves so, it causes no shame to one another. This approved act is right for them. They justified (?) it there for her.

They saw a deer (? *ahā*) with a hundred eyes. Thereupon both went to hunt it in the woods, the heroes searched for it in the lands. At that time thither came Daśagrīva the Rākṣasa first, passing in the air flying. He looked earthwards. There was the woman, lovely to behold. Then he descended to the earth. He could, however, not cross the circle, nor did the woman go towards him. He fought with the bird. Then it became very exhausted. He gathered up for it lumps of tin red with blood. The bird swallowed them ravenously, became heavy, and gave up life.

He then took a disguise, he took staff and bowl in hand, he went towards her for alms. The woman offered alms, he seized her by the hand, and rose up flying in the air.

When Rṛiṣmaṃ and Rāma came there both to the dwelling, Sīta was not in the house. With one throat they cried out lamentably, they beat their faces and heart. They became senseless, confounded. When they had traversed (?) and searched all the continent of Jambudvīpa, they became overwhelmed with grief. They knew not, "Where shall we see her ?" Then when they came to the land of the monkeys, there a great monkey was, aged, with eyes closed. So he lay on the ground, like a mountain peak. They asked, "How then do you live, since you have become aged to the sight, contemptible ?" He said to them, "You who are now youthful, hold back my eyebrows." He thrust at them both, they fell, they felt much shame, valour became folly. The old monkey was strong. They went away in shame. From one another each by himself they went. They roamed (?) the districts near by, the forests, the thickets, and dwellings.

In the autumn season they saw a man in the field (?) who was sowing sesame seed. In the twelfth year those boys came there to meet each other. In sorrow there beside each other they sat concerned with the *cintāmaṇi*.

Afterwards in that region where the aged monkey had been, they saw two monkeys, brothers, fighting. Thus they said, "Do not fight this fight. Tell us the details." They then explained truly, "We are two brothers. Our aged father gave up life. This our dispute has arisen touching the kingdom." One monkey was by name Sugrīva,
35 the other monkey Naṇḍa. Having the same face they resembled each other. The monkey Naṇḍa bowed humbly, saying, "You are heroes together. Help me to slay that one. I will do you good service. If I get the kingdom alone over these monkeys, I will do your commands." The monkeys resembled each other. It could not be known which one it was. So they said to him, "Fasten on a mirror. Be recognizable. I will slay the other." Rāma shot him with an
40 arrow, he died, fell at the blow upon the earth. Naṇḍa the monkey obtained the kingdom. He did honour to Rriṣma and Rāma. They said to him, "Our heart is dark with sorrow for Sītā whom we do not see. You roam the regions and intermediate regions, perhaps you may learn some report of her." Naṇḍa the monkey gave the command, "Sītā of Jambudvīpa is lost. Seek her unceasingly for seven days. If you find her, give word of it; should you not find Sītā, nor get
45 news of her, assemble all hither, I will tear out your eyes altogether, will give them as food to the ravens." All the monkeys went into the regions, they sought but got no word of her, "Where shall we find her, Sītā?" The day came quickly. Now to-morrow they will pull out their eyes. One female monkey Laphūṣa arose, she sought a hollow marking-nut tree. There on the marking-nut tree high up was the nest
50 of a raven. The raven went to fetch food. The hungry young ravens cawed for the mother in hunger. She then said, "Have courage, monkeys' eyes hot will be to-morrow food and drink." They said to her, "Where will you get monkeys' eyes hot?" She said, "Sītā is lost. Daśagrīva has carried off Sītā, has taken her to Lankāpura city. The monkeys are distracted. They will pull out their eyes." When the monkey Phūṣa (? Laphūṣa) heard this thing, at once she went out, contented she went on her way. She considered (?) not,
55 aloud she said, "The monkey Phūṣa knows this thing. But she does not reveal it. But if she reveal it, she will reveal it to the king." Another monkey heard it. At once he sped to her side. He said to her, "Tell it me, what you have heard, lovely one." The female monkey said, "It has dawned upon you. I have news of Sītā." He held her fast in his arms. Her eyes were obscured (?). He said to her, "Tell it me. First I will go to the king, ... ing I will receive . . . . . (*stāna*)."

Together swiftly they went. At a river's bank they stopped. The 60
female monkey did not dare the water. The monkey took her by the
hand, "I will carry you over the water. But do you truly tell me."
The monkey told it before him. He crossed but he did not carry the
female monkey over. When he came to another river, he forgot every-
thing. At once he turned back. He said to her, "I have dispersed (?)
the water, so that we both fall not in the water. Be pleased to sit on
my shoulder." When he had brought her to the middle of the river, 65
there he said to her, "That thing of which you spoke to me, I have
entirely forgotten. You are a very dear mother to me. What is this
mystery you conceal, whatever is this covered mystery?" She told
him all. When they came to another river, he set her down there,
he left her. When he came to Rrīṣma and Rāma, he told the true
report. The brothers shouted together, "We will lead a huge army,
of lions and the like, wolves." They sent out the command to 70
Jambudvīpa, "Gather together all of you hither with the monkeys
of Jambudvīpa. We will swiftly destroy the city, the abode of the
Rākṣasas." They arrayed a terrible army. They set out in a mighty
array. They came to the shore of the great ocean. There they stopped.
They could not cross it. They shouted there, "How shall we cross
the great ocean?"

The monkey Naṇḍa there spoke, "While still young I learnt to
think, I served the Brahmans, altogether five hundred at one time. 75
O guru (read *pīsā na*), ... so that with me he makes. . . . .
With words to and fro, I was confounded in mind and understanding.
When the guru knew, that a fault had ruined the young monkey,
he gave this prophecy (?): In water will be your death. Of the
Brahmans who practise ever damning work, so cruel is the heart.
He kills the cow. He does the gurus dishonour. Then he reveals this
mystery: So must one act, four also he should . . . that they be not
broken till death. When a wife gave me the heart, I became so head- 80
blind, I suffered much anxiety. Wherefore I die a harsh death. I
supplicated the Brahmans (*māṇava*) . . . . . for the guru's sake, that
his mind be purified towards me, that my curse should turn back.
So the Brahmans made supplication to him: Do not leave it, give
him the curse invincible again. Whatever thing is heavy, stone, iron,
tin, copper, in this water shall not sink, nor shall you sink at all."
They said to him, "Now build a bridge with stones in the water." 85
When he had had the bridge built, the whole army crossed. At the
last they broke up the bridge altogether that the army should not flee

back. When they came to the environs near the city of Lankāpura, they saw him, the man appears in the blue clouds of the sky. They sent up a terrible noise, they beat discus and drum, they blew goat's
90 horn and conch. There was the chattering of monkeys, the noise of humans, the terrific howling of the . . . . wolves, the trumpeting of elephants, the neighing of horses. The great earth shook. The mountain peaks every one broke and fell down upon the earth.

When the Rākṣasas learned this matter, "The people of Jambudvīpa have come in fury," they at once reported it to the King Daśagrīva the Rākṣasa, "Rriṣma with Rāma together, they have brought an army. . . . ."

P 2783

2 . . . . . whirled very terrible. Noise, shouting, and smoke rose up. The sound of the shouters reached the earth. His servants slew all the Rākṣasas. They knew not, "Whither shall we go?" Two senior ministers spoke in admonition, Listen, Your Majesty. In Jambudvīpa in former times kings destroyed the land for women's
5 sake. They passed away in the midst of Jambudvīpa.

There was a king, Nahauṣa's son. This King had the five supernatural abilities. He desired a boon from . . . . that he might understand the speech of animals. They granted him the desire, he understood the speech of animals. Nahauṣa the king gave an order, "I will mount among the gods." He ordered that the horses be made ready, well-trained, splendid, strong. The King went into the garden for sport
10 and play. He lay reclining under a tree. He saw a hole of ants. An ant came out in distress. The ant came before him. He asked him, "Where are you going, in distress, tell it to me." He said to him, "Son of woman, I am going to Puṣṭakava, a man Kaṃsa is that, so that there is not for me . . . ." The King then laughed and he also laughed aloud at the noise. Beside the King was the Queen, equal to his two eyes. She said to him, "How do the jesters not yet pass on
15 the jokes and jests? What have you seen to laugh so? Tell it before me." There was a curse on the king, if he should tell he dies at once. He knew not, "What shall I do now?" He was about to tell but doubts (?) killed the Queen.

Thereafter they brought the King broth. Then there was a female bee. She said to her spouse, "I want some of the broth. Fetch me a mouthful of it." The bee said to her, "That broth is very hot. If one

falls into it, he will die at once. Where would your spouse be then ?" She said, "Curses on you, die, if only I get the broth." The bee flying up fell utterly, he died like an old blind man. The King cast out the bee. The female mounted upon him with many bees. She ate the broth from upon him. The King there saw ingratitude.

The King deigned to go out. He looked at the elephants in the elephant stables, who were eating rice. The horses were eating fodder, the mules were eating dry hay, the asses were eating herbage. The female ass said to the ass, "That fodder before the mules, just fetch me some. I cannot eat this herbage." The ass said to her, "Mules, their nature is evil. Wherefore they will do me great mischief. I shall die unspeakably." She said to him, "Curses on you, die, if only I get the fodder." When he went forward before the mules, a mule kicked (?) his back, broke it, he died and fell on the ground. The female ass drew out the fodder in his mouth and ate it and went to some other ass.

The King saw, he rode to the city. Then a man was going along the road. He was conveying herbage on asses. On the road at that time were goats, very many. One female goat said to a he-goat, "For my sake tear off a mouthful of the herbage which is on the ass." The he-goat said to her, "See you not the man coming after the asses, a stick in his hand ? He will beat me with a stick, he will break my head." She said to him, "Curses on you, let him beat you. First tear off some herbage. If you die, curses on you, die, if only I get the herbage." The he-goat said to her, "I am not Nahauṣa's son who now for one woman's sake purposes to lose his life." The King heard, he took it to heart.

So also it has been heard, Śeṣa the king became a serpent because of a woman. On the god Śakra, because of Ahalyā, certain female marks appeared.

Thus the ministers made report on miracles, they recited examples continually. But he heeded not, he was very angry. When they knew, "He would not accept them, he our lawful king," they revolted and fled to the men of Jambudvīpa. When he knew, "They have fled, my noble privy councillors," he mounted up in the palace, he lay prostrate. There he made terrible magic circles. He fasted seven days. He took bowl and staff. "Śakra's chariot rises, drawn by vālāha horses, thereon a chowry waves. If I get him into my hand, I will overcome that terrible army." His chowry ceased to beat at the horses' ears.

The men of Jambudvīpa entered the city of Lankāpura. Some were destroying it by blows, the pillars in the corners of the palace, the others were throwing it down, the others mounted up. He was not angry but stayed there so. Rriṣma and Rāma said, "What is
50 he doing, that he speaks not?" They said, "He fasts, overcome by the army of his foes." For his sake then the monkey Naṇḍa mounted up in the palace. There he talked to his wife. When the Rākṣasa Daśagrīva saw he was talking with his wife, he was angry, exceedingly agitated. His *siddhi* became void. The chariot descended, its chowry was removed. When he knew, "I am wholly defeated," then up he mounted to the clouds. From the midst of the ocean he drew out a poisonous *āśīviṣa*-serpent, which should one touch it on any beings,
55 they would waste away in any way. When the knowers of mantras understood they prepared the butter and smeared it thereon. The serpent fled swiftly. Thereupon Daśagrīva threw the missile weapon. Suddenly the point pierced Rāma's forehead. It struck him to the ground. Together monkeys and men felt exceeding grief. They
60 said to one another, "Rāma purposes to die. Now all of us together have become in the sphere of the Rākṣasas." They supplicated Jīvaka the physician, "How shall Rāma swiftly get health?" He said, "Have courage. So will I quickly heal him. On the Himavant mountain there is the herb Amṛta-sanjīva, on its lower side there is a terrible lake in the land of the Supīya caves. With water from there I will prepare the elixir. By that he will be quickly well." The monkey Naṇḍa, mighty in arms, he went then readily. He came to the Himavant
65 mountain. The name of the herb was forgotten. Then for the herb's sake he tore off the terrible mountain peak. He brought it swiftly. They prepared the elixir at once. They gave it to Rāma then. All the poison which had been on the missile weapon, hereupon it destroys. Health came to Rāma.

Flying in the clouds of the sky Daśagrīva the Rākṣasa stayed. He held Sītā in his arms. At that time Rāma reeled, he was struck down by the arrows, he fell and so he stayed.

They looked to his horoscope, "Where is now his vital point?"
70 They saw that it was on the toe of his right foot. They said to him, "If you are a hero to behold, stretch out to us the toe of your right foot." He stretched out his foot. Rāma shot him with an arrow, he fell at the blow upon the earth. They bound him at once by the throat, they placed two chains upon him. He was then about to flee flying up to the sky swiftly. Naṇḍa the monkey turned round. He struck

him down to earth. They were about to slay him there. He supplicated them on the spot, "Slay me not, accept tribute." They left him there 75 unharmed.

Then Rāma and Rraiṣma together because of the truth of Sītā remained one hundred years dead to her. Rāma said, "I grieve so much if I see any man aggrieved who comes upon me, my heart so trembles altogether, as does the leaf of a plantain tree." Rraiṣma said to him, "Under the earth is gold, silver. Treasure is in my power. If a man gives one jewel, he considers it much better." Sītā spoke to 80 them, "In the assemblies there are jokes and jests. He sees not according to reality, the man sees only that which speaks good words of me. A hundred years dead he lived again." They commended the wisdom of Sītā. As she spoke, so it had been. She descended at once into the earth. He seized the small hairs. He turned back with his army. They came to the shore of the great ocean. There the nāga-monsters were angry, beasts improper, contemptible, if they press 85 upon the ocean. There then they set upon it burning collyrium and mustard. All the nāgas abandoned their abodes, they fled in all directions.

They all came to Jambudvīpa. Rāma soon overcomes pain, death, trouble; the enemy were not victorious. By him lay defeated Ambharīṣa and Mahādeva. Many beginning with those were the valiant virtuous kings.

Who now seems to you, O monks, to be he who was Rāma and Rraiṣma together? That one is now Maitreya, then I Sākyamuni 90 the all-knowing Buddha. Daśagrīva the Rākṣasa hither sank down humbly before the Buddha. He made this speech, "So then, O Tuṣita Buddha, who as Rāma shot me with arrows, now save and deliver me so that hereafter I may know the destruction of births, and his life also may be according to law." He lived a very long time. Now for you diligence is necessary. Show a desire for awakening (= bodhi). The enjoyment of things (artha-bhoga), the best thing, pleasure 95 so-called flourish in this life, there merits only are of use.

Notes

P 2801

2. *dūrā* "eternal": *dūraa-* derivative of *dāra-* "long", OIran **darga* with *ū* < *ā* as below P 2781.18 in *ṣū'rä* = *ṣārä* "that".

P 2025.78 *dūrā narya vavadi* " coming to permanent naraka " (*vavada-* = E *vavanna-* < Skt. *upapanna-*) ; P 2906.29 *vasve parya saṃtsārna biśä ba'ysūśtā bausta dūrā* " pure, escaped from saṃsāra, awakened to all Buddhahood (= bodhi), eternal ". JātS. 30 v 4 *cai dūrā kāle pamyę mu'śde' jsa śuste.*

2. *aṃdarahī* " disappeared ", < Skt. *antarhita-* ; E *andara* < *hyäte* >, *aṃdarahye.*

3. *sahye* " endured ". Older *usahya-* < Skt. *utsah-*. Ch 0048.58 *sahyāña*, P 2031.20 *sahyāṃ:dūṃ*, F II 1.006, 5 *karya sahyä.*

4. *ėṣṭa* " lasted " : *eṣṭ-*, P 2025.232 *ėṣṭe*, P 2026.25 *ėṣṭą̄ma*, below P 2783.60 *ėṣṭyara*, Ch 00266.153 *aiṣṭa*, 170 *ai'ṣṭāma* ; adj. Ch ii 002, 4 v 1 *eṣṭavana* " firm " = Tib. *brtan-pa* ; JātS. 10 r 4 *aiṣṭavañarą aysmū* " firmer in mind ", below P 2783.50 *ā'ṣṭyara* " be firm " 2 plur. [*BSOS.*, VIII, 118, read *aneṣṭavanā*].

4. *paḍāṃda* " passed away ", below P 2783.5. P 2958.113 (Aśoka and Yaśas, Divyāvadāna, pp. 382 f.) *yaśi āmāci pastāga' ṣṭe ttuvī hā paḍāṃda bisai vīra amanā pastā gūḍe.*

4. *bahyą*: " lineage " assuming that *banhya* " tree " has the meaning of Skt. *vaṃśa-* here.

5. *ṣṭīka*, Konow suggested " commentary ", Skt. *ṭīkā*. Elsewhere *ṭīka*, as Or. 8212 (162) *32 *śāstra ṭīka vībāṣi' abīdarma yą̄gaśāsttra* " śāstra, ṭīkā, vibhāṣā, abhidharma, yogaśāstra " ; ibid., *37, *śāsttra prakaraṇa ṭīka.* Otherwise initial *ṭ* has been noted only in Ch 1.0021 b A² 7 *acalä ṭakirāji : hąyągrī* " Acala, Ṭakirāja, Hayagrīva ", whereas *ṣṭ-* is frequent in Khotanese and would easily replace *ṭ-*. Cf. also P 2787.134 *strrīyastrrīśvā*, Ch 1.0021a.19 *strīyastrīśvą̄ jastvą̄*, P 2787.56 *strrīyastrrīśą̄na katha*, P 2022.59 *sttrīyąsttrīśvā āśa'* = Skt. *trayastriṃśat* " the thirty-three gods ", Pali *tāvatiṃsa.* Agnean has *strāyastriñś* (*Toch. Gram.*, p. 59), beside *tāpātriś ñäkci* (*ārkiśoṣi* = *loka*) Kuchean *tapattriś ñäkciye śaiṣṣene* (= *loka*). But Khotanese also *ttāvatrīśa-* (Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 188) and Or. 9609. 4 v 7.

7. *deta* = Skt. *deva.* For the alternation of *t v y* zero, *g*, *k*, cf. *ZDMG.*, 92 (1938), 589 ff. The sound intended whether a glide, *y* or *w*, or glottal stop (which best explains the use of *-t- -v-* to write Chinese words with final vowel *-a*) is frequently attested. In suffixing an enclitic pronoun *-ū*, *-ūṃ*, *-ī* it occurs with increasing frequency. So P 2893.81 *pęṇḍaitūṃ jsa padīmą̄ñä* " a piṇḍa (lump, pill) is to be made from them ", P 3513 31 v 3 *uysą̄nātūṃ jsa*, 41 r 2 *hvąṇḍą̄tū jsa*, 73 r 4 *dāvūṃ jsa*, Hoernle document 2.4 *pę'mīnaiyūṃ jsa*, P 3513 70 v 3 *dātūṃ jsa*, JātS. 2 r 4 *paryavūṃ va ttā vaña byūtti*

"be pleased now to translate them" [*BSOS.*, IX, 532, wrongly explained]. JātS. 37 r 2 *ttenīyuṃ*, Suvarṇabhāsa (Konow) 29 a 3 *hayūnauśtīnaiyū aysmū*, below P 2783.19 *kṣuṃdaive* "your husband", P 2783.35 *māstaivaṃ* "my head", P 2834.28 *ttyetī*, P 2834.51 *ttītī*, Kha. 1, 185a, A 5 *drṇmūjsetī*, JātS. 12 v 2 *brahyetī jseṇā* "on his belly", P 3513 28 r 3 *aysmūtī*, JātS. 27 v 1 *peroḍai-yī* "you destroyed for him", P 2958.20 *rrṇvī erkāña nāve* "the king took him in his arms", Ch ii 002, 102 r 4 *tvāvī arja*, Hedin folio 1 r 5 *vāśīyā*, 1 v 3 *vāśītā*, Ch c. 001, 1037 *vāśī'tī*, Ch c. 001, 942 *biśā hālātī*, 953 *biśā hālāvā*, 950 *biśā hālā*, 1022 *biśā hālai*. Cf. also P 2025.183 *ysāya* "she was born", below P 2781.65 *hvāyā* "you spoke" fem., E 2.91 *kālodātā* = Skt. *kālodāyī*, Vajr. 3 b 4 *jīvā rrispūrā* "Prince Jeta", E 21.9 *jīya-vana* "Jeta-vana". Note also *sarau* "lion", plur. P 3513, 44 r 2 *sarauva*, gen. pl. P 2781.69 *sarautāṃ*, P 2025.83 *sarauyāṃ*, and Kha. 1, 27a, 1 A 3 *hauyyau* "powers" beside *haruta*.

8. *mūra* "jewel". Or 9609 53 r 4 (Suvarṇabhāsa) *dīnāra ysīrrā āljsatā mūryau mārāhyau vārūlyau śaṃgyau īryau sakyau nānāvicitryau ratanyau* = Skt. (ed. Nobel, 114), *hiraṇya-suvarṇa-maṇi-muktā-vaiḍūrya-śaṅkha-śilā-pravāḍa-jātarūpa-rajatair vā*. Hence the *jastāṃ mūra* can here be identified with the *ciṃdāmana* "cintāmaṇi", cf. E *candāvani mūra, mūra candāvanā* with partial hendiadys. P 3513 79 v 4 *caittaumaṇa rana*, JātS. 30 r 3 *cettāmeṇe*.

8. *pajaista*. OIran **pati-ʃad-* "ask for". In present bases *-ad-a* is replaced by *-ya-* of which the *-y-* may be absent. Hence *pajya-*, later *paja-*, E 12.19 *pajyandau vīri ne ysurru yande* "he is not angry with a beggar", JātS. 20 r 3 *pajaṃdai brṇamaṃ* "begging Brahman", P 2834.36 *hana pajaca strrīya* "blind beggar woman". Below P 2801.27 *pajī tsve* "he went begging". Pret. JātS. 20 r 4 *pajiste*, 5 r 4 *khu ttā ā ludrrai cu haska pajaiste* "when thus the hunter came who asked for his tusks". Below P 2781.4 *pajaistāṃdā*, Domoko doc. A 4.2 *pajistāṃdi*. Pres. 3 sg., E 13.42 *pajāttā*.

8. *dīṇva* "milch", Av. *daēnu-*. Ch 00266.145 *dīnū gūha'*.

9. *kṣāṃ'da* pret. to *kṣam-* "please".

12. *byaha* "hunting". P 2025.173 *byaha netsue* "he went out [illegible]g", P 2957.49 *byahāysi*, JātS. 31 v 1 *byehāyse*, 27 r 1 *byehāysāṃ* [illegible]lur., Ch 00266.97 *bahāysa* "hunter" (*-āysa* as in *hīnāysa-* [illegible]al", Avestan *navāza-*, MidParth. *nāvāz* "navigator"). So [illegible]in *BSOS.*, VIII, 925, l. 23, *bihāysi hime u jauysi* "he becomes [illegible]r and a warrior".

13. *hasūrā*. From JātS. 29 v 1 *husure śe beṃhye beṃda* " a *husure* upon a tree " and JātS. 31 v 2 *ttī ahā bai'ste hasure vīysāṃje ṣṭāna* " then he shot you, a *hasura* in the pool ", it is clearly some quarry and probably a bird.

14. *padaṃja* " custom ". So in P 2928.7 *nāra nāve nva gūttaira tta tta khu padaja ṣṭe* " he took a wife according to his gotra, as is the custom ".

15. *hīña* loc. sg. " own ", E *hiviña*, P 3510.10. 10 *hīña aysmya*.

18. *khajautta*, JātS. 34 r 3 *khejautte* " tired ", with *-autta* as in *suhautta, dukhautta, kṣamautta*. Base *khaj-, khij-, khej-* " be tired ", Kha. 1, 13, 148 r 4 *akhijandatetīnā pāga'* " power of not being wearied ".

18. *pavaṃ* " dust ". P 3513 69 v 3 *paṃnakyau jsa* = Skt. *dharaṇī-rajair* " earth-dust ". P 2025.41 *pavanakā*, P 2956.23 *patanakā*, P 2787.26 *pavana nīhāra dūma*.

19. *pasta ciṃdye*. Pres. *pārya-*, pret. *pasta-* " to be pleased to " with inf., honorific, as MidPers. *framūtan*. Many examples are given *BSOS.*, IX, 535. Others are P 2957.58 *parya vaśte*, P 5538 a 24 *paryāmina baśte*, P 3513 13 v 1 *pasti uysdīśā*, P 2957.71 *pasta paśāve*, P 2787.84 *pastai baśti*.

20. In the Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa, the Kakawin Rama, 3.38, the maharṣi provides food by magic.

21. *hāvūīyā* here only and unexplained.

23. *śarā* = Skt. *śrī*. P 3513 43 v 2 *ṣā' myāṃja śirā* represents an etymology of *maṃjuśrrī*. P 3513 69 r 2 *puña śirā ttīśā' u brrūñāma bā'yā* = Skt. 3.63 *śrī-puṇya-jvalanākula-raśmi-jālaiḥ* (with var. lect. *teja-jvalana*). The adj. *śaraa-* occurs Ch 00267.56 *śarā drūnā be'mañā* " fortunate, healthy, prosperous ", P 2787.63 *śarā tsāṣṭā drrūnā* " fortunate, happy, healthy ". Cf. *dūraa-* from *dāra-* above P 2801.2.

24. *najsauṣte* " he showed ". Vajr. 43 b 3 *najsūṣṭā* = P 4099.402 *nūjsūṣṭa*, P 4099.277 *nūjsvaṣte*, Ch ii 004, 3 v 1 *nījsāṣṭa*. Pres. *nijsva-* : P 4099.150 *nījsvāña* ; P 3513 49 r 4 *nijsvāñaṃ*<*dāṃ*> = Skt. 24 *nidarśayitāraḥ*, P 3513 49 r 2 *hauva nījsvāne* = Skt. 22 *prabhāvayamānaḥ*, Ch. ii 002, 140 r 4 *nijsvāñāre* = Tib. *bstan-to* " explained ".

24. *aurāsā* " report ". Frequent *aurāsā haṣḍā* " letter of information ". Pret. below P 2781.93 *auraṣṭāṃdi*, P 2957.154 *auraṣṭai*, E 24.92 *oraṣte* ; Pres. E 13.28 *aurāśśāñi*.

25. *bvestā* " he rode ". Below P 2783.31 *bvā'sti*, E *bu*[illegible] Both *ā* and *e* are secondary for *a*, cf. below P 2783.1 *pvā'styū* " te[illegible] beside JātS. 9 r 3 *pvestyu* ; P 2783.90 *ṇā'stā*, intransitive ; P [illegible] *pyāsta* " he spoke " = Ch 00266.150 *pyesta*.

25. *svạna* "in the morning, to-morrow". P 2958.58 (Aśoka and Yaśas) *svạna ysai ysai hā tti kimalai biśi rruṃdā pyaṃtsā ttūḍāṃdā* "in the morning early they all brought a head before the king" (= Divyāvadāna, p. 382). P 2741.18 *u svạna kalai hā aü'gavāṃ vīrāṣṭā parauta hauḍeṃ* "early in the morning I gave the commands to the ügäs", P 2834.26 *ttī svanạ ysai ysai āśī'rī anirạ̄dhā ttye naḍạ̄ mu'śda' brrīya navāysye cīvara ū laṣṭa pāttarā asthīye* "then early in the morning the ācārya Aniruddha, pleased with the man's favours, put on the clothes and took the staff and bowl". In *svana* we have a derivative of *sv-* attested in *svī* "to-morrow" = OIran. **svah*, Skt. *śvas*, in which *-ī* < *-ai* < *-ah* is preserved long in a monosyllable, a change I had proposed to see also in the *ī* of *bāsīvārāṣṣai*, *JRAS.*, 1939, 116.

28. *prrara* "nature, true state of affairs". Ch. ii 002 7 v 2 *prara* = Skt. *prakṛti* = Tib. *raṅ-bźin*. P 2957.143 *ttī prrari guḍāṃda mera pyatsi raheśā* "then they told the state of affairs, the secret, before her mother". P 3513 54 r 2 *āvaśā' prrare* "nature of the ākāśa". Adjectival *prrarasta* "having the nature of". In compounds *-vrrara*, Ch ii 002 7 v 4 *śilīṣạ̄majsa-vrrarā* = Skt. *śleṣma-prakṛtiko*. The older form is *pratara* Kha. 1, 185a B 2, 5 and Leumann, N 90.27 *pratare jsa ttuśśā*, cf. P 3513 15 v 2 *prrarasta ttụ̄śātṭạ̄* "natural vacuity (*śūnyatā*)". So *-atara-*, like *-agara- -akara-*, > *-ara-*: *ttatara* (see on *ṣīkā* below 30) = *ttara* "partridge", Median τέταρος, *jara* (= Skt. *yakṛt*) = *gyagarra* "liver", *ysaratare* = *ysararā* "goldsmith" in Staël-Holstein roll 40 *ysarrarā kharuṣai* "the goldsmith Kharuṣai" (so with *ru*).

29. *ysye* "he took by force", below P 2801.39 2 sg. pret. E 25.464 *ysātāndā*. P 2741.99 *cvai jsāṃ va ciṃgā rruṃdā hīya ḥạ:nā va mu'śdi' ya tvāvī jsāṃ ttrrūka biśā ysyāṃdā pīḍakā āstaṃna* "what was the Chinese king's favour (= present) for the Khan, the Turks carried it off altogether, the letter and the rest". Pres. *ysān-* Kha. 0013 c(6) B 1 *gamuna ysānī* < *ndā* > "robbers carry off", Suvarṇabhāsa (Konow) 63 b 4 *hauśīndā ysānīndā* = Skt. *haranti*. To Av. *zyā*, OP. *dyā-*.

29. *jveṃ* "I lived". Below P 2783.93 *jve* "he lived", E *jutāndā* "they lived". Participle JātS. 5 v 4 *biśe jva kṣīr-myạ̄ña* "all the living in the land"; gen. sg. Ch ii 002, 140 r 5 *jụttye vīre* = Tib. *ḥćho-ḥo*, JātS. 26 r 3 *brrahmadattā juttai rruṃdā* "while Brahmadatta lived". Pres. P 2781.25 *jvī* "you live" 2 sg. above; P 2801.9 *jvạ̄me* "living".

30. *ṣīkā* "young (of human, animal, or bird)". JātS. 24 v 1 *dva makala ṣīka* "two young monkeys", Ch ii 003 4 r 6 *ṣīkalakāṃ* gen. pl. = Skt. *bālānāṃ* "children", JātS. 29 v 2 *ttere ṣīke* "young partridges", N 169.3 *ttatara ṣṣīkā* "young partridge" (wrongly explained by Leumann and Konow, *Saka Studies*, s.v.). P 2834.53–4 *ttī ṣi' avījyade ṣīrka hāmye mira jsa pyāste* "then the young blind child forgot, he spoke with his mother". If *ṣīrka* is the older form, we have *ṣīr-* with adj. suffix *-ka*, cf. JātS. 11 r 2 *sumārka* "tender", *sūmāra-* < Skt. *sukumāra*.

31. *hauṣṭe* "fetched", pret. to *hauś-* = Skt. *har-* "take away".

32. *bīda* "got, found, felt". Intervocalic *-d-* indicates an older *-nd-*, hence **bīnda-*. Is this from **abi-gun-*, Av. *gūnaoiti*, etc.? P 3510.10. 10 *prarä hīña aysmya bīde* "he experienced the nature in his own mind", below P 2783.58 *bīdāṃdä*, P 2781.26 *kṣā'rma bīdāṃdä* "they felt shame". Vajr. 27 a 2 (unrecognized) *ṣā' saṃña skaddhvā-na bīdi*. No present base has been noted.

32. *ṣa'sta* "prepared". Below P 2783.55 *gvīhä: rrūṃ ṣa'stāṃdä tte* "they prepared butter". Pres. base not noted.

34. *bajsq̄na* "with a club (?)", as instr. sg. to *bujsvāra*, E *bajsvārra* "pestle".

35. *vadiṃdä* "made", **ava-dam-* beside *pa-dam-* "make". Ch ii 002, 144 v 5 *rruśi jsa vadida* = Tib. *nas-las byas-pa* "made from barley", JātS. 10 r 2 *ne'na raysāyana vadida* "made of the elixir nectar", P 2936.6 *ā vā vą kauthaira hīśaṃ jsä vadaidi ṣte* "or it is an axe made of iron", Ch 00266.54 *raysāya jsa vadeda* "made of the elixir".

36. *dyū* "beats", Pres. *dvya-*, P 5538 b 70 *dvya* 2 sg. imperat., Ch c. 001, 978 *uysdyūmä* "I expel" (*BSOS.*, IX, 534). The form *dyū* as P 4099.123 *jsīna jū* "he lives a life" with *jū*, E *jūtä* "he lives". Below P 2783.35, 36.

39. *pūḍä* "brought up", if it is for *pāḍe* P 2801.68. But P 4099.166 *ysīra ysāya jsa pūḍa āyauṣṭa*, Ch 00268.166 *himq̄me jiṃgyi jsa puḍi*, P 2897.30 *ysathvaujsai pūḍa*, P 2782.32 *tti vira ūtsāhi: puḍāṃdä vasve uvārä*, S 2469.7 *puña kuśilä mūlä puḍāṃdi hvāṣṭi*, P 3510.10. 10 *hamq̄me jiṃgya jsa pūḍä ttäthattä-vrrarä*, indicate a meaning "produced".

41. *dq̄na* "bow". Ch ii 002, 128 v 4 *kuysye duñe mq̄ñaṃdq̄* "like a crooked bow" = Skt. *dhanu-skandha*, Tib. *ḥkhrums bźin-du*. Ch 00266.170 (Sudhana-avadāna) *kāḍana barī dūna pūna bīna mārsala hai'śta* "a sword must be carried, bow, arrows, lute, hammer, spear",

= P 2957.113 *paraśai' bairai dūni mārsala dīśtā* " axe must be carried, bow and hammer in the hand ", E 25.279 *durna*, NPers. *durūna* " bow ".

41. *ṇā'yūṃ*, pres. caus. **ni-šād-*. Below P 2781.85 *ṇā'ya* " build ".

43. *śūrī* " valour ", *-ī* abstract suffix, as *krrañī* " gratitude ", *arañī* " ingratitude ", *jaḍī* " folly ", *viśpastī* " confidence ", *iśvarī* " lordship ".

44. *āhau:rrji* fem. to *āhaurrda*, from the context " unfailing, sure " or the like. P 2896.41 *pajsyau jastā beysau jsa āhaurrda*, P 2958.140 *āhaurrji āṃ ttā haṣḍi' yine*, P 2958.20 *rrẹvī ėrkāña nāve rrį̄ña āhą̄rrji hve'*, Ch i 0021 a. 17 *āhaurrja hvāṃdi ayīkṣyaude*, JātS. 26 r 4 *āhurrja āśrīvādā vyasthānaiya brraṣṭai*.

44. *gachaṃdā*, the first letter is not clear, *ba* is perhaps more likely. In P 2025.44 we find *bach-* : *bachadą̄ bahya* " waving trees ", so P 2956.26. From *gach-* we find Ch ii 002, 125 v 2 *gachānāṃ jsa* " in misery " = Tib. *gduṅs*, P 2958.11 **kūnālai rrįspūrā hīvī gachą̄nai byāta himye* " the suffering of Prince Kunāla was remembered ".

45. *śą̄ṇḍā*, E *śśuṇḍa* = Skt. *śuṇḍā* " elephant's trunk ".

45. *murrde* " crushed " < **mr-n-*. Below P 2781.28 *murrdāṃdā*, Pres. *mur-*, *murr-* = Tib. *brǰis-pa* " press ", Ch ii 003, 37 v 5 *śalīṣą̄majsa gą̄mi mūrāka*. Cf. Ch i 0021a, a 13 *harbiśāṃ rrāṃdāṃ hye vamurāki rre* " king, vanquisher of all kings ".

45. *krrīye*, only here : *-rīya-* ptc. to *-arg-* in *haṃgrīya-*, *haṃgrīta*. Hence a base *karg-*, perhaps to *kar-*, *kart-* " cut off ".

47. *pacena*, *pacā* " covering (?) ". P 3513 67 r 2 *pacanūṃ* = Skt. *chādayāmi* " I cover ". Below P 2781.66 *pacį̄ña* 2 sg. pres., ptc. *pacasta-*. P 2910.31 *khva ja carau pvīsta pacai*, see below on P 2801.68. For *-ad-a-* **pacad-a-* > *pac-*, see above on *pajaista* P 2801.8.

47. *pyūva* " removed ". Below P 2783.53 *dīsai pyū* " its chowry was removed ". E 6.102 *biśśa śśandā rraṣṭa hamaṃgga hārūṣkā harbiśśā pyūtā* " the whole earth straight, level, all hindrance (?) removed ". It may therefore be **pati-vag-*, Balōčī *gwaǰag* " remove ", OPers. *vaj-* " pull out " : *pyūta* < **pati-vaχta-* ?

47. *pāḍā* " she removed ", **apa-ār-*.

48. *pūnā* " arrow " does not suit, and the word does not occur elsewhere. The meaning " opening " is a conjecture. Is it connected with *pyūta-* " removed " ?

50. *jse* = *jsatā* " he slew ", E *jsate*. Below P 2783.75 *ajsa* " unharmed ".

54. *haṃdā* " among ", *haṃdā garāṃ* " in the mountains " older

haṃdaṃna = Tib. *naṅ-du* "in", E *handarna*. Ch 00266.9 *hada spyauysā bahyā* "in the blossoming trees", ibid., 36, *hada hauṣkyā bahyā* "in the dry trees".

55. *mūṃja* "abode". The same suffix occurs in *daṃgyā-* (Acc. sg. *daṃgyo*) = Skt. *damana*, *padaṃja* "custom", cf. E 24.37 *dāṃgye* "gift" gen. sg.

56. *haṃgvāṃdā* "they met": *haṃgu-* belongs to three verbs (1) *haṃgve* "he feared" pres. *haṃgūjs-*, (2) *haṃgve* "he met", present base *haṃgūjī* = *samāgamu . . . bhaveyyā*, P 2781.68 *haṃgva'*, (3) P 2790.97 *haṃgvāre* "they heed" to *haṃgū'*, *haṃgūṣta*.

57. *salāta* plur. to *salā* "speech, word".

57. *ysaiṣa'ga* perhaps < **zaišan-kara-* "making hateful". For *ṣ* kept, cf. E *pāṣa'ñi* "powers" beside *pāta'ñi*. The base *zaiš-* is found in P 5538 b 70 *ysaiṣta* = Skt. *dveṣī* "hateful" = E *ysäṣta-* (confused by Leumann with *ysūṣ-*).

58. *haṃgrrautta*: E 6.47 *ttīyā haṃgrautta harbiśśā śśāya u pata balysu vistāta* "then all the Śākyas assembled and stood before the Buddha". P 2786.234 *mvaiśda' hagrrauttai u ge'sāttā*. Pres. *haṃgrīh-*. P 2786.238 *rrvī parau hagrrīhāmāvai*. See below on P 2781.26.

58. *vaḍāṣṭai* "right through" + *ī*. Ch ii 002, 7 r 1 *u vaḍāṣṭā hodātā salā vī bure myāṇai gūrṣte* "and right through to seventy years is called middle age" = Skt. *madhyamaḥ saptatiṃ yāvat*. P 2798.180 *viḍāṣṭi viḍāṣṭi pihaisīri* "they fled right away in various directions", P 2741.98 *viri āna viḍāṣṭā hāysi tsve* "thence right away he went far". Hence **vara-tara-* "further", cf. *buḍaru*, *buḍara*, *buḍa* "more" from *buru*.

59. *ttūryāṃ* gen. pl. "their". Below P 2781.18, 62, 68 *ṣū'rā* "that" = *ṣāra* (Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 49), with *ū* < *ā*. P 2801.64 *ttūrye* gen. sg. "her".

61. *ṇā'styā* "appointed, destined", fem. to a ptc. in *-itaa-* added to ptc. *ṇā'sta-* "put". For the form, cf. also Ch. cvi 001, 14 *ñūṣtye* "he bound up".

64. *savayai* loc. sg. + *ī*, 65 *savaya* loc. sg., 67 *sava* acc. sg. "box". Konow mentioned a suggestion of Morgenstierne to connect with NPers. *sabad* "basket, box", Armen. *sapat*, *sapatak* (Hübschmann, *Armen. Gram.*, p. 236), Syriac *spṭ-'*. Khotanese *sava* may represent **sapati-*, **sapatā-*. The word has been noted only here.

64. *pyan-* "cover, enclose", pret. *pyanda-*. Ch ii 002, 153 r 5 *pyāñāñā* = Skt. *pūraṇāt*, Tib. *gaṅ-bar blugs-la*. Perhaps **pati-kan-*, cf. NPers. *āgandan* "to fill, stuff".

64. *parauśa'rä* "make sink, drown" 2 pl. imperat. Caus. to *parauys-*, P 3513, 57 v 1 *vịma parauysaṃdā satva* "beings sinking in the sea", JātS. 15 v 2 *ttāja parauysạndai vaska dukhä*, Kha. 0013 c (6) B 2 *paroysde.*

66. *gvahạña* loc. sg. "in a hut". P 3510.37 *padmāysina kūlāri pātcä ~ śira gvahe añi añi thạ̄na* "lotus seat, pavilion (Skt. *kūṭāgāra*) then, good dwellings, various places", JātS. 32 r 1 *ysāysṭ̣ña gvahaña stāṃ* "being in a dwelling of grass", corresponding to the Pali *paṇṇasālā-* "leaf hut, boughshed". Hence *gvaha* is < **vi-vaha-, vah-* "to dwell".

67. *vaśtaraṇyāṃ* (*-yāṃ* = *-yau* used for *-āṃ* gen. pl.) : *śt śc* replace Skt. *st.* JātS. 22 v 4 *vaścarṇä* = Skt. *vistaraṇa* "detailed account". P 2787.156 (Skt. text) *vaiścaraṃ* = *vistaram* "in detail".

67. *uysgaustai* "he opened it". P 2906.27 *aysgaustä*, E 6.32 *uysgusta*, pres. *uysgunīndä*. Hence *uz-gun-*. The opposite is *haṃgun-* "cover up". Ch ii 002, 148 r 2 *haṃgūnạ̄ñä* = Tib. *g-yog-par byaḥo* "cover". Pret. P 2809.27 *haṃgaustä*. P 2906.27–8 *khu ji carau pvī'stä pace haṃgaustä na va harṭ̣ñe | aysgaustä ṣṭāṃ saṃ ttaña beḍa hamye kṣạṇä rrūṃdā ṭ̣ṃdä* "as when one puts a cover on a lamp, covered up it shines not, but being uncovered at that time the same instant it gives light". Ch ii 002, 150 v 2 *haṃgūstä*.

68. *jīśaka* "girl". Ch 00266, 114 *jīśaka* = P 2025.177 *jīśka* = P 2957.64 (same text) *strrīyä* "woman, female". P 2834.41 *braṣṭā sa dahakä ysạ̄ ā jīśkä* "she asked, Has a boy been born or a girl ?"

68. *pāḍe* "he reared her", cf. Mahābhārata (Poona critical edition), I 8.9 *jagrāhātha muniśreṣṭhaḥ kṛpāviṣṭaḥ pupoṣa ca* "then the best of sages took her and filled with compassion reared her up".

P 2781

2. *kṣuṃdạ̄-bāḍva*, fem. nom. sg. In compounds *-aa-* is represented by *-ā-* Ch ii 004, 3 v 2 *ṣāvā-yāna*, E 2.75 *myānā-indryiya*. For *-va*, cf. above P 2801.8 *dṭ̣nva gūha:*. Cf. Skt. *vara-yogyā* and Herodotus παρθένος γάμου ὡραίη, ἀνδρὸς ὡραίη, Vergil *iam matura viro*, Horace *tempestiva viro*.

3. *da* "appearance", *da śirka* "good to look at", below P 2783.70 *da śūrä* "a hero in appearance". *da* for *dya, dye*, older *däta-*, instr. sg. *dyena*. P 3513. 6 v 2 *dyena śirkā*.

4. *śe'* "she lay, stayed", pret. to E *śśete* "he lies". Below 2783.43 *bīra śä'* "he lay prostrate", ibid., 87, *ttye jsai śä ñauṣṭạ* "through him he lay defeated".

5. *samāṃ* "common" = *samāna-*. Or is it *samāṃ* = *samau* "agreement", cf. E 24.133 *samai yiḍāṃda* ?

5. *prrahajanauśtä* "character of a lay man (*pṛthagjana*)", abstract in *-auśtä* to adj. *-austa-*. Cf. also P 2787.117 *prrahajana āśa'rya*, P 2790.138 *prrahījaṃ hvę*, P 4099.146 *prrahūjana*, E 13.32 *prahujana*, P 2956.52 *prrihajinyau hvạṇḍyau*.

5. *karvīnaa-* "belonging to the surrounding parts of", *karavīnaa-*, to *kara-* "outside", adjectival P 5538 a 20 *kara kīthi* "in the environs of the city" (construed like English *mid*). Another adj. derivative is *karaja-*, P 5538 a 8 *karaji baysgä hvạṇḍä* "numerous men outside".

6. *karā*, gen. sg. *kare* < **karaā-* "circle" from *kara-*.

6. *haṃdrrauysī* "flying". P 3513 80 v 1 *hadrrauysya tsūma āśa'* "going flying in the sky" represents the *īryāpatha* of Mahāvyutpatti 212 *vihāyasābhyudgamya*. P 2957.61 (Sudhana-avadāna) *āśa' haṃdrrāysī tsvạ̄* "she went flying in the air", Ch ii 004, 1 v 2 *u haṃdrrauysya tsūma*, Kha. 1, 103, 1 r 4 *haṃdrauysī orña* "flying in the sky". Cf. P 2957.155 *ttye āśä'-vaṃdānä hạstänaupūrä tsve* "he went to Hastināpura by the path of the sky".

7. *bụ̄ñakya* "talk". *-kya*, cf. Ch ii 002, 148 r 2 *dyakya* "sight", P 2956.4 *spyakya-* "flower", 10 *gaysạkye* "reed", 3 *baijakye* "sparrow", 34 *ṣaudakye* "ravens" *pạysaṇvakyä* "side", 19 *brrīyakyạ* "dear", 26 *brrīyūnakye* "dear", 36 *rūsanakye* "bright", below P 2783.91 *jsạ̄ṇakya*. *bū-* "ask, speak respectfully", *Sanghāṭa-sūtra* 4.3 *sarvaśūrä būtä* = Tib. *kun-tu dpaḥ gsol-ba* "Sarvaśūra asked (= said politely)", see Konow, *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogv.* 11 (1938), 70. JātS. 27 r 2 *būvāṃde guśta* "they asked for flesh". Below P 2783.51 *yuḍa nera jsa bụ̄ñe* "he made speech with his wife", ibid., 52, *nera jsạ bụ̄ñe yaṃde* "he makes speech with his wife". Perhaps also below P 2781.75 *bạ̄ñāṃ jsa*.

7. *aravī* "enmity to her", cf. E 20.14 *tterä aratu yande kho date*.

7. *pherde* "speaks". Only here; perhaps *pher-* denominative from *phār-*, as *berāte* "he makes rain", from *bāra-* "rain", connected with *phara* "speech".

8, 9. *hugvạ̄na* "at all", after a negative, similarly *na . . . gvāna* passim. Ch. 0048.28 *gvāna ni byihi* "gets not at all", P 3513, 67 r 2 *ni pacanūṃ baśde' gvạ̄na* = Skt. *na cchādayāmi tat pāpam*; ibid., 48 r 4 *baudhacittä na hanāśṭ̄mä hairsti gvạ̄na* = Skt. *bodhiyi citti ma jātu vimuhyeta*, Vajr. 41 b 3 *ni jä na äyāri hugvāna*. Below P 2781.85 *na jsāṃ tha vaḥṇā gvạ̄na* "you will not sink at all".

8. *khu śau. . . .* Obscure passage. *haṃtse kiṇa* " for the sake of intercourse " (abstract from *haṃtsa* ?) ; *paraśi'* " service " = *parśa'* ; *bisavāṇū* gen. pl. to *bisvāra-* " kinsman " (cf. for *-nū* P 3513, 74 r 4 *hvaṃdāṇū rre* " king of men ", ibid., 75 r 1 *ba'ysāṇū*), with *n* < *rn* as above P 2801.34 *bajsāṇa, pūna* " arrow ", older E. *pūrna-* ; Kha. 1.115, 2 A 4 *tcīnu* " four " gen. pl. ; or is it **bisvārā nu* " a kinsman of theirs " ?

11. *ssa-tci'mā'ña* " hundred-eyed " fem. adj.

11. *ahā* " female deer (?) ". This animal is needed in the context. Elsewhere *āskā* renders Skt. *mṛga* and (adj.) *aiṇa.*

13. *pathī, pathīyā* Or 9609.5 v 7 (Suvarṇabhāsa) = Skt. *prativirata-* " drawn back ".

15. *parajausta.* For *par-, para-, pari-,* cf. Ch ii 002, 138 v 1 *parvaśte* " ripens " = Tib. *smin, parajūṣṭauda* = Skt. *veṣṭita* " surrounded ", *parigeśi'* opt. 1 sg. = Skt. *pravartayeyaṃ.* Hence **parjud-* " to fight ".

16. *gaijä murā,* etc., quoted with wrong translation *ZDMG.*, 92 (1938), 584.

16. *mṇṇda* " lump, mass ", P 5538 a 70 *drrai māṇdā ṭrā hamye kṣa'ṣṭā kīṇi hālai* " three lumps of jade amounting to 60½ kin " [*kīṇa* = Chinese 斤 *kin* " catty "], Ch ii 002, 8 v 3 *māṇda.*

16. *ttrralau* : scribes at times confused *lau, lo* with *lai,* so that in rarely attested words decision is difficult. Ch ii 002, 13 v 2 has *tralo* = Skt. *trapus* " tin " [*BSOS.*, IX, 543, is to be corrected] ; adj. *ttrralīnaa-.* In the Tibetan (F. W. Thomas, *A Rāmāyaṇa Story,* p. 203), we find : " He then threw a red iron ball, which Padā's father took for food ; having eaten it, his heart was burned and he died."

17. *rausta* " red ", E. *rrusta-,* 23.309 *rrusta-vrahauṇa* " red-garbed ", 23.329 *rrusto cilo* " red clothes ".

17. *rauṭe jsa* " eagerly ". Since *ṭ* represents palatalized *t,* a form **rautayā* should give *rauṭe* and **rauta* can be explained from *rauk-* to " desire ", as in *parrūṣka* " passion ", *parruṣṭe* 3 sg. " desires ", Sogdian (in NPers.) *āruγda* " greedy " (Henning, *BSOS.*, X, 103). Then **rauta* < **rauχti-.* A different word occurs P 2893.149 *bā ttṭma sauhīya rrauṭā* ~ *kuṣṭā* a list of plant names (*kuṣṭā* is " costus ").

17. *ttrramaste* for **ttumaste* " he swallowed ", E. *ttumalste.* It is possible that subscript *-rra-* should be written for *-u-,* but more probably the scribe has blundered here and in JātS. 4 r 2 *pasve ayūlā ttrame'ste* " he swallowed the hot iron ball ".

18. *saṃvara* " disguise ". In E. *saṃvara* " restraint ", a technical

Buddhist term. Konow suggested "restraint", indicating a monk's conduct. Cf. Rāmāyaṇa 3.46.2 *parivrājaka-rūpa-dhṛk.*

19. *nūḍā* "she offered", pres. below P 2781.79 *nvīḍā* "offers", **anu-bar-* or **ni-bar-*. JātS. 30 r 3 *cettāmeṇe nuḍai rene jaṃbvī vīre* "he offered the cintāmaṇi jewel in Jambudvīpa".

20. *daṃña* "in the house", loc. sg. to E. *damāna-*. Not noted elsewhere.

20. *ṡ* "one" < **aiva-*. Perhaps also below P 2783.31 *u haṃdarye ṡ khari tsvā* "she went to one other ass".

21. *nvāś-* (in the text *nvās-* is a misprint) "cry aloud", beside *nūś-*, *nū͡eś-*. E *nvāśśīndā*, P 2957.55 *nvāśīru* = Ch 00266.106 *nūśāda* = P 2025.166 *nvaśauda*. JātS. 37 r 4 *nvāśāṃde*. Below P 2783.2 *nvāsä* "noise".

21. *natca-ṷṇa*, E *nätca-ūṇa*, N 105.37 *nätcavūṇa* "senseless".

21. *śatcaṃpha*. Ch ii 003, 105 v 3 *aysmyija śatcapha jiṃdā* "it overcomes mental troubles" = Skt. *manasā saṃsrṛṣṭaṃ*. P 2956.31 *śe' ge' tsīda bahyau brrīye jsa śatcapha*. Also P 2786.196 *śaphīḍa* "troubled" and below P 2781.34 *śa'vakṣā* "dispute": *śa-* = "associated with".

22. *darä*. *darra-* adj. "broken" = Tib. *chag-paḥi*, sb. "part". With *jaṃbvī*, *darä* may precede or follow and renders Skt. *dvīpa* "continent, division". As pleonasm or hendiadys P 2787.161 *dara jabvī' dvīpa*.

22. *raistāṃdā* "they roamed (?)". P 3513, 63 v 2 (Suvarṇabhāsa) *kleśāṃ' jsa rristāna aysmūna* = Skt. *kleśa-vyākula-cetasā*. P 3513, 29 r 2 *cu biśvā dāvañvā samāhānvā rristya ' dyāma ~ varai hajvattivīja pārāma haṃ[r]bīḍą*. Is *raista-* connected with Av. *raēt-* "go" (with *-t-* rather than *θ* according to Duchesne, *BSOS.*, X, *infra*)?

22. *pa'jsārga*, E 24.25 *jūhānā storu uysnora balysu vāte kāṣcāna ysīru | paljsārgga harbiśśā hva'ndā.*

24. *haphva-jseṃ* "with closed (?) eyes": *haṃphva-* "held together, put together". Above P 2781.16. Below P 2781.58 *érkañai haṃphve styūdā* "he held her firmly in his arms", JātS. 13 r 1 *erakaña haṃphvai* "you held in the arms", P 3513, 71 v 2 *-s-* pres. *cu jsīñą tti haṃphūsīde ~ jīyina* = Skt. *vadhyāś ca saṃyujyiṣu jīvitena*. For *phūj-*: *phuta-*, cf. P 2790.33 *paphūjīrau*, P 2031.5 *hīryāsakä jsa paphūjīrau* "join with Hīryāsaka", JātS. 27 v 4 *paphvai rruṃde kūthe cevyai* "you held (?) the king, conveyed him back to the city".

24. *jseṃ* "eye", JātS. 17 v 1 *sūjsaṃdā-jsaima* "burning-eyed (tigress)", P 3513, 68 v 2 *virūlya-jsiṃa* "beryl-eyed" = Skt. *vaiḍūrya*

... *locana-*. Intervocalic *tc* > *js*, see *ZDMG.*, 92 (1938), 589. P 2892.174 *śīyā tceṃ* "white part of eye", P 3513, 20 v 3 *ttena cu āṃ mą satva tceṃ mañāre*, Ch ii 004, 3 r 3 *jñānīnai tcai* "eye of knowledge".

25. *ysaṃgarä*. Ch ii 002, 7 r 3 = Skt. *pravayaso* = Tib. *rgan-po* "old". Or 11252 (36) A 5 *āchānai ysaṃgarä* "ill and aged". Below P 2783.21 *ysagarä*, JātS. 6 r 2 *tta khu bāśa' ysaṃgarä phuḍä* [1] *bahyä pasūste* "just as in the forest an old hollow tree burns".

25. *uma* "you" 2 pl., N 76.11 *umä*, E *umä* gen. pl., *umyau* instr. plur. *ama* "you" *passim*, P 2781.36, 41; P 2025.74; *ami* Ch 00269.25, 26, P 2790.100; *amai* P 3513, 75 r 3; *imi* P 2790.14, 100; adjectival P 2741.112 *amājä*, P 2790.58 *imājai*; Ch 00269.65 *amąnī*.

26. *caistaka* "youthful". P 3513, 63 r 4 (Suvarṇabhāsa) *cistīye jsa* = Skt. *tāruṇya*. Ch ii 003, 34 r 1 *ysāḍa paskyāṣṭi cịsta padīmi* "it makes the aged youthful again"; P 2957.113 *caistị hā pa-ssc ttī kaidari* [1] *āve* "then five hundred youthful kinnarīs came thither". E 4.62 *biśśä drūṇā cista käḍe*.

26. *haṃgrrīhya:rä* "hold up, back", cf. P 2801.58 *haṃgrrautta*. Ch ii 002, 102 r 3 *āchainai hīya pā uskyāṣṭā haṃgrīhāñä* "the sick man's leg must be held up" = Tib. *nad-pa rkaṅ-pa dgug*, P 2786.215 *parauvä hagrrīhāña* "the commands must be obeyed (?)", P 2786.238 *rrvī parau hagrrīhāmāvai*, P 2739.42 *tta bautta tta naule* [2] *mąñada* | *gūjsabaija saunau raysme* | *na ma hagrrīhāka śaira*.

26. *brraukala*. Kha. vi 4, 1 b 5 < *ci hvaraṃ*>*d*<*ai*> *braukalä spalāte* "if one's right eyebrow twitch".

26. *vaṣkaista* here only. Below P 2783.29 *haṣkaistai*; E *päṣkälsta* "cut".

26. *kṣā'rma* "shame". P 5538 b 51 *kṣāramai* = Skt. *lajjā*, ibid. 52, *akṣą̄rma* = Skt. *nirlajja*. P 2022.61 *kṣārmai na hamyai* "he had no shame".

29. *caṃbva*. JātS. 15 r 3 *varadā rraga baṃhya caṃbva ysāysa* "(mountain stream) tearing away trees, bushes, and herbs of the

[1] Cf. E 21.12 *kho huṣka banhyā handarna sūśtā phuva* "as a dry hollow tree burns within". How are *phuva* and *phuḍa* connected?

[1] *kaidari*, P 2957.65a *kidara*, ibid. 96 *kaidara*, Ch 00266.119 *kidarrvä* loc. pl., Ch c 001, 1052 *kinarą̄na* gen. pl., P 2782.57 *kiṃnara*, P 2026.119 *kedhara* (in a Skt. *dhāraṇī*), P 2957.149 *kaidharā re* "Kinnara king". Skt. *-n-* and *-nn-* were replaced by *nd*, *ṇd*, *d*, as also Ch 00266.141 *dada* name of a king = Divyāvadāna *Dhąna* = P 2957.28 *dhana rrūṃda*. E *sandāvāta* "sannipāta" = Ch ii 002, 17 r 3 *saṃdvęnä āchai*. E *vavanna-*, P 2022.38 *vavaṃda* = Skt. *upapanna*.

[2] *naule* "drama", E 5.98 *nālaa-*, Skt. *nāṭaka-* in Tib. *no-le*, see *BSOS.*, VIII, 935.

bank ". P 2957.53 *caṃbvañā vahaiṣṭā* " he went down into the thicket " = Divyāvadāna, p. 443, l. 10 *puṣpa-phala-viṭapa-gahanam āsṛtya.*

29. *grrąña* " in the field (?) ". Perhaps, cf. P 2893.223 *grreña bājinañā* ,, in a vessel of clay (?) ".

29. *ve* " scatters " (read *ṣṭāṃ ve*), < **vapati : *vvä* > *ve* ? But elsewhere sowing is expressed by *ker-* : E 23.125 *kerīndi*, Or 11344 (8) 8 *ganama-kerāṃ* " wheat-sowers ".

32. *jau* " fight ". Above P 2781.22 *jauya* ; *jvīrau* 2 pl. optative " fight ". Suvarṇabhāsa 32 a 2 *gyau* = *sangrāma-*.

35. *jsąṇe'* " humble ". Ch ii 003, 14 r 3 *jsauṇikyi*, FM 25, 1.4 *patā balysu jsonauta vāstāta*, Kha. i 302a, 2 r 4 *daśagrīvā jsonätā*, P 2787.174 *jsąṇakya*, Ch ii 002, 01 r 3 *jsąṇakyi*. Below P 2783.91 *jsąṇakya*. P 2958.96 *pyaṃtsai jsąṇakyi ṇā'stā*.

36. *gīhya:rā* " help ", Pres. *gīh-*, pret. *gīsta-*. P 3513, 68 r 4 *asṭdāṃ hayunāṃ gīhna* = Skt. 3.58 *pāpa-mitrāgama* (Tib. = *saṅgama*), P 2025.84 *krrañī eṣṭauma gīha'na* " by help of the enduring of gratitude ", P 2026.28 *bhāvañā gīhna* " by help of bhāvanā ", P 2022.39 *gīhīdai* 3 pl., Ch i 0021b, B 15 *ṣą' devatta gīttą* 3 sg., Ch ii 004, 1 v 1 *saidā gīhāka daivatta*, S 5212.4–5 *ttyai gīsta jsa maista baiysūšti bvīryau* " by help thereof may they attain the great bodhi ".

38. *ñāpye* " it is known ". P 2910.13 *khvai na hakhīysą nā ñāpai* " so that its number is not known ". P 2025.247 *nyāpāka*, Or 9609, 55 v 3 *nyāpīyā* = Skt. *upasaṃkramiṣyati* " will approach ".

38. *āyeṃ* " mirror ", E *āyāna-*, loc. sg. *āyāña, ātīña*. In the Tibetan also, loc. cit., p. 201, the monkey fastens on a mirror to his tail. In the Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa 6, 170, the monkey puts leaves around his neck (*kuněṃ topāyāntāsawita kita roṇḍon těñěrana*).

39. *paysąña* adj. " recognizable ", **paysān-ya-*. Ch 00268.183 *avaysąñe* = Ch 00277, verse 31 *avaysāṃdye* " unrecognized ".

40. *aska jsā* " mounts " : *aska* = *uska* and *jsā* = *jsāte*, suggested by Konow. I had thought of comparing *uskhajs-*, *askhajs-*, *iskhajs-* " rise up ", but, although sibilant with *k* or *kh* is possible, the *-ā* gets no explanation. Or is it *uskhajsā* + *ā* (= *ūṃ* " them ") ?

41. *khīrai*. P 3513, 66 v 2 *biśä bāḍą khīrai ysą'ña* = Skt. *satataṃ dīna-mānasāḥ* " ever distressed ". Cf. MidPers. *χērak* (Zaehner, *BSOS.*, IX, 312, though the Khotanese form excludes his etymology), NPers. *χīra* " turbid ".

42. *paṃmarai* " knowledge, news, report of her ". P 2959.53 *ttyāṃ pamari būstā*, P 2956.39 *brrī paṃmara bauste*, Staël-Holstein, roll 54 *same paṃmarā bvąne* " but I know the report ". Verbal

Kha. vi 4, 1.2 *ci biśā' spatti bi'nai maraṃ paṃmarāñi* " if one's tongue throb, his death by poison is to be understood ". Ch 00269.100 *hirvī ra vā hirā ni paṃmuḍā yuḍāṃdūṃ* " we could report nothing at all ", P 2790.44 *tti tta paṃmuḍāṃdū si* . . . " so we reported that . . ." E 24.133 *ṣṣamana ākṣvīndi patāmarāre sañi ju tcerā ttattīka.*

45. *tcį'mą'ñūṃ thaṃjūṃ*, cf. E 21.37 *tcei'mañā nu thīye puṣṣo.*

45. *ṣāṃdāṃ* " ravens ", E *ṣṣunda.* Below P 2781.49 *ṣāṃdala* " young ravens ", P 2956.34 *ṣaudakye rāysāra hada hauṣkāṃ bahyau* " the ravens caw in the dry trees ". To Ossetic *sunt*, Waχī *ṣ̌ōnd* " raven ", see Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iran. Frontier Languages*, ii, 543.

46. *haṃgāṃ.* To be read *haṃ gāṃ* " quickly ". Or is it nominal **haṃgāma-*, cf. Domoko A 4.2 *mūra haṃgāṃ vara vaña mahą bāji mų̄ri pajistāṃdi* ?

48. *sų̄nāha* : renders Skt. *aruṣka* Ch ii 002, 10 r 2 Tib. *go-byed*, the marking-nut, semecarpus anacardium = Skt. *bhallātaka.*

48. *ṣavarakā*, only here. [A plant *ṣavarā* is named in medical texts, P 2893.85, Ch ii 002, 100 r 1.]

54. *maśpya* loc. sg. " on the road ". Below P 2783.31 *maśpya*, JātS. 25 r 4 *byaudāṃdā maśpa hvāha'* " they reached a broad road ", Ch 0048, 57 *aṣṭāga maśpa* " the eightfold path ", Ch 00266, 68 *maśapa.*

54. *kaistā*, 3 sg. pret. fem. " considered, hesitated (?) " to a base *kart* " cut, decide ", or *kait-* " think ".

58. *erkañai. éraka-, érka-* from *éra* with suffix *-ka, -ña* loc. sg. + *ī*. Below P 2783.68 *éra* " in the arm ", E 25.511 bis *erra* " in the arm ". JātS. 26 v 4 *khu pye purakā ke'ttā erakaña kāṣṭejī yne hmaṃge* " as a father cares for his son in his arms, he shows equal anxiety ", P 2958.20 *rrę̄vī érkāña nāve* " the king took him in his arms ", Staël-Holstein, roll 71, *ṣai khū ṣṭāṃ hūsīme hūñādai érākaña ṣṭą̄mā.*

58. *pų̄mye*, here only. Is it a later form from *pātām-* " to cover, obscure " ? Hence *pūm-* < **pyūm-* < *pātām-, pyām-.*

59. *sarvaṃdai*, perhaps pres. ptc. to a base *sarv-* which could represent an OIran. **sršnv-*, cf. below P 2781.60 *darvā* " she dared " from **dršnv-*.

59. *stą̄na* unexplained. It could represent *stuna-* " pillar " but the context hardly permits it.

60. *darvā* fem. 3 sg. pret. " she dared ", P 2786.203 *darrvai*, P 2958.100 *dirve*, P 2741.90 *dirveṃ* 1 sg., P 2741.60 *ni dirvāṃdā* 3 pl. from **dršnv-*, beside *darrau* " daring ".

61. *bīysīye*, Pres. *biysaṃj-*. Ch ii 002, 156 v 1 *biysaṃją̄ñā* = Tib. *bkaṅ źiṅ*, Vajr 7 a 1 *baysaṃją̄ñā* = Skt. *pragrahītavyam*, *s-* pres.,

JātS. 17 v 2 *bīysīsaṃdai*, Ch ii 002, 136 v 2 *biysīśtā*. Pret. *biysīya-passim*, P 5538 a 67 *biysī yuḍe*, Ch ii 002, 126 v 5 *biysī līkä* = Tib. *thebs* " seize ".

63. *varī hā* " at once ", *varī*, *varī vā*, *varī saṃ*, *virī vai hā* " at once ", *passim*.

63. *parāṃdeṃ* 1 sg. pret. *ūtca parāṃdeṃ* " I dispersed (?) the water ". Mazar Tagh a iv 00170.5 *ūtca parāṃdä*, N 50.23 *pärāñätä* " scatters (?) ".

64. *pyāmana* " we fall ", conj. 1 pl., to *pat-*. Below P 2783.19 *pī* 3 sg. opt.

64. *ṇā'śta* inf. " to sit ", *parya ṇā'śta* " be pleased to sit ". On *parya*, see above on P 2801.19.

65. *ājiṃde* " brought, gathered ". JātS. 15 v 2 *khu jsā ttai ājiṃdai huṣka vī rräja* (for *rraṃja*) " when you brought him to the dry shore ". Pres. *ājum-*, Sanghāṭa-sūtra 80 b 5 *ājumīndä*, later *ājim-* P 2790.109 *ājīmūṃ*, Or 11252 (3) 2 *ājimyarä*.

66. *vī* 2 sg. pret. intrans. " you are ", *vāta* + *ī*, cf. *ātī* 2 sg. " you came ", *ī* = " you are ".

66. *pacīña* 2 sg. pres. *pacad-* " cover ", *pacanūṃ* 1 sg. = Skt. *chādayāmi*, see above on P 2801.47.

68. *haṃgva'* " he met ", see above on P 2801.56.

71. *jiṇä* for *jsiṇä* " quickly ".

71. *būrvāṃ* (so read) " we will destroy ", *-āṃ* 1 plur. pres. ind. and conj., older *-āmä*, *-āma*, *-āmane*, from the base *raup-* " sweep away ", MidPers. *rōp-*, NPers. *rūb-*, *ruftan*. E *burūvāñi* " to be destroyed ".

71. *aúska* " abode ", from **āvaskā-*, for *āva-* > *au-*, see below P 2783.6 *aúde* " he desired " beside *ātaudändä* " they desired " to *ā-kām-*, and *aúnū* " I reverence " to E *āvun-*.

73. *ttrraṃda hamya* " could enter, cross ". As with transitive verbs the verb *yan-* " make " with the passive participle in the accusative, as *yuḍu yanīndä*, expresses possibility, so with intransitive verbs does the verb *hami-* " become " ; and it also expresses the impersonal " it is possible ". P 3513, 70 r 1 *haṃkhiṣṭa hime* " can be counted " renders Skt. *gaṇetu* . . . *śakya jñātum*. P 3513, 65 r 4 *khu būri na ra parya himāṃde* = Skt. *yāvac chakyaṃ ca tat sarvaṃ mokṣitum*. P 2834.53 *nä nä aú tsva hime* " I cannot go ".

73–82. An obscure passage.

74. *ka'* inf. " to think (?) ". Cf. N 176.5 *ci ke' sājīndä ggaraṇi-śāstra*.

74. *pārśa' yuḍeṃ* "I did service", beside *paraśi'* above P 2781.8 denominative from *pārysa-* "servant", cf. *parśe'* "he honoured", *parśauda* "they honoured" = **parśy-*.

75. *ñūvā*, perhaps **ni-uχtaa-* "accustomed, friendly (?)".

75. *bāñāṃ jsa* "with words (?)", above on P 2781.7.

76. *aysmū* ‿*uvī*. Or 8212 (162) *106, *109 ‿*uvī aysmū*.

76. *āra* "fault"; *ārra* = Skt. *aparādha*.

77. *jaysarīmā* "prophecy (?)", perhaps **yazakara-gaubmaa-* "sacrificial formula (?)", OP. *gaub-* "speak".

78. *krrāra* possibly Skt. *krūra* "savage, bloody (sacrifice)".

78. *avarī*, negative to *parī*, *parīya* "deliverance".

79. *kṣā'te* 3 sg., unknown.

81, 83. *ṣanāṃ* "supplication". Below P 2783.60. JātS. *ce nvāśāṃde ṣanau yuḍāṃde dukha-vī tvare* "who cried out, made supplication very unhappily". E *ṣṣāṇau*, cf. Konow, *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogv.*, 11, 78.

82. *habā*, elsewhere *haṃbā*, *haṃbāta* "stage (of life)" <**hampāda-*. *dyāṃ* may be 1 plur. to *dy-*, *dvy-* "beat", or ptc. *dyāna* "appearing".

82. *śā*, 83 *śāvai* "curse", from Skt. *śāpa-*. Cf. *śvera* below P 2783.20.

83. *patsa* could = *pyatsa* "before", then *nai patsa śāvai haura* "do not give a curse before him (?)".

84. *āhaurrda*, above P 2801.44.

84. D. Sen, *The Bengali Ramayanas*, p. 218, "The stone floats on water," at the building of the bridge.

86. *buṣṭāṃdā*, 92 *burṣṭe* "broken, split", E *burṣṭā*. P 2741.110 *tti tta gatcastā tta tta burṣṭā* "so broken, so split". Kha. ii 29 0 B 5 *driṣṭīyīnā ggari burṣṭu yanīmā* "I can burst the mountain of false views". Pres. 3 sg. JātS. 19 v 1 *tta khu viśi'ra paṃna urvārīnai garā burṣḍā vaṣprīśtā* "just as before the thunderbolt (vajra) the mountain of urvāra bursts and is scattered".

88. *halahaja*, also JātS. 7 v 1 *cū yuḍāṃdā halahaja* "who made tumult".

89. *pajsabrrīyāṃdā*, from **pati-* and *tcabrrīya* "broken": *tc* intervocalic > *js*, cf. *gūjsabrrīya* "broken".

90. *padāṃdāṃdā* "they blew", *padām-* to *padama-* "wind".

90. *chadā* "chattering". But in spite of *ZDMG.*, 92 (1938), 588, the *chada* of E 8.32 *hanāsā hūni brāṃttā khoju kṣārā chadā* cannot be the same word. I found later P 4099.253 *u tcadai kṣāra vijsyāre ysū kṣūśta*.

90. *hvīyaṣāṃ*, P 2787.161 *pharāke' vā hvīyāṣā u ttrrīyaśū'nyą satva* " many men and animals ", JātS. 15 r 4 *hvīyaṣai satva parauysaṃdai ysirkā* " human being drowning lamentably ".

90. *rathā*, above P 2801.34, for older *rrantha-* " noise ", cf. E 18.17 *rrīnthai māstu uska sarbīndā*. Below P 2783.2.

90. *ttralaphāṃ*, only here, epithet of wolves.

91. *nāya* " sound ", base *nad-*, Ch ii 002, 153 r 3 *u nāyai vā nerą̄me* " and a noise comes out from it ", Tib. *sgra ḥbyuṅ-ba*. P 2896.4 *sarau nāyāna* " lion's roar ". Ch ii 003, 42 r 4 *gvąña ṣkala u panāyą̄ma* = Skt. *dhvani*. Ch 00266, 12 *ṭsakye pąnāyīda* " the waterfalls resound ".

91. *rachanai* " neighing ", only here.

91. *bīrīysya* " shook ". Kha. i 13, 144 r 2 *bärrīysātā* = Tib. *g-yos-so* " wavered ".

92. *vaṣṭe, vaṣṭa* " throughout ", *passim*.

92. *burṣṭe*, see above P 2781.86.

P 2783

2. *gaistā* " turned round ", cf. P 2925.8 *ṣa' gaistā khu dai hauṣkiña bāśa'*. Below P 2783.68.

2. *pvā'styū* " terrible ", JātS. 12 v 2 *pvestya*, 9 r 3 *pvestyu*, 17 r 1 *pvestyąna eha* " from a terrific mouth ", 33 r 2 *pva'scyąna*, derivative of *pvesta-* " fear ", E *puva'sta, puvalsta*.

2. *nvāsā* " noise, cry ", E *nvāsa-*, Ossetic *vasun* " to sound ". Cf. above P 2781.91 *hastą̄na hīvī bāsā* " the trumpeting of elephants ".

2. *nadāṃ* " of the shouters ", if it is pres. ptc. of the base *nad-* : **nadati* > **nyā* whence *ny-* > *n-*, as *pajad-* " ask ", pres. *pajy-, paj-*, see above P 2801.8. Hence **nyandaa-* > **nadaa-*, gen. pl. *nadāṃ*.

3. *grra*, older *grata* = Skt. *anuśāsana*. P 2026.33 *ba'ysāṃ hīvī grra parau hą̄murā ṭṃdā* " he forgets the injunction and command of the Buddhas ". P 2025.225 *nāsīye grra u tsīye*, P 2957.111 *nāsī grra*.

4. *pū* " hear ", Ch ii 003, 45 r 5 *pū* = Skt. *śṛṇu*, older *pyū* below P 2783.53, E *pyū'*.

4. *thyautta* " formerly ", *passim*. Ch ii 002, 132 v 1 *thyauta* = Tib. *sṅar*. But *thyau* " quickly " P 3513, 65 v 4 = Skt. *kṣipram*.

6. *aúde* " he desired ", from **ātaude*. Ch c. 001, 1056 *hvanau ātaudāndā u ysuṣṭāṃdī* = Tib. *gzuṅs-pa-la mṅon-par bstod-do* " fully approve the spell ". Kha. i 27a, 1 B 3 *ātaudā*<*ndā*>. Base *ā-kām-*, beside *ā-kam-*, pres. *āyīm-* " desire " ; *ātama-, ātaṃ, āvaṃ*, " desire ". For *ātau-* > *au-*, cf. *aúska* < **āvaska* above P 2781.71.

8. *hūvathāta* " well-tr. ined (?) ", P 3513, 80 r 3 *aśvarāja vālāha āstana pharākā* ~ *aśa kṣaṣṭa ysāra tta hūvathāva uysmestā.*

8. *ttŭ̄ṃna* " strong ", Ch ii 002, 7 r 5 = Skt. *sthūla* = Tib. *che-ba* " great ". Is this the source of Turkish *tümän* " 10,000 ", Agnean *tmāṃ*, Kuchean *tumane, tmane* ?

9. *haryū̧nāṃ tcarkyāṃ.* The <*na*> may be unnecessary. It is absent also in P 2928.8 *tcarkye haryauna varaṣṭe.* But P 3513, 63 v 3 has *naharyū̧nāṃ tcarkāṃ kiṇa* = Skt. *krīḍārativaśāc ca* " and devoted to sport and play ".

9. *pārautta*, Ch ii 002, 4 v 4 = Skt. *sthita.*

9. *śe* " he lay ", above P 2781.4.

9. *māṃjā̧na*, 10 *māṃjā*, 10 *muṃjakā* " ant ". Similarly in the Pali Jātaka 386, the ant speaks. Is Pašto *mēẓ̌ai, mēŋgai* " ant " connected, or is it **mūrnja-* to MidPers. *mōr* ?

11. *puṣṭakava . . . ragai* obscure. *puṣṭaka* could perhaps represent *puṣpaka*, the flying car of Kubera.

12. *ṣkūṭa*, occurs in two other places. Ch ii 002, 100 v 5 (the Skt. text of this folio has not been found) *biji kūṭā̧ña ṣkūṭa sapala naṣphaśtā̧ñą* " the sparrow is to be pounded up, and the . . . to be removed ". Ch ii 003, 28 v 1 *kr͡iṃga śau pāra u ṣkūṭa* = Skt. *kurkuṭa-rasa-yojanam.*

13. *khatta* " laughs ", *khan-*, E *khanīndi* " they laugh ".

14. *būśarā* " jesters (?) ", *būśa-* " jest ", **buśakaraa-* > *būśaraa-*, as P 2787.182 *kīragara hvaṇḍā* " workmen ", Or 11344 (4) 1 *kīrarā* from **kīrakaraa-*.

14. *vaṭākye.* P 2026.46 *khanā būśā vaṭākye*, P 2956.46 *khi̧nai būśā veṭākye*, P 2025.68 *khanai bū̧śa viṭakyi* " jesting ". Hardly Skt. *viṭa* " paramour, rogue ".

15. *gva'* " tell ", for *gva'ra* with loss of *ra*, as frequently *tcau* for *tcaura* " four ".

15. *gvarī* opt. 3 sg. = conditional *khu gvarī* " if he should tell ".

16. *āṣṭaṃda gva'ra. āṣṭ-* (from *āṣṭy-*), *āṣṭan-* " be about to " with inf. or ptc. Below P 2783.72 *āṣṭa pahaisā* " he was about to flee ", pret. 3 sg. *āṣṭaṃda* ; fem. P 2834.40 *āṣṭadā ysanā* " she was about to bear a child ", JātS. 17 v 2 *āṣṭā puraka hvarā* " (the tigress) was about to devour her cubs ", JātS. 26 v 3 *āṣṭi mirāṃ* " was about to die ", Ch 00269.70 *ganamai āṣṭaṃdāṃdūṃ haysi* " we were about to use (?) his wheat ".

16. *samai* " but ", Staël-Holstein, roll 54, *same . byaṃdā* " doubts (?) ", E *bitandātā.*

17. *yūṣā'* " broth ", from Skt. *yūṣ-*, *yūṣa-*.

17, 21. *mā'va* fem. 18 *mā'vī* 20 *mā'* masc. 22 *mā'vāṃ* " bee " Ch ii 002, 109 r 4 *mā'ta* = Skt. *makṣikā* = Tib. *sbraṅ-ma*, from **māṣṣa-* < *maχši-*, as below P 2783.25 *hvāta* = 32 *hvāṣa* = E *hvāṣṣa* (= Tib. *ldum-bu* " vegetation ").

19. *ttuda* " hot " for *ttauda*, cf. P 2957.76 *pyūrīnai jālna* " mass of clouds ", for **pyaurīnai*, P 4089 b 7 *byūda līkā* for *byauda*.

19. *kṣuṃdaive kāṃ hama ttī* " your husband what will he be then ? " (so read ; the *ha* is blurred but *ṇa* is clearly wrong). Pron. 2 sg. *-ve* to *-ai*, cf. below P 2783.35 *māstaivaṃ* " my head ".

20. *śvera mira* " be cursed, die ". E 2.23 *śśāvitāndi* " they cursed " from Skt. *śap-*, hence *śśāva-* > *śva-*, *śśāvita-* > **śvye*. Below P 2783.36 *śverā dyū* " be cursed, let him beat you " (*-ā* = *ū* " you ").

20. *aysdrrauttā* " flying up ". Cf. P 2025.172 *ca* < *ttye* > *prracaina drrautta hamīya* = P 2957.60 *ca ttye prracaina āśa' haṃdrrāysī tsve* " who therefore flew in the air ".

22. *arañī* " ingratitude ", E *atārañī*, Skt. *akṛtajñya ; krrañī* " gratitude ", E *kṛtañī*.

23. *śela hastāṃ* " in the elephant-stall ". Loc. sg. *śela* to *śāla*, Skt. *śālā-*. P 3513, 4 v 4 *baṃdana-śālvā* " in prisons ", E 23.98 *cātāśśālu aṃggāśālu*.

24. *rrīysū tte*, so read as two words : *tte* = " they ".

24. *aśpara* " fodder ". Is this particularly " lucerne ", called in Pašto *spēšta*, NPers. *aspist*, Niya Kharoṣṭhī doc. 214 *aśpista* (according to T. Burrow) ?

24. *khaḍara* " mule ", cf. MidPers., NPers. *astar* < **asatara-*, Skt. *aśvatara*. Hence **kharatara* > **khartara* > *khaḍara*. Noted only here.

26. *hauśa'ra* " fetch ". Suvarṇabhāsa (Konow) 63 b 6 *hauśīndā u ysānīndā* = Skt. *haranti*. JātS. 34 r 1 *ce uvī hośa' avīpa* " who ravishes the mind inevitably ". Above P 2801.31 *hauṣṭe*.

27. *gūjsarīṃdā*, noted only here.

28. *ahvañe* " unspeakable ". Konow suggested weak = *ahauvaṃ*. P 2927. 37 *ahvaña dakha* " inexpressible pains ".

29. *haṣkaistai*, see above P 2781.26 *vaṣkaista*.

29. *brraihā* " back ", *brrahā* = Skt. *pṛṣṭha*. Ch ii 002, 121 v 2 *jṣṭṇā brihā* = Skt. *kukṣi*, JātS. 12 v 2 *brahyetī jseṇā* (*jseṇā* " fine, small ").

31. *ī* " one (?) ", above P 2781.20.

32. *būysa* " female goat ". Ch ii 002, 126 v 4 *buysīñi* = Tib.

raḥi, Ch ii 002, 126 v 2 *buysī̥ñā ṣvīdā* " goat's milk ", Ch ii 003, 33 v 1 *būysīña hvaśā* = Skt. *chāgamāsi*. Av. *buza-*, NPers. *buz*.

33. *caukalā* " he-goat ", Ch ii 003, 100 v 3 *cḁ̄kalīña bīysma* = Skt. *vastri-mūtra* " goat's urine " (read *basta-mūtra*).

34. *varā* 2 sg. conj. " snatch, tear away ", *var-* : *varrasta-*. Below P 2783.47 *varaira* opt. (= durative past), JātS. 15 r 3 *gara ttājä . . . varadā rraga baṃhya caṃbva ysāysa* " mountain stream tearing away trees, bushes, and herbs of the bank ", JātS. 29 r 4 *viraṃdā behya*, E 2.137 *kho pūrā pātaru varrīttā ni haḍe päte pūräna oysde*, E 21.37 *śśāma varrastā tcei'mañā nu thīye puṣṣo*. Hence base *rad-*, pres. **varada-* > **varya-* > *vara-*, as *pajada-* > *pajya-*, *paja-*.

35. *phvai* " stick " bis. Should one compare NPers. *fih* " oar, spade ", Yidγa *fīa* " wooden spade ", Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iran. Frontier Languages*, ii, 208, Waχī *pēi* < **fayaka-*, if the initial were **fvay-* ?

35. *māstaivaṃ* " my head ". E *māstai*, part of the body, cf. Skt. *mastaka*, Av. *mastrəγan-*, MidPers. *masturγ*. Here *-v-* between *ai* and suffixed pronoun, as above P 2783.19 *kṣuṃdaive*.

35. *byahauśe'*, here only. *bya-*, *byi-*, *bye-* = *bi-*. P 2956.20 *chakīnyau dadyākau skauda byahanīda* (*byahan-* = *bihan-* " laugh " ?), Ch ii 002, 20 v 2 *byihaṃje*, 20 r 2 *byehaṃje* = Tib. *bskyed-do* " produce ".

38. *jīyakā rrūyā* " to lose life ". Ch 00266.153 *rūya jīyakai ra* = P 2957.98 *bījevāṃ* " perish " (Vajr. 13 b 2 *bijevaṃdai bāḍā* = Skt. *vipralope*). Beside *jīyaka* " life ", *jīya-*, *jīye*, *jīyena*, *jīyina* " life " *passim*, older E 5.43 *jīvāte*, 6.4 *jīvātu rruste*, in compounds E 13.74 *mācchā-jīviyo* " false living ".

39. *ṣai'ṣa* " Śeṣa ", with *ṣa'* for *śa*. This interchange of *ṣ*, *ś* occurs in writing Chinese words Ch 00269.111 *gūttauṣḁnā* = P 2741.75 *gauthūśḁnā* = Chinese 牛 頭 山 Karlgren *niu-t'ou-ṣan* < *ngi̯ə̯u d'ə̯u ṣan* (673, 1015, 849), P 2786.7 *thai śī* = Or 11344 (2) 21 *thai ṣī* 大 師 Karlgren *t'ai-ṣī* < *t'āi-ṣi* (952, 893). In Indian names the interchange is doubtful nor is a story of the change of King Śeṣa to a serpent known to me.

40. *alye* " Ahalyā ". P 2956.67 *gautta*ma śakrra jasta ysurre jsa ahālya kaiṇa | jabvī vī jinavḁ tti mithūna-darmā kaina* " Gautama in anger against the god Śakra because of Ahalyā, in the land of Jambudvīpa because of the mithuna-dharma ". Loss of intervocalic *-h-*, so also P 4099.162 *sagrrahāvāsa tcahaura*, P 2896.39 *sagrrāvāsyau prraṇahaunyau jsa haphve*, cf. below P 2783.41 *prraulye*.

41. *prraulye* " marvels ", assuming a later form of Kha. i 309b,

7 B 2 *prātāhālī* N 42.26 *prāhālī*, Sanghāṭa-sūtra nom.-acc. pl. *prāhālye*, P 2782.48 *prrahālyai dhyāñe*, P 2782.45 *prrahālī*, P 2787.132 *drrayau prrahālyā jsa*, Skt. *prātihārya*, with loss of intervocalic *-h-*, see above on P 2783.40 *alye*.

41. *āyanā* "examples", E *āyānai*, *āyīnai*.

41. *haṃgūṣṭa* "heard, heeded". P 2790.55 *u tlī jsāṃ haṃgū' si* . . . "and then he hears that . . .", P 2790.97 *u parau haṃgvāre* "and they heed the command"; P 2790.65 *cu āṃ hạnā hīvī parau ni haṃgvāre* "who do not heed the Khan's command".

42. *pastrrīya* "revolted". P 2958.89 (Aśoka and Kunāla) *u tlī haṃdaña be'ḍi ttahikṣa'śīlai bisā satta iśū'* [1] *rruṃdā va pastrrīya parau vīri ni yuḍādā* "and then at another time the people of Takṣaśilā revolted from the king Aśoka and disobeyed his commands".

43. *pahaiya* "fled", plur. to *pahai* sing. = E *pahīya*.

43. *rahāśā* "privy councillors": adj. *rahāśaa-* to *rahāsa-* "secret", Skt. *rahasya-*. Ch ii 004.4 r 3 *rrihāśai ginaittrai* "mystical rosary", ibid. 1 r 3 *rrihāśai daivatta* "mystical deity".

43, 51. *ha'śa* loc. sg. "pavilion, palace", 47 *ha'sā* gen. sg. E 4.40 *ttauraṇa vūḍa ggavākṣā halsa śśāra | stune nā ysarrīgye uryāna bāysa pharu*. P 3513.80 r 2 *jastūña dāsai hauda-ranyau hesa* "divine *dāsaa-*, a seven-jewelled *halsa* (on the back of an elephant)", P 3510.3, 5 *raṃnīnā hesa* "jewelled *halsa*".

43. *bīra* "prostrate (?)" < **bīryā* < **bīrātā*. Cf. E 6.106 *kho ye banhyu bīrāte śśando* "as one fells a tree to the ground".

43. *śā'* "he lay", see above on P 2781.4.

45. *vālāhyāṃ: aśāṃ* "Vālāha horses". P 3513.80 r 3 *aśvarāja vālāha āstana*, N 168 *ātī vālāhā laṃggi kīntha aśśā* "uou came as the Vālāha horse to Lankā city" (hymn to Avalokiteśvara). Cf. M. Lalou, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, 1938. 399 Avalokiteśvara as *Ba-la-ha* in the Tibetan Kāraṇḍavyūha. In a document P 5538 a 4 *hastā u vālāhā: mūlī aśā āstaṃna* "elephant and Vālāha valuable horse, etc.".

45. *paṣcī*, *paṣṭī* + *ī*, P 2957.111 *paṣṭī*, E 3 sg. *paṣṭīndā*, *pastāta*, N 50.21 *paṣṭātā*: *paṣṭ-* "go on, move".

45. *dīsā* "cāmarī, chowry", from the context; they stand vertically above the horses' heads, see e.g. *Acta Orientalia*, 10, 138.

46. *dāśe dyāṃ* "ceased to beat, flap", *dya-*, *dvya-*, 3 sg. *dyū*

[1] Incomplete copies of the story of Aśoka and Yaśas (Divyāvadāna, p. 382 f.) and of Aśoka and Kunāla are contained in P 2798 and P 2958. The name of Aśoka is written *aśū'* and *iśū'*. This is near to the Chinese 阿育 Karlgren *a-ü* < *â-ịuk* (1, 1130), where *ị* is for a foreign *ž*. In Tibetan a queen's name occurs *'a-źu-ka-su-ma* "Aśoka flower", see F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents*, i, 131.

" beats ", above P 2801.36. In the pret. *-y-* < *-ita-* may be absent, cf. *dāśyā* fem. " is finished ", *parśe'* " he honoured " < **parśy-*. Hence *dāśe* = pret. **dāśyä* or 3 sg. pres. So also P 2025.188 *ālagrrauda* " they adorned " = P 2957.73 *ālaṃgrryāṃdi.*

47. *varaira* opt. (= past). Use of optative forms with preterite value was pointed out in Sogdian by Tedesco (*ZII.*, 2, 298). It is known in Avestan. Khotanese also employs it. This is clear from certain parallel texts, as P 2957.55 *nvāśīru* = Ch 00266, 106 *nūśāda* " they cried out ", P 2957.82 *īnīyi* = P 2025.203 *īḍe* " he made ". P 2957.82 *caidīyi* = P 2025.204 *caidye* " he thought ". Elsewhere P 2025.173 *yserkha banīya* " she wept bitterly ", P 2958.61 (Aśoka and Yaśas) *khu vījsīrä si yaśä jsāṃ mą ą̄ < mā > cä dīśtä hvī: kimalai bīḍā biyserąma va himīya viḍāṣṭä viḍāṣṭä jsä pihaisīrä ṣtikulyāṃ jsai tta tta hūñīrä* " when they saw that Yaśas the minister was carrying a human head in his hand, horror arose, they fled in all directions and with abuse they said thus ". For *var-*, see above P 2783.33 *var- : varrasta-*.

48. *kasvā* " corners (?) ", see Konow, *Norsk Tidsskrift for. Sprogr.*, 11, 52 s.v., *tcūratasā.*

48. *dīśīra* opt. (= past), *dīś- : dīṣṭa-* " throw ".

48. *gvahaṃda* " mounted (?) ", opposed to *vahaṃda* " descended ".

50. *vīsamāṃ* " enemies " gen. pl. from Skt. *viṣama* ? Cf. *viysama-*.

50. *bąñe* " speech ", see above on P 2781.7.

53. *ñyauṣṭūṃ* " I am defeated ". Below P 2783.87 *ñauṣṭa* " defeated ", Suvarṇabhāsa (Konow) *nyauṣcā-*, Skt. *parājaya* " overthrow ". For *-ūṃ*, cf. P 2936.12 *āvūṃ* " I came ", P 2782.49 *bustuṃ*, P 3513, 19 r 1 *baustūṃ* " I knew ", P 2741.113 *ttrraṃdūṃ* " I entered ", P 2897.37 *gvaṣṭū* " I parted ", older *-umā*, *pastātumā* (Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 57).

54. *ba'-vūḍā* " poisonous ". JātS. 21 v 4 *be'tūḍa*, ibid., 30 r 1 *ba'-bhūḍe* (with *bh* for *t*), P 4099.76 *be-vāḍa*, Ch 00266.92 *be-vyaḍa* (*ya* = *ū*), P 2025.149 *be-vūḍa.*

54. *ājavaiṣi'*, 56 *-ṣä'*. Or 9609, 24 r 6, 7 (Suvarṇabhāsa) *ājāvāṣä* = Skt. *āśīviṣa.*

54. *skauya* " touch " = E *skaute, skote* (*t* = *y*, see above on P 2801.7), P 2025.169 *ṣe' tta hvā sa na ma vā skauya ka ṇe mīr<e>* = P 2957.58 **ttai hvā si ni ma vā skauyi mīre ttinī* " She said to him, touch me not, lest I die " = Divyāvadāna 443 (verse) *mā prākṣīr* (read *sprākṣīr* ? or is *prākṣīr* the correct Buddhist Sanskrit form ?) " touch not ".

54. *bīsīra* " decay (?) " opt. 3 pl., here only, assuming connection with *vais-*, Av. *vaēs-*.

55. *ṣa'stāṃdā* " they prepared ", see above P 2801.32.

57. *prrāsä*, Skt. *prāsa* " missile ".

57. *hairthamai* " suddenly " + *ī* pron. Ch ii 002, 127 r 1 *hirthaṃ jsa* = Tib. *glo-bur las* " suddenly ", Ch 0048, 12 *hirtha vīra*, Ch ii 002, 144 v 2 *hairthā vī*, JātS. 29 v 1 *herthaṃ vīra*, Ch 00269, 100 *hairthaṃ vī*. Cf. E *hārthunu*.

57. *ttīñi*, perhaps from base *taig-* " be sharp ", MidPers., NPers. *tēγ* " point ".

58. *hamīḍaka* " united, together ". Ch c. 001, 917 *hvāñāmä hamīḍa harbiśä gyastä ba'ysä*, JātS. 3 r 2–3 *gyastä rrīna rrīṣpuraka haṃtsa hamīḍa*, JātS. 2 v 2 *ttī garaja* ~ *gyasta daśāpāla hamīḍa*.

59. *mirāṃ* ptc. " dying ", with *hamjsaiṣḍi* " is like to, intends to ".

59. *deta*, loc. sg. of *dāta-*, Skt. *dhātu* " sphere ".

60. *hamyadūṃ* " we have become ". For *-aṃdūṃ* 1 pl. pret. intransitive, Ch 00269.111 *māhe . . . nąradadū* " we went out ", P 2790.25 *ñaśa bīsa . . . ttrraṃdaṃdūṃ* " the humble servants (= we) entered ", ibid., 34, *ñaśa bīsa āvaṃdūṃ* " we came ", P 2786.63 *baustaṃdū* " we knew ", ibid., 66, *mihai haḍa paśaṃdū yą*, P 2786.184 *haryadū*, Or 8212 (162) *54 *gvaṣṭaṃdūṃ*, Or 8212 (162) *129 *baṣṭadū*.

60. *jīvai* " Jīvaka ", the Buddhist physician. JātS. 18 r 2 *jīvaina hamaga* " equal to Jīvaka ", P 4099.358 *jīvai*. Ch ii 003 is partly addressed to Jīvaka : 2 r 5 *śṛṇu vakṣyāmi jīvaka* = Khotan. *pū aysi ttā hvāñūṃ jīvā* " listen, O Jīvaka, I will expound ". E *jīvaka-*.

61. *jehūṃ* : " I will cure ", *jeh-* : *gyasta-* " cure, cleanse ",

61. *amratta saṃjīva* : the *amṛta* and the vivifying herb conflated. Kha. i 58 a, 1 B 2 *amṛtta rasa aruva* " the amṛta-rasa herb ". Skt. *mṛta-sanjīvanī* " vivifyer of the dead " occurs in the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, see Gonda, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 89 (1932), who treats of Old Javanese *amṛtāñjīwanī*, *amṛtasañjīwanī*, Malay جوان مراتن. A herb is named OJav. Rāmāyaṇa 23.32 :—

kahanān ikaṃ paramahoṣadhī śikara niṃ gunuṃ himagiri
tuwuhan niṃ oṣadhilatā ṅaranya kaṛṅö wiśalyakariṇī
mṛtajīwanī braṇitasandhinī ya ta kinonakën susupana
tamatar wihaṃ lumaku saṃ marutsuta miběr těkeṃ himagiri

" The place of this most excellent herb is the peak of Mount Himagiri. The growing place of the creepers of the herbs famed by the name

viśalyakariṇī, mṛtajīvanī, vraṇitasandhinī. He was ordered to seek them there. He did not delay in going, the son of the wind flew to the Himagiri." Cf. Divyāvadāna, p. 107, l. 15, *saṃjīvanī nāmauṣadhī.*

61. *navṇmye hālai* "lower side", adj. with suffix *-īmaa-* to *nata-* "deep" = Skt. *gambhīra,* cf. E *nitcīmaa-* "outer", *handarīmaa-* "inner".

61. *sūpīyāṃ gūhāṃ*: "Supīya caves" (hardly "cows"). The people *supīya* are named in E 16.9 *huna ciṃgga supīya* "Hun, Chinese, Supīya". This and related names are discussed by F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents,* i, 156 f., where the Khotanese in Tibetan script is given as *So-byi* beside Tibetan *sum-pa,* Niya Kharoṣṭhī documents *supiya.* It will be noted that in the present text they are placed on the lower slope of the Himālayas. An obscure reference to this people seems also to occur in Ch 00272.54 *u mākṣaida bhadrra u sūpīyāña ālaṣkau jsa gūlīnai u ālaṣkau jsa gūle.*

62. *gūhāṃ*: "caves", rather than "cows". Or 9609, 68 r 4 (Suvarṇabhāsa) *guhya* loc. sg. = Skt. *guhāntara* "in a cave", JātS. 11 v 3 *gūha ysarnīja khu jsāṃ raṃnyau ūḍa | ṣi' haḍi mī haṃbaḍa śays<d>yau jsa bīysirka* "like a golden cave set with precious stones, but it is filled with serpents, terrifying". Cf. Sragdharāstotra, verse 4 (ed. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, 1908), *ratna-dvīpa-pratolyā vipula-maṇiguhāgeha-garbhe* "in a jewel cave of the road (pratolī) of Ratnadvīpa".

63. *bāysvā hauta* (for *hautaṃ,* older *hotanā*) "strong in arms".

65. *pārṣṭa,* P 2957.87 *pārṣṭa* = Ch 00266.142 *pāṣṭauda* = Skt. *sphoṭayitvā* (Divyāvadāna, 447 ult.). Similarly in the Tibetan, loc. cit., p. 206, he pulls up Kailāsa, and in the Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa 23.33:

sira tapwa yar wruh irikaṃ mahoṣadhi gĕlāna kepwan aṅ adĕg
wĕkasan pupak ta ikanaṃ gunuṃ nibĕrakĕnya sakṣaṇa ḍatĕṃ
saha mūla mūlya milu taṃ mahoṣadhi katūt katon ya tamalaḥ
inalap ta de nira narārya yeka panirāmireṃ mati kabeḥ

"But he did not know the great herb. He stood troubled and confused. At last he broke off the mountain and flew off with it. He arrived in a moment. With the root the precious herb was brought and it revealed itself abundantly. They took it as a cure, wherewith they besprinkle all the dead."

67. *ñaṃdä* (read *mū ñaṃdä* as two words) "destroys" (?): *ñan-* <**ni-kan-*, cf. OPers. *nikan-* "destroy".

67. *bī* "poison of it", *bi* + *ī*.

67. *hamyavī drrūnā* (*hamyavī* as one word = *hamya* + *ī*) "health came to him".

68. *haṃga'stā* "turned, reeled", *ga's-*, *ge's-*, *gai's-* E *ggei's-* "turn round" = Skt. *bhram-*, Tib. *ḥkhor*. Cf. below P 2783.73 *haṃgaistā*.

69. *jīyi drraivī* "holder of life, vital spot". *drraivī* (*-ī* enclitic pronoun) with *drraita-* "held", pret. 3 sg. E *dārte*, *draitai*, 1 sg. *dritemā*, 3 pl. *dṛtāndā*, *dreitāndā*, above P 2801.34 *dirye* "held", ptc. to *dṛjs-*.

70. *āṣṭī* "finger, toe". In the Tibetan text (loc. cit., p. 206), the toe also figures. As here, the toe of the right foot is named in an Indian source, Moor, *Hindu Pantheon*, p. 263, quoted by Stutterheim, *Rāma-Legenden und Rāma-Reliefs in Indonesien* (1925), p. 268, note 440, and in Malay, Roorda van Eysinga, *Geschiedenis van Srī Rāma*, p. 99 (not accessible to me here at present).

72. *garśa jai* (read *j*<*s*>*ai*) "by the throat" + *ī*. Ch ii 002, 4 v 4 *garśa* = Skt. *kaṇṭha* = Tib. *lkog-ma* "gullet".

72. *tcaṃgalai* "chains" + *ī*. Cf. MidParth. *zynčyhr* **zěnčihr* (*BSOS.*, IX, 90). MidPers. *znčyrk* (Zātspram 35.51 *zanǰīrak ī zarrēn*), NPers. *zanjīr*. An unexplained *tcaṃgiḍai* occurs P 2739.21 (an official document) *grrathā ttīlā vī burakyā ūspuri tcaṃgiḍai grrāhe*.

73. *haṃgaistā*, see above P 2783.68.

74. *jsąnā*, inf. in *-ā*, "to slay."

74. *bājaṃ*, read rather *bāją* (<**bāǰi-*, the same form as *ttāja* "river" < **tāči-*). Cf. OPers. *bāji-* "tribute", NPers. *bāz*, *bāž*. Cf. Domoko A 4.2 *mahą bāji mūri pajistāṃdi*.

75. *ajsa* "unharmed", for *a-jsatā*.

76. *ssa-salā* "a period of 100 years": *salā* also Ch ii 002, 7 r 1 *kṣasā salā vī buri* "up to the age of sixteen years", ibid., 7 r 2, *hodāṭā ṣalā vī bure* "up to the age of seventy years", ibid., 127 v 5, *pharāḳa salā* "many years". Standing alone *salī* fem. sg. and plur. is used, *śā salī* = Tib. *lo gcig* "one year". With suffixes: P 2893.19 *ysāra salū*; Ch ii 003, 31 r 3 *dvāsi salāṃjsū* "of twelve years".

76. *śūrūṃ*, noted only here. Agnean has *śur-* "grieve".

77. *rīyśle* "moves, trembles", E 2.57 *rrīysai* "trembling", N 75.26 *rrīysaṃdai*. Cf. above P 2781.91 *bīrīysya*, *bārrīys-* "move".

77. *kattalā* for Skt. *kadalī* "plantain" (suggested by Konow). For *tt* = Skt. *d*, cf. Ch ii 002, 137 r 4 *ñagraudhātta ga'* "the list nyagrodha, etc.", P 2787.20 *parṣātta-maṇḍalvā* = Skt. *parṣad*; Ch 00277, verse 31 <*ū*>*ttamātta* = Ch 00268.183 *udmādi* "madness"

Skt. *unmāda*, cf. Uigur *utmat* Rachmati, *Zur Heilkunde der Uiguren*, ii, p. 22 = 3.27 *utmat apsmar*. " unmāda apasmāra ".[1]

81. *būjve* " revives ". P 2936.11 *paskyāṣṭa ttuñe jūhai jsa svī būjve*, Ch ii 003, 4 r 2 *mauḍa hve paskyāṣṭa būjvaiye* = Skt. *saṃjīvati*.

82. *drrauta* " hairs ", plur. to *drrau*, *dro* " hair " (as *parauta* " commands ", plur. to *parau*) ; *dro* " hair ", Konow, *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogv.*, 11, 55. P 3513, 70 r 2 *drrau nauhnā* = Skt. *vālāgram* " tip of hair ". Staël-Holstein, roll 40, *khrrī-rttąnā drrau-vathaṃjai* " Khri-brtan the barber (?) ". Ossetic (Digor) *ärdo*, (Iron) *ärdū* " hair ", Sogd. *ẓwy* (Benveniste, *JRAS.*, 1933, 49 ; Hansen, *ZII.*, 7 (1929), 89), Ormuṛī *drī* " hair " (Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iran. Frontier Lang.*, i, 392).

85. *padva* " burnt ". Ch ii 003, 11 r 1 *padvąña* = Skt. *dhūpayet*, ibid. 46 v 1 *padvąmi jsa*, E *padūte*.

85. *ajaṃ* " collyrium ", Ch ii 002, 152 r 4 *aṃja* = Skt. *anjanam*, ibid. *aṃjināṃ jsa* = Tib. *mig-tu bsku-ba* " eye ointment ", P 2892.120 *tcíña bīsā aṃjana* " collyrium for the eyes ".

86. *pūrauysarmā*, read *pūrauysa rāma*, *ma* written below in error.

87. *dū* " trouble ", E 25.414 *pani śśando tcaṃpha u dū māstā bajāṣṣā halahala hoḍa nä haṃbitta pāhatta*.

87. *aṃbharīṣā*, the Ambarīṣa of the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa.

87. *mahādeta* " Śiva ". P 2956.75 *sṭna ū upaysauna tta dvā brāvara hatca ūma u de<v>ā ś<iv>e jsāṃdā tcaḍā simaudrra ṣṭā* " Sina and Upaysauna [2] those two brothers together, Umā and the god Śiva slew beside the ocean ". Above P 2801.4 *Mahaiśvara*.

88. *ṣamaṅiyau*, voc. plur. *-yau*, Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 41.

91. *jsąṇakya* " humble ", above P 2781.35.

91. *ttuṣye* " Tuṣita ". Ch. 00267.19 *ttūṣyāṃ' baviña aṅṇade* " living in the abode of the Tuṣita gods ", P 2787.150 *ttūṣvą' jastvā* " among the Tuṣita gods ", E *ttuṣäta-*, *ttuṣuvo'*, JātS. 27 r 4 *ttuṣvā' tsve* " he went among the Tuṣita gods ".

93. *udvīya*. JātS. 18 v 2 *udvīyastä*, E *udvīya*, Skt. *udvega*.

94. *aṅ'sa*. Two older words *aursa*, *orsa* and *aulsa*, *olsa* would be replaced later by *ausa*, *osa* " desire ". P 3513, 36 v 2 *o'syāṃ*, ibid. 16 v 1 *o'syau jsa*, ibid. 26 v 4 *aṵsyau jsa*, Ch 00266.305 *anau'sa*, Kha i 82a, 1 B 3 *olsa*, Kha 0013 c (4) A 4 *biśśä olsa*, N 94.22 *anaulsu*.

[1] The Turkish text, No. 3, not identified by Rachmati is the *Siddhasāra* of Ravigupta of which large parts are known in Khotanese and the whole in Tibetan and Sanskrit.

[2] These are the asuras *Sunda* and *Upasunda* of the Mahābhārata.

94. *hvāṣṭāña*, suffix *-āña* = *-oña*, *-auña*, Kha i 13, 137 r 3 (Śūraṃgama-samādhi sūtra) *būmattoñā* = Tib. *mthu* "power", Kha 0013 c (2) V 4 *usphīsaroñā*.

95. *spyārā*, Pres. *spai-*, *spya-*. P 4089 b 13 *hā spyāṃde*, P 2739.12 *pṵña spyāṃde*, P 2897.26 *puña spaudai*, Ch ii 004, 1 v 1 *spāñā*, Ch 00266.217 *spaiya*, P 2957.147, P 5538 a 25 *spaiye*, E *spaiyä*, *-e*.

95. *hū* "there", P 2026.50 *hū pañe sarvaña ba'ysa*. Cf. *hāṣṭa* "thither", beside E *vū* "here", *vāṣṭa* "hither".

ADDENDA

P 2801.12 corresponding to the *āmāca hārva*, the *amātyas* and the *śreṣṭhins*, note the Agnean use 9 a 6 *āmāśāñ ypeṣiñi wrasañ* "ministers and statesmen".

17. *āṣaṃ' yaṃde*, cf. Ch 00267.39 *āṣaṇą' paryara yuḍai* "be pleased (2 pl.) to consider worthy".

18. *stā* "weary". Ch ii 002.131 v 2 *cve daukhą ne payseṃdą stā āstaṃnaką* = Tib. 202 v 6 *sdug ma myoṅ-ba-las ṅal-ba-la*, Skt. 7 r 2 *śramādibhiḥ*.

45. P 3513.52 v 1 *vamurrdā yiṇīme* = Skt. *parimardayamānaḥ*.

63. Or 9609.24 r 1 *āvuto rraysauya* "in an empty village" = Skt. *śūnyagrāme*.

68. In a Buddhist text similarly, Agnean 451 a 2 ⟨*ca*⟩*clā-ṃ śoṣāt-äṃ ckācar tāk-*⟨*äṃ*⟩ "he took her up, reared her and she became his daughter".

P 2781.6 *haṃdrrauysī* = Skt. *vihāyasā*, hence probably meaning "in the expanse" (in adj. form). The base will then be *draud-* with *d-s* > *dz* > *z* as *jauysa-* "fighter", base *yaud-s-*, and *khāysa-* "food", base *khād-s-*. The Agnean *sātkartsā* = *vihāyasā* can be similarly understood. Both words are etymological interpretations, "calques linguistiques," of *vi-hāy-* as "extend". Agnean has *sātk-* "to expand".

47. The meaning of *phūḍa-* "hollow" is assured by the corresponding Agnean 94 a 6 *āsu truṅkāts ṣtā(m)* "dry hollow tree" and Kuchean *troṅktse stām*, see *Tocharische Gram.*, p. 19.

78. *vartt-* "practise". Kha vi 14 b (1) A 6 *karmapaha varttū śirka* "I practise the good karmapatha".

P 2783.61 *ālaṣkau* = Skt. *nagarāṇi* (so to read in Suvarṇabhāsa 32 b 7, according to a communication from Konow).

Ttāgutta

By H. W. Bailey

FOR the meaning of *ttāgutta*, listed in *BSOS.*, VIII, 138, further evidence has now been found to replace the conjectural meaning there assigned. It is necessary for this purpose to quote, however reluctantly, from still unpublished texts, but it is time to make the correction. It will be seen that not all the quoted passages can yet be translated in full. The following three forms of the word have been noted :—

1. *ttāgutta, tāgutta.*

(1) Kha i, 176 a, B 2 ⟨broken away⟩ *ttāguttaṃ hvādi si khve mạra thauna tti ṭdi maheḍā m⟨i?⟩jṣa'* . . . " the Ttāguttans said (to me?) that since here these silks [1] are, the woman Maheḍā (?) . . ."

(2) Or 11252 (12) A5 *tāgutta hvāṣṭa ttiṣapāñi va pa'jsā ysurri yu⟨ḍe . . .⟩* " the Tāguttan lord [2] Ttiṣapāñi was very angry."

(3) Or 11252 (3) 5 *ttū āysaṃ drraśīrau khvau ttāgutta ni ji ba.ṃdai* [3] *suhadi svarrnadi āskvī⟨ra⟩* . . .

(4) Staël-Holstein roll 9 (and 42) *u ttāgutta ka'rā ṣau ṣarrnadattā* " and Ṣarrnadatta, the Ttāguttan ka'rā-ṣau."

This is, perhaps, a Chinese title (**kat-śi̯ə̯u* ?). Ibid. 37 *haṃtsā saṃnarau ka' ṣau ṣaṃdū jsā* (*saṃnarau* is written below the line) " together with Ṣaṃdū, the ka'-ṣau of Saṃnarau ", the *-r* is absent. Khotanese *kara* " surrounding part ", without the subscript hook, is different. The frequent *ṣṣau, ṣau* is also probably a Chinese word, perhaps 守 K [4] 896 *ṣou* < *śi̯ə̯u* " prefect ".[5] The Khot. spelling corresponds regularly : for *-au*, note *śau* for 收 K 400 *ṣou* < *śi̯ə̯u* (*ZDMG.*, 91 (1937), 38), and for *ṣ* beside *ś*, cf. Or 11344 (2) 21 *thai-ṣī*, P 5538 b 36 *ttaiṣī* (43 plur. *ttaiṣya* rendering Skt. *bhikṣu*, edited *BSOS.*, IX, 533)

[1] In a three-line bilingual Khotanese-Chinese, of which Professor Haloun kindly read for me the difficult cursive Chinese, Domoko C 1, *thauna* corresponds to Chinese 周 (for 綢) " embroidered silk cloth ". Also *thauna*=Skt. *paṭṭa*.

[2] *hvāṣṭa* renders P 3513. 53 r 4 *jyeṣṭhaku* ; Konow, Suvarṇabhāsa 63 a 6 *hvaṃdānu hvāṣṭu* = Skt. *manujeśvara*, ibid. 35 a 4 *hvāṣṭye rrīñe* = Skt. *agramahiṣī*.

[3] The second akṣara is broken. Suhadi, Svarrnadi and Āskvīra are personal names.

[4] K refers to B. Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese.*

[5] For the sounds 首 K 898 *ṣou* < *śi̯ə̯u* " head, a chief ", would suit equally well.

beside P 2786.77 *thai-śī* for Chinese 大 師 K 952, 893 *t'ai-ṣī* < *tâi-ṣi*; and Ch 00269, 111 *gūttauṣąnä* beside P 2741.75 *gauthūśąnä* for 牛 頭 山 K 673, 1015, 849 *niu-ťou-ṣan* < *ngiə̯u-d'ə̯u-ṣan* with both *śana* and *ṣana* for Chinese *ṣan*. The meaning is partly defined by a comparison of S 2471.220 *hūyī ṣau kīma tcūna* with 221 *hūyi ttutteva kīma tcūnä*. Here *ttutteva* corresponds to ṣau; it is, as Professor Haloun has pointed out to me, 都 頭 K 1187, 1015 *tu-ťou* < *tuo-d'ə̯u* "captain" (in Giles no. 12,050 "chief of police"). In the Hoernle document 7.1 the *ṣau* occurs beside the king's name (see Konow, *Acta Orientalia*, 7 (1929), 66 ff.) *hvaṃnä rrāṃdä vāśa' vāhaṃ dädye ṣṣau vädyadattä gärya-vāḍä pīḍakä* "the third regnal year (scil. *kṣuṇa*) of the king Vāśa' Vāhaṃ in the year of (scil. *salya*) the prefect Vädyadatta, a document of buying and selling": Ibid. 3 *hvaṃnä rrāṃdä vāśa' vāhaṃ ṣṣau ṣanīrä salya* 'in the regnal year of the king Vāśa' Vāhaṃ in the year of the prefect Ṣanīra'. The word *ṣṣau* has hitherto been noticed in documents concerned with Ṣacū. It may be added that the word shows no inflection in Khotanese. The Iranian etymology, which has previously been adopted (see Konow, *Saka Studies*, s.v.) with far-reaching theories, can hardly be sustained. As to the phrase *ka'rä-ṣau*, does it mean "vice-prefect", or "sub-prefect"?

2. *ttāguttaa-*, adjectival derivative with the same suffix attested also in *hvatanaa-*, *hvaṃnaa-* "Khotanese", *ciṃgaa-* (P 2786.249 *ṣa jsā aiina aspaura caigau bauttai* "he understands Chinese perfectly"), *ttaśī'kaa-* "Arabian", *kaspāraa-* "Kashmirian", *jaṃbvīyaa-* "of Jambudvīpa".

(5) Mazar Tagh 0483 *garä vī besai ttāgutte dyeräśī' haurąñä* "to the Ttāguttan Dyeräśī" (probably Tibetan *bder-źi*) dwelling at the Hill, to be given". This text was quoted in *JRAS.*, 1930, 70, but the reading of the original which is quite clear needs correction. For *gara* "Hill" as a name of Mazar Tagh, see Konow, *A Śaka name of Mazār Tagh.*[1] The same usage occurs also in Mazar Tagh c. 1. 0074 . . . *mye haḍai gara varä jsārä* (rest of the line blank) "the . . .th day at the Hill there corn".

(6) Ch ii 002, the Siddhasāra of Ravigupta, of which a facsimile is given in *Codices Khotanenses* (1938), is said to be translated from the *ttāguttaa-* language. The introductory verses, to which nothing corre-

[1] In *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies presented to Professor F. W. Thomas* (1939), 146–7.

sponds in the Tibetan version or the Sanskrit original, read (i bis r 2 f) :—

ttiña beḍa tcaisyāṃ ye paḍa ttąnä nąma ≈
tu śāsträ byaudi khąṇḍi ttāgūttau phari jsa:
samī śe pīḍai khve ṣi' hamye uspurrä ⌒
byūttä vaskai ra ni ya bvąma hota VI
ṣi' tu śāstrā jsąṇakyi ṣṭāṃ rrvī vī haiṣṭe ⌒
miṣḍi gyastī mu'śdi' udiśā hamaiyi ttu ⌒
ttāgūtto ṣṭāna uspurrā ṣe' pasti byūte
cu ustimāṃjsyāṃ satvāṃ kiṇä cu āchinuḍa VII

"At that time there was a minister[1] named Paḍa-ttana. He acquired this śāstra, defective, in Ttāguttan as to language, but he wrote the second part (?) so that it was complete. He had not understanding nor ability to translate it. He sent this śāstra respectfully to the Court. The gracious god (= His Majesty) out of compassion, of himself ordered it, as being in Ttāguttan, to be translated completely, which should be on behalf of future men who were ill."

(7) Hoernle 143 a 11[2] *ttāguttai drrai thauna hatcastāṃdä* "the Ttāguttans broke up (?) for him three pieces of silk."

2*a*. Ambiguous forms of either *ttāgutta* or *ttāguttaa-*.

(8) Hoernle 143 a 10 *u ṣi' tti hā āśi'rī vinīyabhatä ttāguttāṃ hirā jsā hauḍā* "and he then the ācārya Vinayabhata gave the things to the Ttāguttans".

(9) Ibid. 7 *ttye mijṣe va vā ttāguttyau jsa jaṃpha prracā panata* "for the woman however there arose causes of dispute with the Ttāguttans".

(10) Or 11252 (12) B 5 *ā vā ttāguttā parau parī hauḍi* 'or he orders to give to the Ttāguttans (*-ā* = *-āṃ*)'.

(11) Or 11252 (2) 2 *pąñe hvaṃḍye ttāguttāṃ haudi śeṃgāṃ aiśta jsārā pastä XI kūsa IX ṣaṃga* "for every man, of the Ttāguttans, seven śiṃgas to them (*-āṃ* = *-ūṃ* ?) he ordered aiśta corn 11 kūsa and 9 ṣaṃga".[3]

[1] *tcaisyāṃ* P 5538 a 9 *mistä tcaisyāṃ*, P 2786.221 *tcaisyau*, may, according to a suggestion of Professor Moule, represent Chinese 宰 相 K 1023, 786 *tsai-siang* < *tsâi-sjang* "prime minister (Giles no. 11,490)". The name *paḍa-ttana* is probably Tibetan *dpal-brtan* "having secure fortune".

[2] Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Chinese Turkestan*, plate xvii.

[3] Rendering uncertain, *aiśta*, also written *èśta*, *ai'śte*, *aiśca*, in the Siddhasāra, renders Skt. *punarnavā* (pw. Boerhavia procumbens). *kūsa* is frequent as a mureas

(12) Mazar Tagh b ii 0065.2 (facsimile, Stein, *Serindia*, plate CLI) *ttāguttyau hvāṣṭyau pātci ci ṣṭāṃ ttū hvaṃ kṣīri kai'di* " thereafter by the Ttāguttan lords who protect this Khotanese land ".[1]

(13) Ch ii 003. 50 r 2 *bhalāttāka bhṛāgarajā ttāgūttāṃ būśąniṃ* = Skt. 49 v 3 *ballātta⟨ka⟩ bhṛgarajīś ta māsī* " marking-nut, and eclipta prostrata, nard (*māṃsī*) ".

(14) Ch ii 003, 52 v 4 *papala yausa ttāgūttāṃ būśąniṃ* = Skt. 52 v 2 *pṛpalī kastūra māsī* " pepper, musk, nard ".

(15) Ch ii 003, 49 r 4 *ttāgūttāṃ būśąni tvaca ttālīspatta* = Skt. 49 r 1 *māsī tvaga pattrā* " nard, cassia bark, flacourtia cataphracta ".

Here nard, Skt. *māṃsī* (nardostachys jatamansi), is rendered by " perfume of the Ttāguttans ". But we find in this same bilingual text Ch ii 003 (facsimile in Codices Khotanenses) also the following :—

106 r 4 *svarṇagūttaryāṃga būśąniṃ* = Skt. *māsī*,

46 r i *svarṇagūttaryāṃga būśauniṃ*, 15 v 4 *svarṇagūttaryāṃ būśąnai*, 110 v 5 *svarṇagūttariṃ būśąniṃ*, 17 v 1 *svarṇagūttaryāṃ būśąnai* rendering Skt. *nalada* ' nard '.[2]

The same substance then was named both " perfume of the Ttāguttans " and " perfume of the Svarṇagotrans " by the Khotanese. A Svarṇagotra " Gold Family " is known both in Western Tibet, of which Professor F. W. Thomas has recently treated,[3] and also in the Ṣacū (Tun-huang) region. In Khotanese texts Ṣacū is frequently called *ysarrnai bāḍā* (P 2790 *passim*) " the golden land ", and P 2741.2 *mistye ysarrnīṃje jānave* " the great golden country (*janapada*) ", in

of grains. *ṣaṃga* = 8 *śiṃga* (*śiṃga* = Chinese 升 K 873 *śing* < *śjəng* " litre "). Ch ii 003. 21 v 4 *śau ṣaga* " one ṣaṃga " renders Skt. *prasthaṃ ca caturguṇa* " 4 prasthas ", Ch ii 003, 33 v 2 *haṣta śiṃga* " eight śiṃga " = Skt. *caturguṇa* " 4 (prasthas) ", see also *BSOS.*, VIII, 920.

[1] Konow has edited these verses in *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies*, cited above. Note that in line 1 *gyasiä* is to be read : the *gya* as often is written with an ornamental flourish. It can be seen for example in the Staël-Holstein roll 32, 40. In line 5 *haspisyari* is 2 plur. imperative. For *kāṣ-* " to protect ", cf. the derivative noun of agent *kā'ka* : Ch c. 001.954 *jsīñi kā'ka vijya* = Tib. *ćhe skyoṅ-baḥi rig-sṅags* " life-preserving spell " ; P 2929.5 *hvana kṣīrā hīyi kąka nīvąysya āysdąrą dęvattą parvąlā* " Of the Khotan land the protectors, local spirits (*naivāsika*, see *BSOS.*, viii, 902, note 2), guardian (*āysdagaraa-*) deities, wardens (*paripālaka*) ".

[2] The name is written with *rṇ* and *rn*. For the adjectival suffix *-āṃga* < *ānaka*, cf. also Ch ii 002, 100 v 1 *hīṃdvāṃgą*, Ch 1.0021a, b 19 *hīdvāṃga* " Indian ". The Skt. *nalada* appears as a Khotanese loan-word Kha 0013 d, 1.2 *naladā bhāgä IV* ‖ *kuṣṭi bhāga IV* ‖ " nard four parts, costus (*kuṣṭha*) four parts " in a medical prescription ; also Ch ii 003, 1 r 5 *nalądha*. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, 455 f., discusses the provenance of nard : it was known in Sogdiana and India.

[3] *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan*, vol. i (1935), 151 ff., where earlier references are to be found.

contexts where Khotan itself is called *ranījai janavai* (see *BSOS.*, IX, 541) "the land of jade", as Or 8212 (186) A 34 *ranījai janavai u ysarnai bāḍa* "Khotan and Ṣacū". In Ch 1.0021 a, a 22 *ysarnai rrvī gūttairi* "the golden royal family" also refers to the Ṣacū region.

3. *ttāguttāna-* in a fragment: (16) Mazar Tagh c. 0014.1 . . . *ḍāṃdi ca va ttāguttāña kī⟨ṃtha⟩* . . . " . . . they . . . ed. Who in the city of the Ttāguttans . . ." This suffix *-āna* is added alike to Khotanese words, as *balysāna-* "of the Buddha", *rruṃdāna-* "royal", *hiṃdvāna-* (E 13. 36) "Indian", and to foreign words, as *nāvāna-* and *yakṣāna* in P 3513, 48 r 2:—

jastūñe phari u nāvāṇye ttī
yakṣāṇye kuṃbhāṇḍāṃ hvīye pātcā
cu ri jsāṇa phara ṭ ysamaśaṃdya biśā
uysdīśṭmi ba'ysāṃ dā pharyau jsa aysā

devarutebhi ca nāgarutebhir
yakṣa-kumbhāṇḍa-manuṣya-rutebhiḥ
yāni ca sarvarutāni jagasya
sarvaruteṣv ahu deśayi dharmam.[1]

P 2787.55 *nāvānyāṃ raudyāṃ bastā* "bound by the nāga kings"; Suvarṇabhāsa (ed. Konow) 34 b 5 *andīvārāna-* "belonging to the antaḥpura"; Or 11252 (39) 6 *khaukūlāna ṣanīraki* "Ṣanīraka of Khaukūlā" beside Or 11252 (34) A 2 *khaukūlā sudatti* "Sudatta of Khaukūlā", Or 11252 (2) 20 *khaukūlāña sudattā*; Ch 00269.62 *tta vā ṣacū-pavāṇye*[2] *hamtsā hīñā jsa pahaisā ṣacū vāṣṭā hāysa tsvāṃdā* "then with the army of the inhabitants of Ṣacū the fugitives went away to Ṣacū". The same suffix *-āna-* is represented in Tibetan transcription of Khotanese words by *-o-na*, *-o-no*; *'er-mo-no* "of Erma" (Staël-Holstein roll 23 *ėrmvā bisā kaṃtha* "the town among the Ermas", Domoko F 1 *erma tsūkāṃ* gen. pl. "travellers to Erma"), *'o-ka-no* (? for *'o-ko-na*) "of 'Osku", *khye-śo-na* "of Kashghar".[3] The contexts explain the reasons for these names of religious foundations.

One other point must be noted. Dr. W. Henning some time ago showed me in a Sogdian text containing a list of names of countries[4]

[1] The *Bhadracaryā-deśanā* in the *Gaṇḍa-vyūha*, ed. Suzuki and Idzumi, 1934–6, vol. iv, 544, verse 18.

[2] *Ṣacū-pavāna-* is adjective to *ṣacū-pata*, plur. to **ṣacū-pa* (cf. Or 8212 (162) *153 *kamacū-pa* "inhabitant of Kam-ṭṣou"), where *-pa* is probably Tibetan *-pa*, as in *lha-sa-pa* "inhabitant of Lhasa". Between a final *-a* and the Khotan. plural *-a* a *t* or *v* is inserted *pava*, *pata*. This *-pata* should probably also be found in Ch 00269, 78 *dūṃva u cahä:spata u sūlya*, *BSOS.*, VIII, 883 (and correct *BSOS.*, VIII, 918).

[3] See F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents*, vol. i, 132, 133; also *JRAS.*, 1939, 89.

[4] An edition is now in the press in Dr. Henning's book *Sogdica*, of which I am in his absence reading the proofs.

the name *t'γwt* or *tnγwt* (*alif* and *n* are not distinct): it could be read *tăγut* or *tanγut*.

Is it possible to identify the Khotanese *ttāgutta*? One conjecture can be excluded. Sufficient is now known of how the Khotanese expressed the two vowel sounds *a* and *o* of foreign words. For the Tibetan the following examples establish that they were consistent in distinguishing *a* and *o*, *u*: P 2741.53 *ṭhapsä* = Tib. *ṭhabs* "opportunity"; Ch ii 002. 18.r 3 *ysba hīvī nauhä* = Tib. *spaḥi to-rto*, Skt. *vetrāgra* "tip of cane", Ch xlvi 0015, 20 a 4 (= *Aparimitāyuḥsūtra* § 41) *krraśīsä*, Or 8212 (186) B 15 *krraśīsa* = Tib. *bkra-śis* (nom. prop.); Ch ii 002, i bis r 2 *paḍa ttąnä* = Tib. *dpal-brtan* (nom. prop.), Staël-Holstein roll 40 *khrrī-rttąnä* = *khri-brtan*, ibid. 9 *rrgyaḍä sąmä* = Tib. *rgyal-sum*, Ch ii 002, 20 v 5 *churba* = Tib. *phyur-ba*, P 2025.3 *dārjī paḍa* = *rdo-rje dpal* (nom. prop.). Hence Khotan. *a* = Tib. *a*. For *o*, *u* note P 2025. 3 *dārjī* = Tib. *rdo-rje*, Ch ii 004, 2 r 4 *yąma* = Tib. *yum* "mother", beside *rrgyaḍä sąmä* = Tib. *rgyal-sum*. Inversely both sounds are found in Khotanese *vāhaṃ* for which the Tibetans used *bohan*.[1] Hence Khotan *ā* = Tib. *o*.[2] It is clear therefore that for *ttāgutta* a comparison with Tibetan *Stagu*, *Tagu*, a market-town (*khrom*) in the Nob region (*JRAS.*, 1928, 589) as given in Konow, *Saka Studies*, s.v., is against the evident orthographic system and must be rejected. Add also the presence of *-tta* in the Khotanese word.

Khotan. *ttāgutta* can therefore represent a foreign **toγut* or **togut* but not **tagut*. If Sogdian *t'/nγwt* is to be compared it must be shown to have *alif* to express *o*: this is perhaps better than to read *tanγut* and identify it with Khotan. *ttaṃgāta-* (loc. plur. *ttaṃgātvā*, *JRAS.*, 1939, 89), Orqon Turkish *tañut*.

Now a Khotanese *tāha'tta*, *tąha'tta* occurs in P 5538 b 67, 59[3] to render Skt. *bhoṭa* "Tibet". This can be understood to represent a foreign **toγat* (or **toχat*).[4] Compare now **toγut* with **toγat* and there is a likelihood that these are two forms of one name. Beside it stand

[1] In the royal name Vāśa' vāhaṃ, see Konow, *JRAS.*, 1914, 342 f.

[2] The same can be established for Khotanese transcriptions of Turkish, of which many examples can be seen in *JRAS.*, 1939, 85 ff. For Tibetan only two sounds were needed for *a* and *o*, since long *ā* was not distinct in Tibetan words from *a*.

[3] Edited *BSOS.*, IX, 521 ff.

[4] The interpretation of *ttāha'tta* by **tofat* offered *BSOS.*, IX, 542, due to an attempt to find a labial in the word, now seems to me doubtful. We know *h* < *f* in Old Iranian words (*saha-* "hoof" = Av. *safa-*) and to represent initial Middle Chinese *pi̯ʷ-*, *b'i̯u-* (Mod. Chin. *f-*) we find *hv-*, *ZDMG.*, 91 (1937), 34–5, but *-h-* is not assured for foreign medial *-f-*. For *h* = *γ χ* there is full evidence, see *ZDMG.*, 92 (1938), 590, and the words quoted *JRAS.*, 1939, 85 ff.

with labial the well-known Turkish *twypwt* (**töböt*) Sogd. *twp'wt*, Mid. Pers. *twpyt*, Arab.-Pers. *tubbat*, Syriac *twpty-* (adj. "Tibetan") and Tibetan *bod*, Skt. *bhoṭa*. It is even possible that **toγut* may have arisen from **towut* < **tobot*.

Then *ttāgutta* would mean "Tibetan". Two slight pieces of confirmation of this may be found. The name of *Dyerāśī*, who is called *ttāgutta*, may be Tibetan *bder-źi*. Secondly, the Khotanese Siddhasāra agrees very closely with the Tibetan version in the Tanjur. In two places we have Tibetan words, where the same words occur in the Tibetan text: Ch ii 002, 18 r 3 *u ysba hīvī nauhā* = Tib. 146 r 5 *spaḥi to-rto daṅ* = Skt. 8 r 3 *vetrāgra* "point of the cane", and 20 v 5 *phrrūmä churba vī bure ~ tte garkha-gvācha* = Tib. *phyur-ba-la sogs-pa ni lci-ba yin-te* = Skt. *kilāṭādyā guravaḥ* "the kilāṭa and the rest are heavy to digest". Have these two words been taken direct from the text the translator was using? It will have been noted above that in the introduction to the Siddhasāra it is said to be translated from the *ttāguttaa-* language, that is, probably, Tibetan.

ADDENDA

1. A further passage is MT a iv 00168.2, . . . *hetsai tāgute āsalā*.

2. Ch 00269.78 *cahā:spata* is probably Tibetan *jags-pa* = *jag-pa* "robber" (the form with *s* is given by A. David-Neel, *The Superhuman Life of Gesar of Ling*, p. 192). For the Khotanese *c* = Tib. *j*, cf. *cahä:* = Tib. *jag* for Chinese 著 K 1187 *ṭṣo* < *d''ẓak* (*ZDMG.*, 91.33). We have here two more examples of Khot. *a* = Tib. *a*. Note also *tharka* = Skt. *ākṣoḍa* (Ch ii 003.88 r 1), the Tibetan *star-ka, star-ga, star-kha, dar-sga* "walnut".

3. That the Khotanese Siddhasāra is indeed translated from the Tibetan is indicated by the following points.

(*a*) 139 v 3 *gugula bu' śīya cha* = Tib. *gu-gul dkar-po* with the Tib. order of words = Skt. *puraṃ*.

(*b*) *ysīca ūtce* = Tib. *chu ser* "yellow water" = Skt. *kleda*.

(*c*) 9 r 5 *namve jsa īrhve* = Tib. *lan-ćhva daṅ smyig mdeḥu daṅ* where *jsa* is given for *daṅ* "with, and" instead of *u*.

(*d*) 145 r 2 *nimve māñaṃdai ttā baka laka* "like salt so little" = Tib. 210 v 1 *cha ćam źig* "only a part" = Skt. 80 v 5 *tasya leśo*. The translator has read Tib. *ćha* "salt" for *cha* "part".

A Zervanite Apocalypse II

By R. C. Zaehner

Owing to service in H.M. Forces it has been impossible to check references in all cases. The reader's indulgence is therefore sought for any errors which may have slipped into the text.

Zātspram, Chapter XXIV[1]

Translation

CONCERNING the accomplishment of the Rejuvenation.

(1) It is revealed in the Religion that Zoroaster asked Ohrmazd (saying): "Shall bodily creatures who have passed away on earth, receive again their bodies at the Rejuvenation, or shall they be like unto shades?"

(2) Ohrmazd said: "They shall receive again their bodies and shall rise up."

(3) And Zoroaster asked (saying): "He who hath passed away is dismembered by dog and bird and carried off by wolf and vulture: how shall (their parts) come together again?"

(4) Ohrmazd said: "If thou who art Zoroaster hadst to make a wooden casket, how would it be easier to make, if thou hadst no wood and yet hadst to fashion and fit it, or if thou hadst a casket and its joints were sundered one from the other, and thou hadst to fit it together again?"

(5) Zoroaster said: "If I had a branch of wood, it would be easier than if I had no wood; and if I had a casket, and its joints ⟨were sundered one from the other⟩, it would be easier. . . ."

(6) Ohrmazd said: "When those creations were not, I had power to fashion them; and now when they have been, and are scattered abroad, it is easier to fit them together again.

(7) "For I have five collectors who receive the bodily substance of those who passed away: one is the earth which keeps watch over the meat and bone and fat of men: one is the water which keeps watch over the flesh and blood: one the plants which preserve the hair (of the head) and the hair (of the body): one the light of the firmament (?) which receives the fire: one is the very wind which ⟨gives back⟩ the life of my own creatures at the time of the Rejuvenation.

(8) "I call upon the earth, and ask of it the bone and meat and fat of Gayōmart and the others. (9) The earth saith, 'How shall

[1] For the text v. *BSOS.* X, pp. 377-398.

I bring (them), for I know not which is the ⟨bone, meat, and fat⟩ of the one ⟨and which of the other⟩ ? '

(10) " I call upon the water of the Arang which is the Tigris among rivers (saying), ' Bring forth the blood of the men who are dead.' (11) The water saith, ' How shall I bring (it), for I know not which is the blood of the one and which of the other ? '

(12) " I call upon the plants, and ask of them the hair of the men who are dead. (13) The plants say, ' How shall we bring (it), for we know not which is the hair of the one and which of the other ? '

(14) " I call upon the wind, and ask him for the life of the men who are dead. (15) The wind saith, ' How shall I bring (it), for I know not which is the life of the one and which of the other ? '

(16) " When I who am Ohrmazd look back on to the earth, water, plants, light, and wind, in my clear sight I know and distinguish the one from the other : for in my omniscience and clear thought I distinguish the one from the other even as when *a man milks the milk of females, and it runs forth over the earth in the same channel one within the other, he knows of which of his females it is* ; I recognize (them) even as when a man hath thirty horses, and each horse has a caparison with a mark on it (to show) to which horse it belongs, and those thirty caparisons stand together, and (the man) then wishes to know ; he takes off all the caparisons and knows by the mark on the caparison which of his horses is which.

(17) " I shall send forth Airyaman, the Messenger, among whose duties is the fulfilment of the end. (18) He shall bring the bone and blood and hair and light and life of Gayōmart and Mašyā and Mašyānē ; (19) and first shall I fit together again the bones of Gayōmart, and the little and small amount that is joined to Mašyā and Mašyānē shall I give to him.

(20) " And it is easier for me to fit together and create again the twelve creations that I created in the beginning ; first when I created the sky without pillar or support which no material creature supports from any side ; and second when I established the earth in the middle of the sky so that it was nearer to neither side, like the yolk of an egg in the middle of an egg ; and third when I fashioned the Sun ; fourth when I fashioned the Moon ; ⟨fifth when I fashioned the stars⟩ ; sixth when I created many hues, colours, and tastes in the plants ; seventh when I created fire within the plants, and it did not burn ; eighth when I brought corn to the earth, and at the time when it has grown, it bears fruit, and serves as food for man and beast ; ninth

when I established the embryo within females, and covered it up so that it did not die, and as it grew I revealed one by one bone, blood, hair, phlegm, fat, and nails; tenth when I caused corporeal birds to fly with wings in the atmosphere; eleventh when I gave the water feet to move forward like a hare (?)[1]; twelfth ⟨when I created the clouds⟩ that carry the water up and rain down the rain."

(21) The creating of creation, the progress of Religion and the accomplishment of the Rejuvenation was like unto the building of a house. (22) For a house is finished by means of three instruments, that is the floor, the walls, and the roof: and the creating of creation is the floor, the progress of Religion the walls, and the accomplishment of the Rejuvenation the roof. (23) As when a man desires to build a house, he chooses three men of whom one is most skilled in laying the floor, one in raising the walls, and one in making the roof; and each is assigned to his proper work. Till the floor was laid and the walls raised, it was not possible (to make the roof). (24) He who bade the house (be built) knows clearly with how many (instruments) it will be finished, and because he has no doubts, he puts abiding trust in the skill of the maker of the roof. When the wall is completed, it is as easy for him whose business is the roof, to roof (the house) in as (it is) for those (others) in the work that is assigned them.

(25) And again the accomplishment of the Rejuvenation was like unto a dark night: when the night draws to its close, the Sun arises in three corners of the earth and returns to its proper place and completes its cycle, and comes to shine anew, and smites the darkness and gloom.

(26) It was like unto the Moon which waxes for fifteen (days), and for fifteen wanes. When it has completely disappeared, it is born anew, and is manifest with the brilliance (it has) from the Sun, the lord of lights: the restoration of the world of the Resurrection is made manifest thereby.

(27) It was like unto the year, in which, in spring, the trees blossom, in summer they bear fruit, in autumn they bear the last fruits, and in winter they become dry and as if dead. (28) When the order of the years is fulfilled, Mihr returns to his primal place, day and night are equal in measure, and the atmosphere (returns to) its original (?) rule.

[1] Reading *χargōš* (𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀) instead of *'hastīh* (𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬀).

And the Resurrection of the dead is like unto trees and shrubs that put forth new foliage and blossom with saplings. (29) For the restoration of a fixed order the end of all natures is in the same manner as the beginning, even as man whose being springs from the sperm, or as the plants whose being is from seed; their perfect end is in the self-same seed.

(30) In the Religion thus is it revealed: When Ahriman rushed into creation, he had the brood of the demon Whore of evil religion as his companion even as a man has a whore-woman as his bedfellow; for verily the Whore is a demon; and he appointed the demon Whore queen of her brood, for verily she is the chief of all the whore-demons, the most grievous adversary of the Blessed Man.

(31) And ⟨the demon Whore⟩ of evil religion united ⟨with the Blessed Man⟩; for the defilement of females, she united with him, that she might defile females, and the females, because they were defiled, might defile the males, and (the males) would turn aside from their duty.

(32) And he chose a commander and a captain who verily is Āz (Lust); and he gave her four commanders to help her, who are Wrath (*Ēšm*) and Winter and Old Age and Bane (*Sēž*) like unto the East and West and South and North. (33) Āz chose commanders, captains of a few and captains of small numbers, which are Hunger and Thirst; so too did Old Age (choose) Lamentation and Wailing; so too did Bane (choose) Excess and Deficiency.

(34) At the Rejuvenation first a means against Āz is sought, for she is the commander and captain of the other Lies, and from her has Ahriman of evil religion most strength. (35) When first creation began to move and Zurvān for the sake of movement brought that form, the black and ashen garment, to Ahriman, (he made) a treaty in this wise, "This is that weapon, like unto fire, blazing, harassing all creatures, that containeth the very essence of Āz. When the period of nine thousand years comes to an end, if thou hast not perfectly fulfilled that which thou didst threaten in the beginning, that thou wouldst bring all material existence to hate Ohrmazd and love thee—and verily this is the belief in one principle, that the increaser and destroyer are the same—then by means of these weapons Āz will devour that which is thine, thy creation; and she herself shall starve; for she shall not obtain food from the creatures of Ohrmazd—like unto a frog that liveth in the water; so long as he defileth the water,

he liveth by it, but when the water is withdrawn from him, he dieth parched.

(36) And Āz, because she had (only) one nature, had not the power to cause defilement so long as creatures were scattered; that her powers might be set in motion together within creation, she divided them in three, that is "that pertaining to natural function", "that pertaining to natural function directed outward", and "outside natural function". "That pertaining to natural function" is that which consists in eating to which life (*ǰān*) is bound: "that pertaining to natural function directed outward" is the desire to mingle (copulate) which is called Lust (*Varan*) itself, through which by a glance outwards the inwards are excited and the nature of the body confused: "outside natural function" is the yearning for whatever good thing one sees or hears.

(37) Each part was divided into two: "that pertaining to natural function" is hunger and thirst: "that pertaining to natural function directed outwards" is the emitting and the receiving (of semen): "outside natural function" is hoarding by robbery and refusing to give through miserliness.

(38) This is she who comprises (all) evil. And it is revealed that at the end Artvahišt will come to earth with the powerful help of Airyaman, the Messenger, to find a remedy against Āz: and he will show to creatures that the slaughter of the divers kinds of cattle is a grievous sin and that the benefit therefrom is small; and this will he command: "Ye are men; be not thus slaughterers of cattle even as hitherto ye have slaughtered cattle."

(39) When the time of the accomplishment of the Rejuvenation draws nigh, those who hearken to the command of Artvahišt shall turn from the slaughter of cattle and the eating of flesh, and one-quarter of the power of Āz shall grow less, and the goodness that is in her body shall be destroyed, and the parts of darkness and gloom shall be smitten: nature shall be clad in spirit (*mēnōkīkīh*), and intelligences shall be more clearly grasped.

(40) In the bodies of the children that are born to them Āz shall be less strong, and their bodies will stink less, and their nature will be more closely bound to the Gods. Instructed by the Gods they will turn from the drinking of milk; half the power of Āz shall grow less. (41) And those who are born to them shall be sweet-smelling, lacking darkness, spiritual in nature, without offspring, because they will not eat.

(42) And then the demon Āz, since she derives no power from the creatures of Ohrmazd, shall chide Ahriman who appointed her captain of commanders, (saying) in her greed to the judge of creatures: "Satisfy me, satiate me, for I derive no food or strength from the creatures of Ohrmazd." (43) At the command of Ahriman she shall destroy the lesser demons. At the last (only) those four commanders will remain, and the other two, Ahriman and Āz.

(44) Forth to the earth come Ohrmazd and Ahriman, Srōš and Āz. Ohrmazd smites Ahriman: so long as Āz was an ally to Ahriman he found no means (to smite him), for Ohrmazd is the all-creator of Light, and the darkness of Ahriman is his adversary; Srōš the Blessed is (the god) of the Mean, that is the spirit of the Mean, and the Excess and Deficiency of Āz are his adversary; they are of equal stature in the battle. (45) But when Āz is ⟨no longer⟩ an ally to Ahriman, Ahriman is alone, and his adversaries are three—two of a different essence, that is Ohrmazd and Srōš, and one of the same essence, that is Āz, his greatest ally. When his helpmate becomes his enemy, the Adversary shall be vanquished.

(46) When there are yet fifty-seven years to pass till the accomplishment of the Rejuvenation, the birth of Sōšyans shall come to pass, the consummation of that which was bestowed on Zoroaster.

(47) Concerning Zoroaster thus is it revealed—for thirty years he consulted with Ohrmazd, and he received the Religion, and he spread godliness abroad. In fifty-seven years the religion reached the seven climes partially: the Lie, once manifest and plain to see, ⟨fled⟩ beneath the earth, and their power was partially destroyed.

(48) When the Messenger of consummation who is Sōšyans, the Envoy and Airyaman, appears on earth, in like manner he consults for thirty years with the spiritual gods (*mēnōkān*). The time for the accomplishment of the Rejuvenation is also fifty-seven years; completely spread abroad, it shall reach the seven climes; and when it is completely spread abroad, the Lie shall be uprooted from creation.

(49) When the Adversary came upon creation, six thousand years of the "reckoned calendar" remained—that is from the day of Ohrmazd in the month of Fravartīn until the period returns to the day of Ohrmazd in the month of Fravartīn—for the completion of six thousand years of the intercalary calendar the equivalent of four years (are needed): for in every four years there is one intercalated day, not more; in six thousand years that is the equivalent of four years. At that time will come the sign of the Resurrection, and the

Firmament (*Spihr*) shall move, and the course of the Sun, Moon, and stars shall be *like unto the planets*(?); even as the Firmament revolves, the atmosphere and the seas along with the earth and the abodes (of men) shall turn from their natural ⟨paths⟩. On earth, in the likeness of springs of water, springs of fire shall arise in many places. (50) For Ohrmazd created with water, and shall bring about the end with fire: for water has a nature that illumines the seed and causes it to grow, and fire (a nature) that burns and thwarts it; for when the seed of plants comes to water, it has the power of growth, and it becomes moist.

(51) When that fire appears on earth, the waters begin to sink, and the rain ceases to rain till most of the waters on the earth become deserts, and the colour of plants (*čihrān*) on earth turns to the colour of wine (?) because of their union with fire, and they are burnt up, and the *tillage shall be of no effect.

(52) When there are three months to pass before the accomplishment of the Rejuvenation, the great battle shall come to pass, even as in the beginning creation was at war with the Lie. For ninety days and nights there was war, a battle of thirty days and nights by the rain that smites noxious creatures, of thirty days and nights by the streaming forth of the vapours through which the plants grow, of thirty days and nights by the wind which drives the water on, and supports the earth below and above and makes hollows and heights.

(53) But as the great battle in the beginning was by the raining of water and the wind that furthers the water, so is the (battle) in the end by the burning and scorching of fire and the fearful wind that makes the fire to blaze.

(54) As (first) for ninety days and nights the Gods did battle with the demons and the Whore, so in the end, manifest and plain, there shall be seen by night and in the atmosphere a form of fire in the shape of a man, conceived by the spiritual (gods), fiery and, as it were, riding a horse, and fearful (to behold): and they shall not doubt.

Notes

(1) A shorter form of the colloquy of Zoroaster and Ohrmazd is found GrBd. 221, 12, *čēγōn 'gōβēt 'ku Zartuχšt 'hač Ōhrmazd pursīt: tan i vāt ānīt 'ut 'āp vāzīt 'hač 'ku 'apāč 'gīrēnd, 'ut ristāχēz čēγōn 'bavēt?* "As it is said that Zoroaster asked Ohrmazd: 'Whence shall they bring back the body that the wind has carried away and

the water borne off? And what will the manner of the Resurrection of the dead?' " The simile of the casket is only found in Zātspram.

(3) *visānd* [illegible]. It seems necessary to distinguish two words (i) [illegible] = *vēχtan* (FrPhl., p. 76. NP. بیختن "sift"), and (ii) [illegible] = *visāndan* "separate". In our present passage the reading *'vēčēnd* is precluded by the following part. *burt*: [illegible] must then be a participiple passive. That being so, our word cannot be an ideogram, for in that case final *t* would be written, not *ḏ* as here, cf. *LMYTWNt* always = *'aβgand* though the latter has *d* written phonetically. The reading *vi* + *sānd* is assured by the meaning "separate, scatter". Cf. Dd. 36, 40, *'vattar Vāy* ⟨*'pat*⟩ *visānišn*, *'ǰān 'hač tan stōβēnītan*, "The evil Vāy by separation, scaring the breath-soul out of the body." DkM. 276, 8, *murt-ič humiθr nēvak kām hač-iš 'nē visānēnīt*, "And when he is dead, their kindly goodwill is not separated from him."

Further we have *visāndak*, [illegible] in DkM. 407, 1, *visāndak 'ut zruftak 'ut sūtak 'ut χāk-āmēk*, "separated and scattered and worn away and mingled with the dust." (*zruftak* < *uz* + **raup-* NP. *ruftan* "sweep", Soghd. *pr'wp-* Dhyāna 1: cf. Bailey, *BSOS.*, VII, p. 81: *sūtak* NP. سوده, DkM. 461, 3, *sūtakīh i vīmārīh. Ibid.*, 304, 7, *ašgahānīh 'ut sūtakīh.* The word is very common in Dk.) DkM. 433, 17, *'pas 'hač 'vas 'ān i patkārišnīk uskārišnīk čim-vičōδišnīk pursišn 'ut passaχᵛ *i ram* ⟨*i*⟩ *hāvišt visāndak χᵛāδišnīhā passačak*, "After many controversial, doctrinal, and probing questions and answers suitable to the separate inquiries of a band of disciples." Our word survives in NP. گسانیدن "break off".

Etymologically our word is plainly to be referred to a base **san-* whence (i) MParthT. Soghd. (Henning, ManBBB. s.v.) *sn-* "ascend"; Soghd. MParthT. *syn-* "raise" (v. Ghilain, *Essai sur la langue parthe*, p. 90); MPers. and ParthT. *s'n-* "raise".

(ii) With preverb *ā*, in *χᵛar-ā-sān* "sunrise".

(iii) With preverb *ava-*: MParthT. *'wsnyndyft* "descent"; Phl. *ōsān-* "drop" (v. *BSOS.*, IX, p. 893, where the etymology suggested is, however, wrong, v. Henning, *BSOS.*, X, p. 509). MPersT. *'ws'n-*, *'dwr 'wd 'bn'm 'yš wysp'n d'm'n 'br 'ws'nynd 'wd ryčynd*, "The fire and excrement which all creatures drop and pour upon it" unpublished; information very kindly supplied by Dr. Henning).

(iv) Finally with *vi-* in our own *visān-* "separate".

dālman: the following interpretation, with which I agree, has been suggested to me by Professor Bailey: *dālman* < **darr-man* < OP. **darnu-mani* = Av. *zarənu-manay-*. The word occurs as an epithet of *kahrkāsa-*, "the vulture" in Yt. 14, 33, and, misspelt, Yt. 16, 13. Since *dālman* itself means "vulture" in Pahlavī, there can be little doubt of the correctness of Bailey's etymology. Moreover, GrBd. 155, 10, confirms it: the passage is obviously based on Yt. 14, 33, and for *zarənu-manay-* the author gives not only his own wrong interpretation, *zarmān-mēnišnīh*, "whose thoughts are on old age," but also the Pahlavī equivalent, *dālman—karkās zarmān-mēnišnīh 'hast i dālman*. The development **darnu-* > *dāl* is noteworthy.

(4) *kiβōt*: LW. through Syriac, from Gk. κιβωτός, v. Bailey in *BSOS.*, VII, p. 78, where the cognates are given: to these may be added Mandæan *qwbwt'* (Brandt, *Mandäische Religion*, p. 124).

hugar, : reading assured from the parallel passage GrBd, 222, 12, *ēvak ēvak 'hač 'avēšān 'kaδ 'dāt pat-iš duškartar 'būt ku rist-āχēzišnīh*. "When I created each single one of those, it was more difficult than the Resurrection of the dead." *hugar* has two meanings: (i) "easy", as here and in §§ 5, 6, 20, cf. Dd. 36, 3, *ētōn-ič 'ān i brēhēnīt brēhēnišnīh hugartar 'ut škiftīh kam 'hač dām-dahišnīh*, "Thus the (re)-fashioning of what has (already) been fashioned is easier and less marvellous than the act of creation"; (ii) "beneficent" clearly in DkM. 124, 16, *'avē i huχᵛatāy dahyupat . . . . . i hugar rōšn dātār nazdtom*, "The governor of a province whose rule is good . . . . . who is nearest to the beneficent bright Creator." So *ibid.*, 598, 16, *pat-iš dēsīt Kang-diž i aβd-kart 'pat hugar-dārišnīh pānakīh 'vas varč 'ut 'χᵛarr 'ut rāz i dēn*, "By him was built Kang-diž, the marvellously wrought, by his beneficent maintenance, protection, and much wondrous power and good fortune and the mystery of the Religion." So probably also *ibid.*, 102, 3; 626, 19.

ātak: for the of the text Anklesaria proposed , that is, one supposes, *'ēt tāk* as in the first line of § 5. It would seem, however, that our word must be the same as the occurring after *kiβōt* in § 5. The meaning must here be "joint" or "component part". Phl. *'tk*, translating, or rather transliterating Av. *aδka-* "upper garment", does not help. GrBd. 50, 8, has *χᵛaršēt mūšparīk 'ō ray i 'χᵛēš bast ⟨'pat⟩ ātak 'ut ham-patmānakīh*, "The Sun bound Mūšparīk to his chariot (or 'brilliance', reading *brēh* with ŠGV., Ch. 4), with

a bond (joint) and a fitting together." DkM. 141, 4, *nizārīh i ēvak zōrīh i 'ō ātak, 'ut sustīh 'i-šān katāmiyān-ič* [illegible] *'ō 'ditān* is insufficiently clear. Zs. 3, 24, where the word also occurs, is desperately corrupt. It would seem that the word is to be connected with Av. *hā-*, *hātay-* "Stück", and should therefore be read either *ātak* or *hitak* < *hita-*, participle from *hā-*. Cf. also MPersT. *''d* "moment" (Henning, *BSOS.*, IX, p. 79).

[illegible] in DkM. 806, 10; 808, 11 is unconnected, being Av. *haχtay-*.

(5) Text very corrupt.

(7) *vars 'ut mōδ*: the distinction between hair of the body and that of the head is presumably implied. In FrÕīm 3, *vars* is explained as the hair *'ān i apar sar.*

**ras-rōšnīh*: for *ras*, v. *BSOS.*, IX, p. 313. The emendation which involves only the loss of a [illegible], seems not improbable in view of the fact that *Ras*, that is *Spihr*, the Firmament, is regarded as being the source of light (DkM. 124, 18); and the lights, Sun, Moon, and stars, are its offspring (DkM. 350, 3, *ras . . . . 'i-š zahak 'andar 'hēnd rōšnān χ^v^aršēt māh 'ut starān*). If only *rōšnīh* had stood in the original text, it would scarcely have been corrupted to the unintelligible form of our present text, but *ras-rōšnīh* written as one word would naturally lead to corruption. Against the emendation must be set the fact that *Ras* does not elsewhere occur except in the *Dēnkart.*

(7–15) Cf. Gr.Bd. 222, 16 ff. *'čē 'pat 'ān hangām 'hač mēnōk i zamīk ast, 'hač 'āp χōn, 'hač urvar mōδ, 'ut 'hač vāt *'ǰān čēγōn-šān 'pat bun-dahišn 'patiγraft, 'χ^v^āδam. nazdist ast 'ān i Gayō(k)mart 'ul hangēžēt, 'pas 'ān i Mašyā 'ut Mašyānē 'ut 'pas 'ān i apārīk 'kasān 'ul hangēžēnēt.* "For at that time I summon the bone from the earth, the blood from the water, the hair from the plants, and the life (breath-soul) from the wind even as they received them at the primal creation. First he raises up the bones of Gayōmart, then those of Mašyā and Mašyānē, and then he raises up those of the other people." Cf. Phl.Riv. 48, 55.

(16) *dīδišn*: written [illegible] (*dahišn, ǰahišn*). Reading *dahišn*, we could take it as object to *dānam*, but that leaves us with the scarcely admissible *pat rōšn*. After *pat rōšn* we expect the equivalent of *mēnišnīh*, cf. *pat rōšn-mēnišnīh* in the following line. *dydšn* is well attested in MPT. (Salemann, ManSt. i, s.v.: Andreas-Henning, MirMan. ii and iii), but in Phl. we would expect the spelling *dytšnw* as in *āmōχtišn*. The reading must be regarded as uncertain.

čēγōn kaδ mart šīr . . . . . ku-m katār asp : the whole passage seems corrupt. *kaδ šīr dōχt* has obviously been displaced, and there is reason to believe that other displacements have also taken place, for in the parallel passage PhlRiv. 22, 4, *yāmak* is used not in the simile of the horses but in that of the milk in the sense of " bowl ", not of " garment, caparison ". Though I believe our text needs radical restoration, I have not succeeded in finding a satisfactory rearrangement. I append the *Rivāyat* passage :—

Ōhrmazd guft 'ku-m dānākīh ētōn 'hast i 'kaδ hamāk pēm i 'har 'čiš 'andar 'ō yāmak-ē dōsēnd, [*i*] *'man ēvak ēvak yutākīhā 'bē 'dānam guft 'ku *'hač pistān i 'kē : 'ut 'kaδ hamāk 'āp i 'pat gēhān 'andar 'ō *ē gyāk 'hilēnd, ēvak ēvak yutāk 'bē 'dānam guftan 'ku 'hač katār χānīk : 'ut 'kaδ hamāk urvar i 'pat hamāk gēhān χ^vart 'bē aβšārēnd, ēvak ēvak 'apāč 'ō gyāk* ⟨*i*⟩ *'χ^vēš 'dānam 'nihātan.*

" Ohrmazd said, ' My wisdom is such that when they milk all the milk of everything into one bowl, of every single one separately I can say from whose udder it is : and when they pour all the water on the earth into one place, of every single drop I can say from which source it is : and when they pound up small all the plants on all the world, I can put every single one back in its proper place.' "

dōχt : " milked," pres. *dōs-* < **dōχs-* (Bailey, *Philological Society's Transactions*, 1936, p. 101). Cf. DkM. 607, 21, *'avēšān 'gāv dōs. Ibid.*, 622, 8, *drang* ⟨*i*⟩ 10 *asp pēm dōsišn 'kē dōsītar ēvak 'bavēt,* " For so long as it takes to milk the milk of ten mares for which there is one milker." So *ibid.* lines 12–13, where *dōsišn* is misspelt دوسیشن, and lines 16–17. Cf. *ibid.*, 672, 9, *dōsīt* : 768, 15, *dōsišn.* The form *dōst* found DkM. 608, 2, is probably to be emended to *dōsīt.* The part. *dōχt* is also found, GrBd. 104, 13, *šīr i 'gāv dōχt* and *ibid.*, 233, 2. The pres. form *dōš-* is also attested Zs. 30, 58, *pēm frāč dōšīhēt.* Cf. NP. دوغ, " buttermilk," Skt. *kāma-duh-*, " the cow of plenty."

(19) *gašnak* (?) دشنوا : the following passages attest the meaning " small " :—

(i) DkM. 100, 19. *'ut 'kē 'ēn-ič 'nēst, aš gašnak* (?) *zīvišnīh pahlom 'ku 'mā 'pat vēš-zīvišnīh 'pat tuhīkīh i 'hač pahlomīh vināsāt, 'rasāt 'ō vattom rāδēnišnīh i 'hast druvandīh,* " For him who does not possess these (qualities), a short life is best, so that, being devoid of perfection and living a long life he may not sin and come to the worst condition which is damnation." Cf. l. 13 of the same page.

(ii) *Ibid.*, 293, 11. *gašnak*(?)*-mēnišnīhā panīh,* " small-minded

miserliness," is contrasted with *'vazurg-nikīrišnīhā rātīh* "large-minded generosity" (l. 7).

(iii) *Ibid.*, 804, 17. *'ēn-iš 'ku-t zamānak i nēvakīh* [*i*] *gašnak*(?) *'būt 'ut 'ān i anākīh drāž 'hast*, "This too that the time of your prosperity was short and that of your misery long."

(iv) *Ibid.*, 808, 4. *anāk 'tō tan i sēžōmand 'kē tar gašnak* (?) *kart 'kē tar nazdīk 'rasēnīt 'ham ō 'ān i vattom aχᵛān*, "Wretched is thy perishable body which now is made mean, and brings me near to the worst abodes." Contrasted with this is *ibid.*, 807, 20, *nēvak 'tō 'bavāt 'ēt tan i sēžōmand 'kē tar buland kart 'ham 'kē tar nazdīk* [*i 'ut*] *'rasēnīt 'ham 'ō 'ān i pahlom aχᵛān*, "May thy perishable body prosper thee which now is exalted and now brings me to the perfect abodes." Cf. *ibid.*, 808, 6; 858, 16; 865, 13; 793, 1. Further the word translates Av. *mərəzu-* "short".

If the meaning is abundantly clear, the reading is not. Against Nyberg's *āhūk* < OP. **āθu-ka* (*JA.*, 1931, p. 120) must be set the DkM. reading which has *GŠ* clearly, and, more cogently, that of the facsimile K_{20} 170 V 20, 82 V 5, and 153 V 19 with pointed *G* ڎ. Hence the readings *gšnk*, *gšwk* seem alone probable. Any connection with Parth. *gš-*, as with NP. *gāš*, is, however, semantically unacceptable. I would, therefore, take *gašnak* to be a diminutive of *gašan*, NP. گشن "numerous", cf. *andak*, "small" from *and*, "so much." *gašan* is probably to be read in *Ayātkār i Žāmāspīk*, 14, 11; 16, 41 (Pārsī text *dahan—sipāh u dahan* = *spāh i gašan* "a numerous army".)

(20) The twelve things that were more difficult to create than the Rejuvenation are also found in PhlRiv. 52 and GrBd. 221, 14. PhlRiv. is the exacter parallel to Zs. The following table may be of service :—

Zātspram.	*Rivāyat.*	*Greater Bundahišn.*
(i) *āsmān astūn.*	*āsmān.*	*āsmān apēstūn.*
(ii) *zamīk.*	*zamīk.*	*zamīk.*
(iii) *χᵛaršēt.*	*χᵛaršēt.*	*χᵛaršēt, māh 'ut stārak.*
(iv) *māh.*	*māh.*	
(v)	*star.*	
(vi) *andar urvarān vas gōnak rang ut *čāšišn.*	*yavartāk i χōšak.*	*yavartāk.*
(vii) *andar urvar ātaχš.*	*andar urvarīhā gōnak bōδ ut mičak.*	*andar urvar rang gōnak gōnak.*
(viii) *χōšak.*	*andar urvar ātaχš.*	*urvarān ātaχš.*

Zātspram.	*Rivāyat.*	*Greater Bundahišn.*
(ix) *andar mātakān zahak.*	*andar aškomb i mātarān pus.*	*andar burtār i māt pus.*
(x) *tanōmand murvān pat parr.*	*murv.*	*ō āp pāδ dāt.*
(xi) *āp pāδ dāt.*	*āp pat ravišn dāt.*	*aβr.*
(xii) *aβr.*	*aβr.*	*Vāy.*

zartak i χāyak miyān i χāyak. Cf. Mχ. 44, 7 ; PhlRiv. 46, 5 ; DkM. 64, 7. GrBd. 18, 4, *nazdist āsmān 'dāt rōšn paytāk i* (thus P) *apēr dūr* [illegible] : for these signs the Paris MS. has [illegible]. The reading of TD_2 certainly indicates *dūr-kanārak* " whose borders are far apart ", the most frequent of all epithets of the sky, but the reading of P seems to represent *χāyak-dēs* " in the form of an egg ". I would therefore suggest that in both there is a lacuna, TD_2 omitting *χāyak* and P *kanārak*. [illegible] in TD is to be read *dēs* as in GrBd. 41, 3, *dēs* ⟨*i*⟩ *vazag* (written [illegible]) ; so also in the concluding section of our chapter. The restored text should therefore read *dūr-kanārak χāyak-dēs*.

The Pahlavī books merely speak of the sky as being like an egg : they do not speak of it as actually being an egg. This doctrine, which Plutarch seems to attribute to the Magians (*de Iside*, 46 ; Clemen, *Fontes*, p. 48 ; Bidez-Cumont, *Les Mages hellénisés*, ii, D 4, p. 71 ; Benveniste, *The Persian Religion*, pp. 71, 100), and which Benveniste following Darmesteter discerned in the *Mēnōk i Xrat*, is not only unknown in Pahlavī but condemned as absurd ; for the *Šikand Gumānī Vazār*, 5, 36, says : *han āinaa i əž īñ bōruñ añdar vīmañd* [*i*] *ačārī nə būṯ nə šāyaṯ, čuñ kə gōeṯ ku gəhą pa nihąnī añdar añdaruñ χāeae burdan šāyaṯ*, " Another sort different from this necessarily cannot be within the province (of possibility, *šāyaṯ sažəṯ būdan*, §§ 31, 33), as when one says that the world could be brought into the interior of an egg." As a similar absurdity the author goes on to quote the statement of Jesus that it is possible for a camel to go through a needle's eye. We may therefore be certain that the conception of the Cosmic Egg is foreign to Mazdeanism proper ; nor can it be pleaded in this connection that the account of the *Mēnōk*, being Zervanite in tendency, implies such a doctrine, for that account is precisely similar to that of the *Dēnkart*, and the *Dēnkart* in an earlier recension was one of the principal authorities of the *Šikand* (ŠGV.,

introduction, p. xviii). All Pahlavī sources confine themselves to the comparison.

kaδ star brēhēnīt: restored from the parallel Riv. passage, v. *supra*. Though TD leaves a lacuna before the ninth creation and numbers accordingly, the presence of "the stars" in our two parallel passages makes our restoration almost certain.

**čāšišn*: NP. چاشنه, چاشنی, "taste," چاشت "midday meal", چشیدن "taste", etc. The emendation is again suggested by the *Rivāyat* parallel *mičak*, cf. Phl. Texts, p. 122, § 7, *mičak i čāšnīk*. The [illegible] of the text can, however, be retained: we should then read *paχsišn*, "ripening." Cf. MPersT. *pχš-* "ripen" (MirMan. i, s.v.). NP. attests both Pers. and Parth. پخشیدن beside پخسیدن. For the Parth. formation with *s* in Phl. we may compare *tafsīt* (GrBd. 73, 9).

ārōδišn: translates Av. *uruθa-*, *uruθmya-*, also *raod-* (Vd. 6, 6), cf. MPT. *'rwy* "Gewächse" (MirMan. i).

tāk bē ⟨nē⟩ viturt: the addition *nē* is made certain by Yt. 13, 11. *vīδāraēm . . . . . azəm barəθrišva puθrə paiti vərətə apara iriθintō.*

drēm: v. *BSOS.*, IX, p. 901.

srūv: transliteration of Av. *srū-*.

aβr dāt: supplied from the parallels, v. *supra*.

(24) *pat čand*: a substantive seems to have fallen out, probably *aβzār*, as in the corrupt GrBd. 4, 4. *zamān* would also be possible.

pātēmār: written with the ideogram *PKDN*. Cf. FrPhl. Junker, p. 56, and index, p. 122. Whatever the juridical meaning may be—and MhD. ii, 36, 2, and *ibid.*, i, 100, 15 (despite Pagliaro's discussion, RSO., xi, p. 470), are not clear to me—Junker's "judiciaries, judgment; punishment" does not seem very satisfactory. The following passages seem to demand the translation "appointed", as does our own.

(i) AVM., § 127 (Phl. Texts, p. 95): *tuχšāk[īh] 'ān 'kē pēšak i frārōnīh 'kunēt, 'ut kār-ič i pātēmār 'bavēt, avināsīhā 'ut aranʃakīhā pat-iš tuχšēt*, "The vigorous man is he who does the trade of righteousness, and without sin or trouble perseveres in the work which is appointed for him."

(ii) GrBd. 180, 13. *'ēn mēnōkān 'vas nāmčištīk kār ov-iš pātēmār*, "These spirits have many special works assigned to them."

(iii) ŠGV. 5, 60–2. *əduñniča vāspuharganī u čiharanīdaī i añdąmą i añdarūnī, čuñ ʃigar dawur* (for [illegible], [illegible] *spuhl* "spleen", cf.

Zs. 30, 15 ; 16, 30 ; PhlRiv. 59, 3 ; GrBd. 190, 1 ; [illegible] : 195, 2 [illegible]). *suš gurdaa u zahar-pōšašni awarə awazārą kə har yak ažašą χᵛəškārīe pədā : hawašą pādimāl čiharanīţ vāspuhargąnīţ əstəñd pa ą i yašą χᵛəš kār*, " So too is the governing and natural regulation of the internal organs such as the liver, spleen, lungs, kidneys, gall-bladder, and the other organs, every one of which has its own function which is appointed to it and governed and regulated according to its individual work." For this passage Pagliaro (*loc. cit.*) suggested " difesa, protezione ".

The meaning seems further corroborated by a passage from the *Nīrangistān* quoted by Bartholomæ, AIW., col. 828 : *nē pātēmārakān kaδ-aš bahr andar nē bavēt*, " not appointed, that is when it has not its proper part."

For Syriac ܦܩܕ Brockelmann gives " quaesivit, ultus est, punivit, mandavit, jussit ". " mandavit " gives the sense we require. Our word is presumably to be connected with Phl. *pēšēmār* and *pasēmār* (cf. Nyberg, *Glossar*, p. 185). *-ēmār* < *aδi* + *mar-* " mark out ". For the initial *pāt-* cf. *pātdahišn*, *pātkōs*, *pātzahr*, *pātrazm*, etc. (cf. Bartholomæ, Zum AIW., p. 180).

(25) *spēžišn*, v. *BSOS.*, IX, p. 311. In the Persian Manichæan texts *yyšw' 'spyχt'n* is equivalent to the Jesus-Zîwâ of Theodore bar Kônai (" Jésus le lumineux ", Cumont, *Recherches*, i, p. 46 : " Jesus the luminous," Jackson, *Researches*, p. 249), v. Waldschmidt-Lentz, *Stellung Jesu*, pp. 36 and 38. According to DkM. 264, 19, sacrifice to the Creator is the *spēžišn* of the Creator, *ēžišn i dātār i 'χᵛat spēžišn i dātār*.

(28) *vinīrišn* : MPT. *wynyr-* " gedeihen, glücklich werden " : with *'br* " bereitet werden ". v. Henning, ManBBB., p. 116. DkM. 170, 2, *ham-'bavišnīh, vinīrišn* (*WN'YLŠNW*) *'ut *daštakīh*—" conception, growth, and becoming a fœtus."

nisārīk : if our word is genuine, it must be connected with Parth. *nys'r'd* " begun " (Lentz, *Stellung Jesu*, p. 114, M 855 V O : Andreas-Henning, MirMan., iii).

spēžīhēnd : cf. § 25. For the meaning " shoot forth " cf. Zs. 30, 55, *urvar karpān dūr-bōδ nihāl viškōβ spēžīhēnd*, " the forms of plants, fragrant afar, saplings, and blossom shoot forth." So Andreas-Henning, MirMan., i, p. 190, *drχt 'spyzynd*, " the trees put forth shoots."

(30) This and the following section deal with J̌ēh, the Primal Whore. The *Bundahišn* (GrBd. 39, 12–41, 10) gives a fuller account

of the J̌ēh episode, which Professor Benveniste has analysed in his brilliant study of Theodore bar Kônai's account of Zoroastrianism (MO., xxvi, pp. 170–215). The *Bundahišn* unfortunately is not entirely clear, and our *Zātspram* passage is fragmentary and corrupt. The present attempt at restoration must therefore be regarded as tentative.

bānūk aβdist: the text has [illegible], for which Anklesaria suggested the emendation [illegible] *hanbāzastan*. This is not very satisfactory, for *hanbāzīhast* would be the correct form, and it has already been stated that J̌ēh was Ahriman's companion in his assault on the creation of Ohrmazd. *bānūk aβdist* seems probable on two grounds: (i) the following clause, *χᵛat hast sar i hamāk ǰēh-dēvān*, "verily she is the chief of all whore demons," gains in point as explaining *bānūk*; (ii) the appointment of J̌ēh as queen of her kind is paralleled by the similar appointment of Āz as the captain of Ahriman's hosts.

aβdist: cf. MParthT. *'bdys-*, *'bdyšt* "weisen, belehren" (MirMan., iii; Salemann, ManSt., i). It is difficult to point to certain parallels in Phl., as the word is constantly confused with *apāyast*; but DkM. 127, 20, seems a case in point: *yazat mānāk i dānāk huχᵛatāy 'mart i ahrov i *andar gētēh Ōhrmazd dēsak* ([illegible]) *aβdistan gōβēt*, "God is like a wise, good, and holy ruler who preaches the demonstration of the form of Ohrmazd on earth." DkM. 161, 22, and 162, 2, 5, 8, may also be cited, but no certain meaning can be attached to [illegible]. I shall therefore be content with quoting the first: *'pat ruvān-bižiškīh 'ut rāst tarskāy Ašvahišt amahraspand *sačāk aβdistīh*, "In the healing of the soul and a righteous and reverent teaching (?) suitable to the Amahraspand Artvahišt." One might, however, prefer to read *aβdast* < *aβi* + *dasta-* which would then mean "dexterity". DkM. 887, 2, has *kām 'ut framān 'ut aβdist* with the diacritical mark over *d*, but the following line has *kār framān apāyast*. In our own passage we might also read **apāyast* and translate: "He needed the demon Whore of evil religion, the queen of her species, that is the chief of all the whore demons."

(31) After *dušdēn*, *ǰēh-dēv* has fallen out, as is obvious from the preceding section. The question is, has anything else fallen out, and if so what? We learn that J̌ēh had sexual intercourse with someone unnamed, and that she did so to defile females, by which presumably women are meant. Now if she had intercourse with Ahriman it is difficult to see how she was thereby to defile women, and the same

applies to Āz. Zurvān and Ohrmazd can safely be left out of our inquiry both on the grounds stated and because such an inherently preposterous idea, unattested elsewhere, must necessarily be dismissed. The only other person present at this stage of the cosmic drama is the Blessed Man, and by having intercourse with him she might justly consider that she would thereby defile the future race of women. Leaving aside Theodore and the fourth chapter of the *Bundahišn* for the moment, we find striking support for our theory in GdBd. 107, 14–108, 7. The passage is worth quoting *in extenso* : *guft-aš Ōhrmazd 'kaδ-aš 'zan brēhēnīt, 'ku 'dāt-ič-am 'hēh, 'tō 'kē-t ǰēhān sarδak pityār, 'ut-at nazdīk 'kūn 'ut 'dahān ē 'dāt 'hēh, 'kē-t māyišn ētōn 'sahēt čēγōn 'pat 'dahān mičak-ē ⟨i⟩ χᵛarišn ⟨i⟩ šīrēntom, *'kē-m 'tō aδyārīh, 'čē-t 'mart hač-iš 'zāt, 'man-ič āzārēh *'kē Ōhrmazd 'ham. 'bē 'hakar-am vindāt 'hēt yāmak 'kē 'mart hač-iš 'kunam, am 'nē *'dāt 'hēt hakarč 'kē-t 'ān i ǰēh sarδak pityārak. 'bē-m 'χᵛāst 'andar 'āp 'ut zamīk 'ut urvar 'ut gōspand, bālist garān 'ān-ič i zufr [i] rōtstāk: 'nē 'vindāt yāmak 'kē 'mart i ahrov hač-iš 'būt yut 'zan *'kē ǰēh pityārak,* " And Ohrmazd said when he created woman, ' I created thee, thou whose adversary is the whore species, and thou wast with thy mouth near to the sexual organs, and coition seems to thee even as the taste of the sweetest food to the mouth ; and thou art an helper to me, for from thee is man born, and thou dost grieve me who am Ohrmazd. But had I found another vessel from which to make man, never would I have created thee whose adversary is the whore species. But I sought in the waters of the earth, in plants and cattle, in the highest mountains and the deep valleys, but I did not find a vessel from which blessed man might proceed except woman whose adversary is the whore.' "

A more obvious and clumsy attempt to adapt an extraneous myth to the Mazdean system could scarcely be found. Ohrmazd, by definition omnipotent and omniscient, is nevertheless incapable of finding a satisfactory means of reproducing mankind. What he succeeds in creating is, in fact, not woman at all but an obscene monster of lubricity " with her mouth near the sexual organs ". The monotonous iteration of the formula " thou whose adversary is the whore species " in no way conceals the inherent wickedness of this obviously undesirable creature. The author of the *Bundahišn* " complains too much ", for it is obvious that this creature " who grieves Ohrmazd " was in the original no creature of his : she must have been J̌ēh herself, the Primal Whore, who is at the same time Primal Woman. Her

function is the reproduction of mankind, and this purpose she could only reasonably effect by cohabiting with Gayōmart, the Blessed Man. Hence our restoration in the *Zātspram* text seems to be justified.

Professor Benveniste (*loc. cit.*) has already drawn the conclusion from the account of Theodore bar Kônai and GrBd., ch. iv, that woman was a creature of evil in the Zervanite system. But the account of Theodore too exhibits a compromise between the Zervanite and Mazdean points of view, as he rightly points out. Women, created by Ohrmazd, are given to the just men, but with remarkable perversity they at once flee and take refuge with Ahriman. They then wished to have intercourse with the just, that is man, but Ohrmazd contrived an expedient, and made the god Narsē, and placed him naked behind Ahriman " that the women might see him, lust after him, and ask (saying): ' O Satan (Ahriman), our father, give us the god Narsē as a gift ' " (cf. Bidez-Cumont, *Les Mages Hellénisés*, ii, p. 105). As we are at present engaged in justifying an emendation in the text of Zātspram, we must refrain from discussing Theodore's substitution of Narsē for Gayōmart and refer the reader to Cumont, *Recherches sur le Manichéisme*, i, pp. 61–8. The link between Theodore and Zātspram is supplied by GrBd. 40, 14–41, 10 = IndBd. (Justi) 9, 9–13. The Indian version is much shorter, inverts the order of events, and makes no mention of Ohrmazd. The two texts are as follows :—

(i) IndBd. *drāyīt 'ō ǰēh 'ku-t 'čē kāmak, 'tāk-at daham. 'ut-aš drāyīt ǰēh 'ō ganāk mēnōk 'ku 'mart-kāmak⟨īh⟩ [i] *'bē 'ō 'man 'dah. ganāk mēnōk karp dītan d⟨ē⟩sak i vazag [karp]. 'ut-aš 'mart i yuvān i* 15 *'sālak 'ō ǰēh nimūt. 'ān ǰēh mēnišn ov-iš 'bast.* " He (Ahriman) cried out to the Whore, ' What is thy desire that I may give it thee ? ' And the Whore cried out to the Destructive Spirit, ' Give me desire for man.' The appearance of the body of the Destructive Spirit was the form of a frog. And he showed the Whore a young man of fifteen years of age. The Whore fastened her thoughts on him."

(ii) GrBd. *davīt ganāk mēnōk 'ō *ǰēh-dēv* 'ku-t 'čē kāmak 'hēt, 'χᵛāδ, 'tāk-at 'daham. 'aδak Ōhrmazd 'pat χrat harvisp-ākāsīh 'dānast 'ku 'pat 'ān zamān 'čē ǰēh-dēv 'χᵛāδēt, ganāk mēnōk attōk dāt 'ut-aš 'pat 'ān mas-sūtīh. 'ān ganāk mēnōk karp [i] dītan dēs ⟨i⟩ vazag. 'ut-aš 'mart ⟨i⟩ yuvān i* 15 *'sālak humānāk 'ō ǰēh-dēv nimūt. 'ān i ǰēh-dēv mēnišn ov-iš bast. 'ut-aš davīt ǰēh-dēv 'ō ganāk mēnōk 'ku 'mart-kāmakīh 'ō 'man 'dah, 'ku-š 'pat sardārīh 'andar mān 'bē nišēnam. 'ut-aš davīt ganāk mēnōk 'ku 'čiš 'χᵛāstan 'ō 'tō 'nē 'gōβam, 'čē apē-sūt*

((*sic*) P [illegible]) *'vat 'dānēh 'χᵛāst. 'be *sačist* ([illegible], but cf. [illegible] P.) *'ān zamān* * . ! . *kaδ-aš 'čē** ('*čē 'kaδ-aš* MSS.) *'χᵛāst 'hēt, 'nē attōk 'būt 'hēh 'dātan.* "The Evil Spirit cried out to the demon Whore, 'Ask whatever is thy desire, that I may give it thee.' Then Ohrmazd in the omniscience of his wisdom knew that at that time the Evil Spirit could give whatever the demon Whore asked, and that there would be great benefit to him (sc. Ohrmazd) thereby. The appearance of the body of the Evil Spirit was the form of a frog. And he (Ohrmazd ? Ahriman ?) showed one like unto a young man of fifteen years of age to the demon Whore; and the demon Whore fastened her thoughts on him. And the demon Whore cried out to the Destructive Spirit, 'Give me desire for man, that I may seat him in the house as my lord.' And the Destructive Spirit cried unto her, 'I do not bid thee ask anything, for thou knowest (only) to ask for what is without benefit and bad.' But the time had passed when he had not been able to give what she asked."

Although various deities are compared to a young man of fifteen years of age, it cannot be doubted that the reference is here to Gayōmart, the Blessed Man, or to the form of sleep that was given him (GrBd. 44, 3). The Bd. does not expressly state that the Whore had intercourse with Gayōmart or with anyone else, as we would expect from Zātspram, but the Bd. passage is only a fragment, and we must look to Zs. for what subsequently took place; and in Zs. *hamyuχt* is plainly there. The myth is then not strictly comparable to the Manichæan Seduction of the Archons or the unedifying experiences of Hibil-Zîwâ with the demoness Zahriêl related in *Ginzâ* R., pp. 147–9 (Lidzbarski, pp. 160–2: Brandt, *Mandäische Schriften*, pp. 156–9), for in neither of these cases is the divine being defiled. There is still much to be said about the J̌ēh episode, but this cannot now be investigated. It might, however, be suggested that the J̌ēh myth is a survival of the Magian doctrine preserved in Hippolytus, *Refut, haeres*, i, 2, 12–15 (Bidez-Cumont, op. laud., ii, p. 62; Clemen, *Fontes*, p. 76), which regards darkness as the female principle and light as the male.

(32) *Āz*: must be read rather than *az* "serpent", that is Dahāk. §§ 36–7, are conclusive. The destructive activities of Dahāk, most fully described in the *Bahman Yašt*, occur in the millennium of Ōšētarmāh, when Karsāsp is resuscitated (ZāmN., ch. xvii, Messina; GrBd. 219, 15 ff.; PhlRiv. 48, 30 ff.). The destruction of Āz is the very last stage in the victory of the powers of light over the powers of darkness.

In assigning to Āz the feminine gender I follow the Manichæan texts (S 13, v. Henning, *NGGW.*, 1932, p. 215), where it is called "the accursed mother of all demons". In the Avesta, however, this demon is masculine; it is therefore possible that Āz, like Zurvān, was considered hermaphrodite. The feminine gender of the Manichæan fragments, however, argues a similar state of affairs in Zervanism.

(33) *gašnak*: v. 19 n.

(34) **apārīkān-ič*: the *apārīk-ič-ān* of the MS. is probably not genuine, and *apārīkān-ič* should be read. *katār-ič-ē* is not strictly comparable. One can scarcely compare the strange form [illegible], (*zimčīk*, *-čīk* as in Soghd.) attested DkM. 404, 17, *hamēnīk 'ut zimčīk*, "of summer and winter." *Ibid.* 298, 3, *zimčīk uzēnak* corresponds to *zimastān uzēnak* in 299, 12, cf. 683, 9; 769, 11. For 404, 17, Nyberg read *nēmčīk* (*Texte zum Mazdayasnischen Kalender*, p. 38), but the parallel passages prove that the meaning "winter" is required.

(35) **patmōk . . . zāy*: the object given by Zurvān to Ahriman is a "garment" or a "weapon". Similarly Augustine (*contra Faustum*, xi, 3), speaks of the panoply of the Manichæan Primal Man as *membra sua vel vestimenta sua, vel arma sua, id est quinque elementa* (Baur, *Das Manichäische Religionssystem*, p. 54).

(37) *rēčāk patīrāk*: "emitting and receiving," obviously in a sexual connotation. With this specialized use of *rēč-* I would connect *rēčišn* "lust" (against *BSOS.*, IX, p. 316). The intermediate stage between *rēčišn* "emitting" and "lust" is to be found in DkM. 442, 22. *kūn-marz yātūkīh, rāsdārīh 'ut 'zan-*rēčīh* ([illegible]). The meaning "lust" is clearly attested DkM. 233, 7, where *rēčišn 'ō dušgōhrān*, "lust for evil-natured people," is opposed to line 1, *āhang 'ō hugōhrān*, "longing for good-natured people." *Ibid.*, 82, 10, *gaδōk rēčišn* is opposed to *baγān ōž*. *Ibid.*, 687, 9, *rēčišnīh 'ut anākīh 'hač 'dēvān*. The sense of "pouring forth" of evil is found, *ibid.*, 119, 2, *'andar 'dēvān rēčišn i hač-išān pityārak 'ō gēhān vināsišn 'ut vizand i dāmān*, "in the demons pouring forth their opposition for the damage of the world and detriment of creatures"; *ibid.*, 257, 7, *aγdēn adātīh 'hač 'dēvān 'pat frēβ rēčišn*, "the lawlessness of evil religion is from the demons pouring forth deceit," cf. *ibid.*, 263, 7.

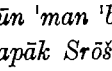
(38) **čārgarīh*: the *čihrgarīh* of the MS. is plainly wrong, as the *čār i Āz χᵛāδīhēt* of § 34 shows.

Artvahišt: for the descent of Artvahišt on to the earth cf. PhlRiv. 48, 20; DkM. 669, 16 ff. It takes place in the millennium of Ōšētar.

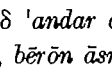
frāč pat nūn : the reading seems assured by the parallels. PhlRiv. 48, 20, has *čēγōn 'nūn kušt 'hēt* ; DkM., *loc. cit.*, has *čēγōn 'ān pēš 'bē kuštār 'būt 'hēt.*

(39) **nērōk* : for the *nkyrwkw̱* of the MS. we may also read *kirrōk*, " skill," but § 40 has *nērōk.*

(39–41) The stages by which men cease to eat are described somewhat more fully in DkM. 673, 13 ff.: *'martōm apē-niyāzīh i 'hač 'gōšt rāδ 'gōšt-χᵛarišnīh 'hilēnd, 'ut-šān χᵛarišn pēm 'ut urvar 'bavēt : 'ut 'kaδ 3 'sāl 'mānd 'ēstēt, pēm-χᵛarišnīh-ič 'hilēnd,* " Because they do not need meat, men will cease to eat meat, and their food will be milk and plants ; and when three years remain, they will cease to drink milk also " ; *ibid.* 675, 17, 17 *'sāl urvar-χᵛarišn,* 30 *'sāl 'āp-χᵛarišn,* 10 *'sāl mēnōk-χᵛarišn,* " For sixteen years their food shall be plants, for thirty years water, and for ten years their food shall be spiritual."



(42) *ruzdakīhā* : ([illegible]), v. Bailey, *BSOS.*, VI, p. 82. NP. رژد and رزد : MPT. *rwzdyst* " gierig werden nach " (MirMan., ii, iii, cf. Salemann, ManSt., i, s.v.). In Pahlavī the normal spelling is [illegible], cf. Dd. 5, 7 ; DkM. 506, 7 ; 233, 10 ([illegible]).



hanburt : < *par-* " fill ", cf. Vd. 4, 48, where *ham hanbārēt* translates Av. *hąm-pāfrāiti.*

(42–5) A somewhat fuller account is given in PhlRiv. 48, 90–6. **Ēšm 'ut Āz 'bē 'ō ganāk mēnōk 'gōβēt 'ku dušdānāk ganāk mēnōk, 'bē 'tō žōyam, 'čē-t 'bē 'hač 'tō dām 'graft : ⟨'nē⟩ ganǰ 'nē-*ič gund* (a) *'ut 'man zīvastan 'nē tavān.* (91) *fratom Āz i 'dēvān-dāt 'bē *žōyēt* ([illegible]) *Ēšm i χurdruš, 'ut ditīkar zimastān i 'dēvān-dāt, 'ut sitīkar Sēž i nihān-ravišn, 'ut 4-om Zarmān i*dušdaft* (b) *'bē *žōyēt 'tāk hēč-ē frāč mānēnd* (92) *⟨'bē 'hač⟩* (c) *ganāk mēnōk 'ut Āz i 'dēvān-dāt. 'gōβēt Āz i 'dēvān-dāt 'bē 'ō ganāk mēnōk 'ku 'bē 'tō žōyam, dušdānāk, 'čē yazdān 'bē 'hač 'tō dām *'graft.* (93) *ganāk mēnōk 'ul ēstēt, 'bē 'ō Spēnāk Mēnōk 'šavēt, 'ētōn *davēt* ([illegible]) *'ku 'man 'ēn dām 'dāt 'ut Āz i 'dēvān-dāt 'kē-š dām ⟨i⟩ 'man žūt, 'nūn 'man 'bē 'kāmēt žūtan : 'tō 'pat dātaβarīh 'kunam.* (94) *Ōhrmazd 'apāk Srōš ahrov 'ul ēstēt 'ut Srōš-ahrāy[īh] Āz 'bē 'zanēt, Ōhrmazd ganāk mēnōk.* (95) *'apāk *spistēn*(?) (d) *tārīkīh 'ut anākīh ⟨i⟩ fratom 'kaδ 'andar duvārast 'andar āβurt, hamāk 'pat sūrāk 'ku 'andar duvārast, bērōn āsmān *'kart, 'ut-aš ⟨'pat⟩ 'ān sūrāk ētōn start 'ut abōδ 'bē 'kart i 'pas 'hač 'ān sturtīh 'apāč ⟨'nē⟩ēstēt.* (96) *būt*

'kē-š guft 'ku yāvētānakān 'pat 'ōžanišn aδvēnak akār 'bē 'kart, 'nē 'pas ganā⟨k⟩ mēnōk 'bavēt, 'nē 'ān i 'avē dām.

"Ešm (Anger) and Āz say to the Destructive Spirit, 'O thou Destructive Spirit of evil knowledge, I shall swallow thee, for except thee all creation has been taken away, *and there is neither treasure nor army*, and I cannot live.' (91) First Āz, the demon-created, swallows Ešm of the bloody spear, and second the demon-created Winter, and third Bane (*sēž*) that moves in secret, and fourth she swallows Old Age whose breath is foul, so that none remain (92) save the Destructive Spirit and Āz, the demon-created. Āz, the demon-created, says to the Destructive Spirit, 'I will swallow thee, O thou of evil knowledge, for the gods have taken away (all) creation save thee.' (93) The Destructive Spirit rises up and goes towards the Bounteous Spirit, and cries out thus, 'I created this creation, and Āz, the demon-created, who has swallowed my creation, now desires to swallow me; I make thee judge (over us).' (94) Ohrmazd arises with Srōš, the Blessed, and Srōš, the Blessed, smites Āz, and Ohrmazd the Destructive Spirit. (95) With the foul (?) darkness and misery which he brought into (the world) when he first rushed in, he is entirely thrown out of the sky through the hole by which he rushed in; and at that hole he is laid low and made unconscious so that he will (never) again arise from that low estate. (96) There have been some who have said that he will be forever powerless and as it were slain, and that henceforth neither the Destructive Spirit nor his creation will exist."

(a) Text [illegible]. Reading uncertain.

(b) *dušdaft*: v. Bailey, *BSOS.*, VI, p. 597; Benveniste, MO., xxvi, p. 179.

(c) *'bē 'hač*: a necessary addition, cf. *'bē 'hač 'tō dām* at the end of the section.

(d) [illegible]: emendation after Dhabhar, who compares NP. سست. I have found no parallel in Pahlavī.

Cf. also ZāmN. 17, 13 (Messina). I quote Messina's restoration of the text and add an asterisk where I diverge from him: *čērāδ Ahriman ō Āz drāyēt ku šav, tō hamāk dēv ut druž, χrafstar ut dām i man bē χ°ar. Āz dēv šavēt, hamāk dām ut dahišn i Ahriman bē *ōβārēt* (a) ⟨*gōβēt*), *tō-m čē? gōβēm-at** *ku nē sēr ham. pas Āz dēv ut Ahriman *nizār-tavān* (b) *bavēt*, "For Ahriman cries out to Āz (saying), 'Go, devour all the

demons and lies, noxious beasts and my creation.' The demon Āz goes and swallows all the creation of Ahriman (and says), 'What art thou to me: I say unto thee that I am not satisfied.' Then the power of the demon Āz and Ahriman is weakened."

(a) The Pāzand has *hyārəṭ*. Messina *χᵛarēt*.

(b) Pāz. *u zār* must represent Phl. ܢܙܝܪܐ = *nizār*.

baχtīk (*bχtyk*, *bχtykw*, *bwχtyk*): the context shows that the meaning is "ally" or something similar. I can point to no certain parallel in Pahlavī, but DkM. 124, 16, may be compared where the text has *bχtkw*: *gētēh-dahišnān pahlom 'martōm 'andar 'martōmān 'avē i huχᵛatāy dahyupat bunist i [i] gēhān baχt⟨ī⟩k i hugar rōšn dātār nazdtom*, "Of earthly creatures the perfect man is the provincial governor who rules well among men, the foundation of the world and the ally who is nearest to the beneficent light creator."

(48) *pat zamīk paytāk bavēt*: Airyaman must here be taken as an epithet of Sōšyans, as the verb is singular. Cf. MPT. *'ry'm'n* as an epither of Jesus.

(49) **gaδ aδvēnak*: reading conjectural. The text has [illegible], which will yield no sense.

(50) Creation by water: cf. GrBd. 17, 4, *fratom dām hamāk 'āp-ē srišk-ē 'būt* ((*sic*) P), *'ku hamāk 'hač 'āp 'būt yut tōhm i 'martōmān 'ut gōspandān, 'čē 'ān tōhm ātaχš-tōhm*, "The first creation was all a drop of water, for all was from water except the seed of men and beasts, for that seed is of the seed of fire."

Ibid., 189, 4, *gētēh 'hač 'āp-ē srišk kart 'ēstēt: čēyōn 'gōβēt 'ku 'ēn dām fratom hamāk 'āp-ē srišk 'būt, martōmān-ič 'hač 'āp-ē srišk hamē 'būt*, "The material world was made from a drop of water; as it is said that this creation was all at first a drop of water, and men too, arose from a drop of water."

A different account is found in DkM. 79, 21, *'har-ič gētēhīk 'bavišn pazzāmišn vīnārišn 'hač hamīh 'pat patmān ⟨i⟩ 'āp i māt⟨ak⟩ 'ut ātur i 'nar 'pat ham-ʃahišnīh: 'χᵛāh 'ut brāt hangārīhēnd*, "Every material becoming, ripening, and cause of progress is from the union according to the mean of water, the female, and fire, the male, in their coming together: they are considered brother and sister."

(50) *pātēr⟨ān⟩gar*: this word has been fully discussed by Bartholomæ (*Zum sass. Recht*, ii, pp. 31–4). After a thorough analysis of his data he arrived at the conclusion that the root meaning was "retinere". For DkM. 708, 1, he translated "Suspendierung" (*ibid.*,

iv, p. 28), and for MhD., ii, 8, 9, "Zurücklegung" (*ibid.*, iii, p. 10). In all of this he was right. The Pāz. *pādirą* occurring in ŠGV. 16, 26 and 41, was translated by Salemann "zurük leiten, hin dirigieren" (*Bruchstük manichaeischen Schrifttums*, St. Petersburg, 1904, p. 26), by Jackson (*Researches in Manichaeism*, p. 191) "forced back," by Henning, who connected it with NP. بازداشتن, "stützen" or "zurückhalten" (*OLZ.*, 1934, p. 755), and by Nyberg "zurückstellen" (to DkM. 275, 20, *Texte zum mazdayasnischen Kalender*, p. 43). The meanings "prevent, hold back, obstruct" will be found to cover most examples.

Again and again the word is used in connection with or opposed to *ravākīh*: *ravākīh* is orderly progress, *pātērānīh* what obstructs or holds it up. The following examples will serve to illustrate its use :—

DkM. 141, 20. *'hač gētēh pātuχšāyīh *hanſaftakīh mēnōk dēn pātērān-ravākīh*, "From the collapse (?) of material kingship (follows) the obstruction of the onward flow of spiritual religion."

Ibid., 247, 21. *kirpak pātērānēnāk 'ut bazak ravākēnāk*, "Obstructing virtue and promoting vice."

Ibid., 316, 3. *'ōh-ič 'saχᵛan-'gōβ frazānak 'pat a 'rasišnīh 'i-š 'saχᵛan-šnās niγō(k)šītār pātērān-sūtīh i 'hač saχᵛan*, "Thus a wise speaker of words, if his words do not reach a listener who understands words, has the benefit of his words obstructed." *pātērān-sūtīh* is opposed to the *sūt-ravākīh* of 315, 23.

Ibid., 396, 21. *'pat zartuχštrō(k)tōmān 'χᵛarr *ānāβišn dēn māzdēsn ravākīh pātērānīhāt*, "By the destruction of the fortune of the *zartuštōtom* the progress of the Mazdayasnian religion is obstructed." So also *ibid.*, 341, 20.

The following examples may also be of use :—

DkM. 84, 2. *'ku pat-iš čihr-rāδēnītārīh 'mā pātērānīhāt, dām ravākīh 'mā 'bandīhāt*, "That the regulation of nature might not be obstructed and the progress of creation might not be stopped."

Ibid., 88, 10. *'nē hēč 'čiš i āhangēnāk martōm 'ō vinās pātērānēnāk 'hač kirpak 'dāt*, "He created nothing that attracted men to vice and held them back from virtue."

Ibid., 351, 9. *pātērānīh χᵛaršēt 'hač ravišn*, "preventing the Sun from moving."

GrBd, 57, 11. *'ut-šān Ōhrmazd 'ut Anāhīt 'hač vinās kartan pātērānēnīt*, "And they prevented the planets Jupiter and Venus from doing harm."

For the correct rendering of the ŠGV. passages and the Avestan

words translated by *pātērān* the reader is referred to Bartholomæ, *oc. cit.* I add the following references from the Dk.: (i) adj. *pātērān* and subst. *pātērānīh*: DkM. 112, 8; 141, 18; 176, 4; 344, 2; 372, 8; 391, 8; 423, 4; 463, 22; 711, 8; 744, 7; 770, 11, 16, 21; 771, 2; 877, 4; (ii) verb *pātērānēn-*, *pātērānīh-*: DkM. 168, 2; 175, 15; 275, 20; 343, 6; 396, 21; 704, 15; 706, 15; 708, 1; 714, 14; 769, 10, 14, 18, 21; 767, 3; 771, 8.

Jackson's etymology *pāti* + *rān-* does not seem to me impossible: *pāt-* as a prefix is amply attested in MP. Dr. Henning (*loc. cit.*), denying that a prefix *pāti-* ever existed, regarded the verbal form as a denominative from NP. پاذر "Stützbalken", but this is semantically unacceptable. "Act as a supporting beam to" is scarcely the same as "obstruct". The occasional spelling (DkM. 141, 18; 711, 7; 714, 14) suggests the reading *pātērān* (rather than *pātirān*) with preverbs *pǎti* + *aδi-* (?). The long *ā* in *pātērān*, *pātzahr*, *pātrōč*, *pātram*, etc., is perhaps best explained as a *Vṛddhi* formation.

(51) *ōpāδišn*: if genuine < *ava* + *pātaya-*. I can quote no parallel. From *pātaya-* we have also *nipāstan* "place", DkM. 615, 9, *Zartuχšt miyān* ⟨*i*⟩ *'ān ēsm nipāst*, "Zoroaster put fuel in the middle of it." Cf. line 19 of the same page; also *nipastan* "lie", *ibid.*, 667, 8, *kanīk 'nē pēš*[*ak*] *'hač 'ān 'apāk 'martān 'bē nipast*, "The maiden had not lain with men before that." So *ibid.*, 671, 11; 674, 17, also 755, 15. Cf. Soghd. *np'st* (v. B. Geiger, *WZKM.*, 1933, p. 116).

**maδīh*: to be compared with DkM. 206, 3. . In *BSOS.*, IX, p. 314, I suggested **'āp-gōn* for the latter. I have since had the opportunity of discussing the *Bundahišn* passage (31, 14) with Dr. Henning who suggested that the of the text represented NP. ارغوان. This view seems to me certainly right, and I would therefore read *maδ-gōn*, "wine-coloured," in DkM. 206, 3.

'mēγ: our word, written *mzn'y* must be taken either as an ideogram or a pseudo-ideogram. It normally occurs as the translation of Av. *maēγa-* (the spellings , , are found), and it is inconceivable that the Phl. translators, with their passion for rendering Avestan words by their nearest phonetic equivalent in Pahlavī, should on this occasion have rendered *maēγa-* by *miznāh* (?) rather by the obvious *mēγ*. Even with the help of Semitic scholars I have been unable to find an Aramaic word which will in any way fit the signs. Arab. مُزن "rain-cloud" is semantically very close, but there seems

to be no cognate in other Semitic languages, and the admission of Arabic words in Pahlavī—with the exception of a few very late texts—cannot be tolerated. As a pseudo-ideogram we could think of *mižnāh* < **maēž* (whence *maēγa-*) with a double suffix, cf. Yidgha-Munji *mižāγiko*, Zaza *miž*, NP. میزگه, "dark sky," Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages*, ii, p. 230. We must, however, be content to leave the reading of the ideogram doubtful, and transliterate *'mēγ*.

Apart from the evidence supplied by the translations from the Avesta, the meaning is assured by the following passages.

DkM. 108, 13. *'āp MZN'HYNYTW 'ut MZN'H 'ō 'āp-burtār aβr vartēnīt*, "The water is turned into vapour and the vapour is turned into a water-carrying cloud." l. 22 of the same page, *vārān aβzār vāt MZN'H 'ut 'abr*, "The instruments of rain are wind, vapour, and clouds." *Ibid.*, 758, 8, *MZN'H 'ut tam*. The *MWZN'H* of GrBd. 19, 9, is clearly a corruption of our word: the passage will then read: *'ut-aš dāt 'ō aδyārīh vāt 'ut vārān 'ut ['kē] *MZN'H 'ut s⟨n⟩ōδān 'ut sn⟨ē⟩žak*, "And he gave him for his assistance wind and rain, vapour, storm, and snow."

*zamīk apar-*dārišn* ff.: the text is hopelessly corrupt, but fortunately GrBd. 133, 5, offers an exact parallel: *vāt dārēt 'ēn zamīk aδar-dārišn apar-dārišn* [*martōmān*] *guβr-dārišn, zrēh-dārišn*. The stages of corruption are now easy to follow. [illegible] (*aδar dārišn*) has been corrupted into [illegible] = *aδarīh rōšn* (!), and *dārēt* has replaced the second *dārišn*. *gūr* may be a genuine later form of *guβr* "deep place, valley". [illegible], however, corresponds to nothing in the GrBd. passage, but the presence of *gūr* (*guβr*) makes almost certain emendation possible. The opposite of *guβr* "valley" is *čakāt* "peak"; so DkM. 517, 7, *'ēn tan guβr 'bē kunišn 'nē čakāt*, "This body must be made like a valley, not a peak," cf. the almost identical DkM. 583, 22 ff. The final proof that the [illegible] of our text is a corruption of *čakāt* is supplied by GrBd. 228, 4, *kōf čakāt guβr, 'ul-'dārišn 'ut frōt-dārišn 'nē 'bavēt*, "There will be neither mountains, peaks, nor valleys, rising or falling ground."

(53) *savāk*: cf. *BSOS.*, IX, p. 103. To the references given there add DkM. 295, 16, *'pat amāvandīhā savākīh χᵛap rāδēnītārīh i martōm*, "By the mighty benefit and good arrangement of men." The reading and connection with *sav-*, *sūt*, etc., seems assured by DkM. 674, 15, *ētōn sūtōmand čēγōn harvisp aχᵛ i astōmand savēnītan*, "So beneficial as to benefit all corporeal existence."

The Iranian Festivals Adopted by the Christians and Condemned by the Jews

By S. H. Taqizadeh

THE Zoroastrian calendar which was in official use in the Sasanian times in Iran is conveniently called "Young Avestan". This system of time-reckoning, which was adopted by the Persian government in the Achæmenian period and most probably about 441 B.C.,[1] was introduced later in Cappadocia and Armenia. The date of its introduction in Armenia is not known. According to Moses of Khorene, the famous Armenian historian (ii, 59), the order (or succession) of the weeks, months, and years which was unknown to the Armenians was regulated by Ardashes II, king of Armenia. Gutschmid (*Kleine Schriften*, iii, p. 209 n.) is inclined to identify this king with the historic king Tiridates, the founder of the Armenian branch of the Arsacid dynasty and a contemporary of Nero. But the names of the 10th and 12th Arm. months point to an earlier date for the said introduction. The former is called "Mareri", which name according to Marquart's conjecture (*Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Ēran*, p. 205) is derived from Maidhyāirya, the well-known Avestan season festival or *gāhanbār*, which was originally in the 10th Persian month and remained there till the time of the first of the 120 yearly intercalations, which must have taken place (if carried out regularly) about 321 B.C. The name of the 12th Armenian month is "Hrotic'", which is believed [2] to be the Armenian form of Frōtīgān-Fōrdīgān, the Persian feast better known as *Fravardīgān*, the words being derived from the O.Pers. *fravarti*, Avestan *fravashi*. The month is so named because the five supplementary or Gāthā days consecrated to the cult of the *fravashis* were at the end of that month. These Gāthā days were originally appended to the end of the 12th Persian month, and they remained there till the time of the first intercalation, when they were transferred to the end of the 1st Persian month. The present name of the 1st month, Fravardīn, must have been given to that

[1] See *Old Iranian Calendar* by the present writer, publ. by the Royal Asiatic Society, 1938.

[2] See P. de Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 160; Marquart, *Das Nauröz* in *Modi's Memorial Volume*, 1930, p. 720.

month after that intercalation, i.e. after 321 B.C.[1] The name of the 1st Cappadocian month, "Artana", derived from the same word (*fravarti*) may have been also adopted by that people after the same date (321), perhaps following the Persians in renaming the month; the original introduction of the Iranian calendar in Cappadocia can hardly be put as late as the Macedonian period.

Although the epagomenae in the Armenian year, unlike the Persian, were never moved forward and they remained always fixed at the end of the last (12th) Armenian month, the name Hrotic' may have been nevertheless given to the latter when the epagomenae were even in the Persian year still at the end of the last month, i.e. before 321 B.C.

The Armenians kept using their vague year and old months even after the conversion of the Arm. nation to Christianity towards the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century, for many hundred years.[2] They have, however, abolished the old pagan festivals or transformed them into Christian feasts, as we will see.

The Persian Feasts and the Syrians

The Persian calendar must have been certainly much spread among, and well-known to the Semitic peoples of the East. The Mandæans used and still use exactly the same calendar, only with different month-names,[3] and the Syrian Christians of the Persian empire in Sasanian times, especially the Nestorians, who were independent of the Western churches, were also familiar with it. These Eastern Syrians used, no doubt, for their time reckoning either the lunar Syrian months with the lunisolar year, most probably according to the Babylonian calendar (up to the fourth and in some cases to the fifth century), or the Syro-Macedonian calendar with the Syrian month-names corresponding with the Julian months (after the third century).[4] But at the same time they were not only well acquainted with the Persian system of time reckoning but also they used certainly Persian eras and dates often in their civil life and in their writings, and sometimes even in their religious records.

[1] The original name may have been *Nausard*, as this was kept with different spelling in the names of the first Soghdian, Khʷārazmian and Armenian first month.

[2] Even a thousand years later their use had not ceased.

[3] See *BSOS.*, ix, 3, pp. 603–619.

[4] The Julian calendar is used in the old Syrian martyrology publ. by W. Wright, which was composed before A.D. 412, the date of the manuscript.

We find for instance in the records of the Nestorian synods translated into French by J. B. Chabot [1] (p. 318) that Mar Aba "composed these religious writings in the month Tīr of the 13th year of Khosrau the first". In the same book (p. 320), in the course of the record of the Synod of Mar Aba the 1st, it is said that "in the month of Teshri I, which is the month of Tīr in the 10th year of Khosrau the king of kings . . . ". Also in the Syrian records (*acts*) of the Persian martyrs the Persian feast Frordīgān (the ten days from 26 Ābān to the 5th day of the epagomenæ) is mentioned in the course of the story of the martyrdom of Grīghōr as falling in the Syrian month Ạdar in the 30th year of Kavat the Persian king.[2] As a matter of fact this Persian feast fell in A.D. 518 on 7th–16th March–Adar.

Moreover the Nestorians called the beginning of one of their ecclesiastical divisions of the year (considered by them as the beginning of the summer) by the name *Nausardēl*,[3] which name, as Nöldeke first explained correctly (*Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, p. 408, n.), is a compound word composed of the Iranian word *Nausard*, meaning the New Year, and the Semitic word *êl* (God), and it means the New Year of God or the religious New Year. Nöldeke thinks that this name was adopted by the Nestorians in A.D. 485 on the occasion of their constituent synod in Bêth Lâpât.[4] They must have arranged and fixed there and then the calendar of their church, etc. In that year (485) one of the Nestorian *Shavu'as* (the seven weekly divisions of the year),[5] which was perhaps the first of these

[1] *Synodicon Oriental ou recueil de Synodes Nestoriens, Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques*, tome 37.

[2] See G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer, Abh. f. die Kunde d. Morgenlandes*, vol. vii, p. 79.

[3] See W. Wright, *Catalogue of the Syrian Manuscripts in the Brit. Mus.*, ccxlvi and cclvi. The first book is copied in the eleventh century. In both manuscripts, according to Wright, "the Sunday that ends the Week of the Apostles" is called Nūsārdīl. The 6th Sunday after Pentecost is called Apostles' Sunday and the week following it is "Apostles' Week". According to Nilles, *Kalendarium Manuale*, the Friday of this week was consecrated by the Nestorians to the memory of the seventy-two disciples, and the next Sunday which is the 7th after, and 8th with the inclusion of Pentecost, is for the commemoration of the twelve Apostles and is called *Nausardēl*.

[4] It is not quite clear to me to which synod Nöldeke refers. So far as I can trace the only Nestorian Synod convened in Bêth-Lâpât in the time referred to was the assembly held by the turbulent Bishop Bar Ṣauma. But as this assembly was not recognized by the Nestorians as a synod and its decisions were annulled the following year by a legally constituted Synod, it can hardly be called a constituent and "an important" Synod. However, not being a competent judge on the history of the Nestorian Church, I refrain from disputing the statement of Nöldeke on this matter.

[5] The Nestorian church year is based on Easter and is divided into nine periods of "seven weeks", though some of the divisions are not strictly of seven weeks' length.

divisions at that time [1] and which is called the summer *Shavu'a*, began on 28th July. The first day of this summer "Seven-Weeks" corresponds to the seventh Sunday after Pentecost (the Sunday concluding the week of the Apostles = *Dominica complementi hebdomadæ Apostolorum*). Nöldeke suggests that, since in the same year (485) the Persian New Year fell on 23rd July, i.e. just a few days before the said Sunday, the Nestorians gave to the first day of their summer, which was the first Sunday after the Persian New Year, the name of the latter, only attaching the word *êl* to distinguish it from the civil year.

However, if the institution of the Nestorian feast Nausardēl, or rather its acquiring this name, really occurred in 485 and not at an earlier or later date when the 7th Sunday after Pentecost was exactly coinciding with the Persian New Year (e.g. in 455 both fell on 31st July and in 560 on 4th July), another and perhaps better conjecture may be proposed as follows:

Nausard was not the name of the Persian New Year or the well-known Naurūz (the 1st day of the month Fravardīn = the Lesser Naurūz) but it was rather the name of the Greater Naurūz, which was celebrated on the 6th day of the month Fravardīn and corresponded to the 1st day of the Armenian month Navasard and the Sogdian Nausard and the Khʷārazmian Nausārč (all of them possibly named after the 1st day). This day was the greatest of all the days of the year for the Iranians,[2] and as a matter of fact it corresponded to the original Persian New Year's Day. After the first intercalation took place in the Persian year and consequently the beginning of the year was moved five days back, this real New Year's Day became the sixth day of the year. But the Persians still kept celebrating this day as a second Naurūz (the Greater) which always marked the place of the original New Year, just as the Indian Parsis (of course only the *Shāhānshāhīs*) keep the 6th day of their 12th month for a similar reason. After carrying

This kind of church year, which is not limited to the Nestorians, is so constructed that it extends by weeks from Easter Sunday. This church year is the basis for the anniversaries of the martyrs, etc., and is not connected with the secular year. For more details see *The Catholicos of the East and his People*, by A. J. Maclean and W. H. Browne, London, 1892.

[1] However in the old Nestorian martyrology mentioned above the year begins as in later times with December.

[2] There is a special Pahlavi booklet on the many great qualities and privileges of this day.

out an intercalation of one month in their civil year about A.D. 1131, by which their New Year's Day was moved one month forward, these Parsis continued to celebrate the day, which marked the place of their old Naurūz (or the Naurūz of the Kadimis) and fell henceforth on the 6th day of their present *Asfandārmadh māh*, under the name of *Naurūz i Zāvulī* or *Daryā i Naurūz* or according to some version *Avardād sāl*, a wrong spelling or misreading of *Khordād sāl* (cf. Kharegat, in Modi's Memorial Volume, p. 118). Thus the beginning of the "Summer" (or perhaps also the New Year) of the Nestorians and their religious feast "of 12 Apostles" was most probably not named after the Persian New Year or Naurūz (the Lesser), but rather after the Persian *Nausard (or the Greater Naurūz), with which it strictly corresponded in that year (485), for this Persian feast-day fell in the same year on Sunday the 28th July, which also was the 7th Sunday after Pentecost.

The practice of the Nestorians to sprinkle each other with water on *Nausardêl* Day[1] also confirms the above theory, as the Persian practice of pouring water on each other on the 6th day (the day of Khordād) of Fravardīn (i.e. the Greater Naurūz or the **Nausard* day) is well-known and attested by Bīrūnī, Khūshyār and others (the practice of *ṣabb al-mā'*).[2] Of course the Nestorian Nausardêl and the Persian *Nausard, after having fallen on one and the same day in 485, parted from each other, as the former, depending on Easter Sunday, was a movable feast,[3] and it advanced or retreated according to the oscillation of Easter, and the latter (the Persian feast) was dependent on the Persian vague year which receded against the Julian year one day each four years.[4]

From what is stated above it follows that one of the Christian festivals of a famous church, celebrated for more than fourteen centuries, was instituted under the influence of, and named after, the Persian festival, though a new religious character (the commemoration of the Apostles) is attributed to it. The Christian Armenians, on

[1] See Maclean and Browne, op. cit., p. 349.

[2] The practice of sprinkling of the water is recorded by the old authors also in Naurūz as well as on some other Persian festivals; but Bīrūnī, whose chapter on the Persian festivals is based on the books of much older authors (a list of whom is to be found in the Istanbul complete manuscript of Bīrūnī's chronology, p. 228), discusses more fully the said practice as having been instituted on the Greater Naurūz and gives many reasons for it.

[3] And not fixed in the Julian year, as Nöldeke seems to suppose.

[4] The Nausardêl fell in the following year (486) on 13th July.

the other hand, made the same day (the 7th Sunday after Pentecost) a substitute for their older pagan (perhaps also Zoroastrian) feast, calling it the Christian feast of the Transfiguration, as we shall see.

The Persian Feasts and Jews

The Nausard as a Persian feast distinct from Naurūz is mentioned in the Talmud. In the part of this work called *Aboda Zara*, where the pagan feasts are discussed and their observance is condemned, three Persian feasts are mentioned. The names of these feasts, though not correctly spelt, are by no means enigmatic. In the *Babylonian Talmud*[1] the number is four and the names are very mutilated, as Lazarus Goldschmidt, the translator of the Talmud into German, also points out.[2] But in the Talmud of Jerusalem,[3] where only three *Median* feasts are mentioned, the names are given comparatively more clearly. They are: Nusardi, Triaski and Moharneki, which can be easily recognized as Nausard, Tīrakān and Mihrakān, as these identifications have already been made by several scholars.[4] The four Persian feasts mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud are certainly also the same feasts as those given in the Talmud of Jerusalem, only with the inclusion of Naurūz in the group. They are: Mutardi, Turyaskai, Muharnekai, and Muharin.[5] The second and third offer no difficulty and they are certainly the Tīrakān and Mihrakān. The first is most probably a miswriting for Musardi, a form of Nusardi among the Aramaic-speaking people of Mesopotamia. As a matter of fact both words are given as meaning in Aramaic the New Year and sprinkling of water as well as the first fruit of dates, and Musardi is in fact the same word as Nusardi with *n* changed to *m*.[6] The application of the word to the first ripened cluster of dates was perhaps from the time when the season

[1] The *Babylonian Talmud*, Engl. translation edited by Rabbi J. Epstein, London, 1935; *Avoda Zara*, transl. by A. Mishcon, p. 59 (11*b*).

[2] Vol. 9 of his translation, I, iii (11*b*), p. 468 n.

[3] *Talmud de Jerusalem, traduit par Moïse Schwab*, Paris, 1889, vol. ii, p. 182.

[4] P. de Lagarde (*Purim*, 25–27) and Kohut (*Les fêtes Persanes et Babyloniennes dans les Talmuds de Babylon et de Jérusaleme, Revue des Études Juives*, xxiv, pp. 256–271) have recognized rightly the second and third. Scheftelowitz (*Die Entstehung der manichäischen Religion . . .*, p. 9) traces the second name (Tīrēyaskī) to a supposed Pahlavi word **Tīrēyazakē* or 'the reverence of Tir'.

[5] According to the reading of A. Mishcon.

[6] See Bar Bahlul 1037; Bar Ali No. 5563, p. 219; Th. Hyde, *Historia religionis . . .*, p. 188; Lagarde, *Prætermissorum*, p. 51; the same, *Semitica*, i, 65; the same, *Purim*, p. 25; G. Hoffmann, op. cit., p. 60 n., where some more references are given; Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*, p. 421; Smith, Supplement, p. 208.

of its yielding (usually in Mesopotamia about the end of July or the early part of August) coincided with the early days of the Persian year, i.e. in the fifth century, to which period also the book of Agathangelos in its present form belongs. This author calls the first days of the Armenian Navasard the time of the appearance of the first fruits.[1] The 1st day of Navasard fell on 1st August in A.D. 468–471.

The fourth word in the Babylonian Talmud must be a greatly mutilated form of Naurūz, again with the change in the initial letter from *n* into *m*, as Kohut (op. cit.) also has rightly suggested.[2] The suggestion of this author concerning Mutardi and its identification with *Maidhyāirya* is, however, not a happy one.

In the Talmud of Jerusalem there is also mention of *Naurūz*. After giving the names of the above-mentioned three "Median" feasts it is stated there (op. cit., ii, 182) that "the feast of Naurūz fell in Pars on the 2nd day of Adar and in Media on the 20th Adar".

The feast of Nusardi mentioned in the Talmud of Jerusalem must be again the Greater Naurūz or the 6th day of the Persian year (*vide supra*). But the feast of Naurūz mentioned there cannot be identified with the Persian New Year's Day, as the Persian year did not begin in the first days of the Jewish month Adar after the middle of the third century B.C. and before the end of the eleventh century A.D. The composition of the Talmud can, however, by no means be put as early as the former nor as late as the latter date. The statement about Naurūz in Talmud is attributed to Naḥmān b. Jacob through Huna, both of whom (called Babylonian) flourished in the third century A.D.[3] Therefore this feast cannot refer to the Persian New Year, which was in that century in September. Was the word (Naurūz) used in the sense of the beginning of the religious and fixed Persian year, which began always immediately after the epagomenae ?[4] If so, then the time of the composition of that part of the Talmud which contains the above-mentioned passages can be put at A.D. 261 or 264, when the 2nd day of the Jewish month Adar corresponded with the 1st day of the Persian month Shahrēvar, which month immediately followed the epagomenae at that time and hence was considered as the *Vihēzakik*

[1] Langlois, *Collection des historiens . . . de l'Arménie*, i, 178.

[2] Lagarde (*Purim*, p. 27) tries to connect the word with Fördīgān (the well-known Persian festival), though this needs the supposition of a too great change in the word.

[3] See the *Jewish Encyclopædia*.

[4] This agrees roughly with Lagarde's conjecture in the matter but not with regard to the word.

Naurūz. Both fell on 19th February in the former year (261) and on 18th February in the latter year (264).

As to the correspondence of Naurūz in Media with the 20th day of Adar, if this has been also in the same year, I can offer no explanation unless one may suppose that in some parts of the country the Farvardīn Day (the 19th) of that civil month which corresponded to the ecclesiastical (fixed) month of Farvardīn was considered as the religious Fravardīgān (the 19th day of the month Farvardīn) and was celebrated as this.[1] The Jewish authors may have then confounded this "Fravardīgān" (the 19th day) with the famous "Fravardīgān" feast of 5 (the epagomenae) or 10 days which precedes the beginning of the *vihēzakik* Farvardīn or the religious Naurūz and then with that Naurūz itself.[2] The distance in time between the Naurūz and Fravardīgān day (the 19th) is 18 days, i.e. just as much as between the 2nd and 20th day of the Jewish month Adar. It is hardly possible to take "Naurūz" here as meaning the beginning of the spring, as Nöldeke is inclined to interpret the word generally in that sense (op. cit., p. 407, n. 2) and as seems to be also the opinion of Gutschmid.[3]

The Persian Origin of Some Armenian Feasts

As is already stated, the Armenians did not give up their old calendar after their conversion to Christianity. However, like many other Christian peoples they transformed some (or even most) of their popular pagan feasts into Christian feasts. We learn from Agathangelos (cxix) that Gregory the Illuminator, who was responsible for the wholesale conversion of the Armenians to Christianity, consecrated the 1st day of the month Navasard (the Armenian New Year's Day), which used to be the feast of Amanor,[4] to the commemora-

[1] According to D. F. Karaka (*History of the Parsis*, London, 1884, vol. i, p. 151) the same ceremonies in honour of the "fravashis" which is performed on 19th Farvardin is also repeated on the 19th day of the month Ādhur (the 9th month), which after the last intercalation remained always as representing the fixed (*vihēzakīk*) Farvardīn. Also according to the Pahlavi *Rivāyāt* the ceremony relating to the anniversary of a deceased man in the case of the exact date of the death not being known must be performed on the 19th Ādhur (see Nyberg, *Texte zum mazdayasnischen Kalender*, pp. 44–5).

[2] Both Fravardīgāns (the epagomenae and the 19th day of the first month) are consecrated to the memory of the dead.

[3] *Kleine Schriften*, iii, 212.

[4] This was the feast of Vanator (in later sources Armazd), and it was the great Arm. feast said to have been instituted by the king Vagharsh (A.D. 178–198) see *History of Armenia* by Moses of Khorene, ii, 66.

tion of John the Baptist and St. Athenogenes (Athanagines). The same author mentions (cxv) another feast which was instituted by the same Gregory on the 7th day of Sahmi, the 3rd Armenian month, for the same saints. This date was, according to Agathangelos, the day on which the churches built by Gregory for lodging the relics of the said saints brought by him from Cæsarea were inaugurated.[1] A later author, Gregory Asharuni (or Arsharuni), who wrote about A.D. 690,[2] however states [3] that this second feast also had been originally the feast of another Arm. deity named Wahe-Wahean, "the gold-finding, gold-mother demon," [4] and that the former (1st Navasard) was the feast of Armazd. He adds also two more feasts of the Arm. church to the list of the metamorphoses of the old pagan feasts of Armenia. These are the days of the Annunciation (? Assumption) of the Theotokos on 15th Navasard,[5] which took the place of the feast of Anāhīt, and Wardavarh [6] or the Arm. feast of the Transfiguration, which had been the feast of Aphrodite. Gregory Asharuni attributes the christianization of all these four feasts to the Illuminator.[7]

The transformation of the pagan feasts in Armenia into Christian feasts is certainly a fact, but the question of its being carried out by Gregory the Illuminator himself is by no means certain. The final composition of the book of Agathangelos was, according to Gutschmid,[8] most probably accomplished about the middle of the fifth century.

[1] According to Langlois (op. cit., p. 176 n.) this feast is now celebrated by the Armenians on the 2nd Sunday after the Pentecost. If this was really the same feast and it was made later dependent upon the Pentecost, this transference may have happened some time in the ninth or tenth century, e.g. in 909 when the 7th Sahmi fell on the 2nd Sunday after Pentecost. But according to Nilles (op. cit., ii, 580) this Sunday is the day of the commemoration of St. Gregory's ascent from the pit. The old Arm. calendar, however, puts the said ascent on 14th (or 13th) Sahmi.

[2] d. 714.

[3] Quoted by Conybeare in his *Rituale Armenorum*, p. 510.

[4] According to Tournebize, *Histoire politique et religieuse de l'Arménie*, p. 148, this feast was in honour of the triad of the Arm. deities Vahagn, Anāhit, and Astlik. But the source of this information is not given.

[5] The same date for this feast is given also in an older document, namely the old Arm. Lectionary publ. by Conybeare.

[6] The name is transcribed by different authors in different ways: Wardawarh (Conybeare), Vardadzri, "the name of the deity which was the patron of the day" (Macler, *ERE. Festivals*), Vartavarh (Holweck, *Cath. Encyc.*), Vastavar (Chardin, see below).

[7] The statements of F. Macler, in his article on the Arm. "Festivals" in *ERE.*, relating to the origin and the places of the feasts in the year do not seem to be based on the old and reliable documents. He must have taken his details from the uncritical works of some of the modern Armenian writers.

[8] *Kleine Schriften*, iii, p. 383.

Therefore the reinstitution of the two feasts mentioned by him must have taken place perhaps not later than the fourth century, and probably about A.D. 356–9, when the 1st day of the Arm. year synchronized with the traditional date of the Christian feast of John's death (29th August). The above date (356–9) may be also, as Conybeare suggests,[1] "connected with the 200 years' Canon of Andreas, brother of Magnus the Bishop, which began in 353 and was the basis of the Armenian ecclesiastic calendar up to 552."[2] The date also fits with the fact that according to the old Arm. sources (quoted by Conybeare, op. cit., pp. 508–515) the Armenians in the matter of their lectionary and most of their older feasts followed the Church of Jerusalem and that according to some Arm. tradition many of these feasts were instituted by St. Cyril, the Bishop of Jerusalem, who flourished in the middle of the fourth century. The other Christian feasts were probably substituted for the pagan feasts on different occasions and dates. For instance the transformation of the feast of Anahit, which had been on 15th Navasard, into that of the Theotokos must have taken place either in A.D. 468–471, when the 15th day of Navasard corresponded exactly with the 15th August, the canonical day of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, or some years earlier or later in the period during which the two months Navasard and August, though only roughly corresponding with each other, were considered as parallels.[3]

The time of adopting the day of the feast of Aphrodite for the Transfiguration is, however, not so easy to discover. We will discuss this at some length later.

It is noteworthy that the old pagan feasts, which were baptized as Christian feasts in memory of the saints, remained where they were

[1] Op. cit., p. 511. He puts it, however, wrongly at 352–6.

[2] Another theory based on the supposition that 7th Sahmi was made the feast of the commemoration of the beheading of John and 1st Navasard that of his birth would be also fitting so far as the days are concerned. The interval between 24th June, the traditional date of John's birth, and 29th September, the day of his death, is exactly as much as between the 1st Navasard and the 7th Sahmi (sixty-five days). But this would bring the date of the institution (or the adoption) of these two feasts down to A.D. 620–3, a date incompatible with the mention of the feasts by Agathangelos.

[3] The dates of the feasts given in the menologies or calendars composed after the eleventh century are all adapted to the fixed Arm. year on the basis of 1st Navasard = 11th August and have nothing to do with the original places of the feasts in the Arm. vague year. Therefore the conclusions based by some authors (e.g. Conybeare, op. cit., p. 511) on the equation of those Arm. dates with the Julian dates given in these documents, according to which the year 432 (or rather one of the four preceding years) was the date of the original adoption of the feasts, are obviously wrong.

in the Armenian months and vague year. Their synchronizing with the Julian dates of the Christian feasts had taken place only at the time of their adoption in the old Arm. calendar or their reinstitution by the Arm. Church. But after that time the Arm. and Julian dates of the feasts parted from each other, the Armenian following the retrogression of the vague year. For instance we find in the old Arm. calendar published by Conybeare (op. cit., pp. 527–8) the feast of John the Baptist still on 1st Navasard and that of the Theotokos on the 15th of the same month and that of John and Athanagines on 7th Sahmi. This calendar is certainly of a later date than the eighth century,[1] as it contains the days of the commemoration of some of the later martyrs.[2] In the ninth century, however, the 1st date of Navasard was in the Julian months May–April and was about five months before the day of the commemoration of John by the other churches who followed the Julian calendar and celebrated it on a stable date (29th August).

In the same Arm. calendar (or menology) we find another feast which may be considered of Iranian origin. It is the feast of St. George the Soldier. Gutschmid (*Kleine Schriften*, iii, pp. 173–204) has tried to prove that this Cappadocian saint was no other than Mithra the ancient Iranian deity.[3] As a matter of fact the day consecrated to

[1] The manuscript is copied in A.D. 1287.

[2] David Duinensis, Vahan of Go|thn, Sahak and Joseph of Karin and Atom and his fellows have there their days of commemoration. The first was martyred about 680, the second in 737, the third (two martyrs) in the first-third of the ninth century, while the fourth, if identical with Adom and his six companions martyred by the order of Boghā in 852–3, belongs to the second half of the ninth century. It is curious that while the martyrdom of Vahan is recorded in the Arm. sources as having happened on 17th March and 27th of the Arm. month Mareri, i.e. the 10th month (see Dulaurier, *Recherches sur la chronologie arménienne, etc.*, p. 242, quoting from the *Petite Bible arménienne*), the above-mentioned calendar puts it on 27th Margatz, i.e. the 11th month. This date could not correspond to 17th March before A.D. 860 and to 28th March (given by Nilles as the date of the martyrdom) before 816. The correspondence between 27th Mareri and 17th March agrees with the time of martyrdom, i.e. 737.

[3] Although the theory of Gutschmid is disputed by some later authors such as Krumbacher in *Abh. d. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1911, p. 304, and Fr. Cumont in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, vol. 114 (1936), pp. 5–41, where the acts of St. George and their "Judæo-mazdean sources" are discussed, the substance of Gutschmid's thesis still, I think, holds good. Cumont himself in a later article in *Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. 27, 1937, pp. 63–71 (*St. George and Mithra, "the Cattle-thief"*), while rejecting the opinion of those who regarded the Saint himself as "purely mythical", is in complete agreement as to St. George being "the successor of Mithra" and expressly states that the Saint "has taken the place" of the said god and has become "the heir to his legend".

this saint in that Arm. calendar is 21st Mehek (Mehekan), i.e. exactly the same day which in the Persian calendar is the feast of Mithra. The Arm. Mehekan corresponds to the Persian month Mihr, and 21st Mihr in the Persian calendar is the Greater Mihrakān feast in honour of Mithra.[1]

Vardavar

The Armenian feast Vardavar is not the feast of a saint, but is the Arm. feast of Transfiguration. This festival curiously enough did not follow the old Arm. months nor is it fixed in the Julian year, but was and still is connected with Easter. It is celebrated on 7th Sunday after the Pentecost, i.e. on the same day as the Nestorian feast Nausardêl (*vide supra*). This place of Vardavar in the year is attested by old Arm. documents. Ter Israel in his Armenian synaxarion written in 1316 puts it there[2]; and the above-mentioned Arm. bishop Gregory Asharuni, in the commentary which he wrote to an old Arm. lectionary in the seventh century (see Conybeare, op. cit., p. 510), states that the old feast was in summer. The synaxarion is arranged according to the fixed Arm. year reformed by John the Deacon in 1084 and is based on the correspondence of the 1st Navasard with 11th August. Ter Israel speaks of the Arm. feast of Transfiguration under the 1st day of Avelič (the Arm. epagomenae or five supplementary days at the end of the year) of the fixed year, corresponding to 6th August. But the author states that this day is the feast of Transfiguration with the Christian churches other than the Armenian and that the Arm. feast is celebrated on the Sunday, the 50th day from Pentecost.[3] The absence of Vardavar from the old Arm. calendars published by

[1] The time of the adoption of this Mithra feast is not known. However, if it was adopted first by the Romans from Cappadocia and was later introduced from the pagan Roman religion into Christianity, then the date fixed for it (24th April) may be due not solely to the astronomical reason (the sun's being in Taurus) explained by Gutschmid (loc. cit., p. 210) but also or rather related to the time of its first adoption by the Romans. The 24th April corresponded with the 21st day of the Cappadocian month Mithri in A.D. 204–7. In 207 the day (24th April) was also a Friday, i.e. the traditional week-day of the martyrdom. The date agrees with the time of the rapid spread of Mithraism in the Roman Empire.

[2] *Le Synaxaire Arménien publié et traduit par G. Bayan, Patrologia Orientalis*, vol. 21, pp. 841 ff.

[3] Nilles (op. cit., ii, 588) states that the Armenian calendar puts the feast of Transfiguration, in agreement with the Greek and Roman menologies, on 6th August, but "according to our calendar" it is celebrated on the 7th Sunday after Pentecost. This statement seems to be due to a misunderstanding.

Conybeare is due only to the fact that this feast, being a movable one, could not have place in a menology, which was not a calendar for a particular year but was applicable to all years.[1]

The Eastern (or Greek) church celebrates the feast of Transfiguration on 6th August; and we have proof of this practice as far back as in the tenth century, at the close of which Bīrūnī's chronology was composed.[2]

As to the cause of this difference in the date of the celebration of the feast the question is not simple or easy to answer. Moreover the Transfiguration appears, according to the narrative of the Gospel, to have happened not long before the Holy Week (Holweck, in the *Catholic Encycl.* puts it in February or March). No satisfactory explanation for the transference of the feast of the commemoration of that event to 6th August or to the 7th Sunday after Pentecost is given. Ter Israel's attempt at an explanation of both dates for the different churches is not successful and his theories are fantastic (op. cit.).

Vardavar is one of the five cardinal feasts of the Armenians called by them *daghavar*, and it is celebrated for three days. That the feast of Transfiguration was adopted by the other Christian churches from the Armenian Vardavar, as some authors believe,[3] may be not without foundation. But if the latter has been always celebrated on the 7th Sunday after Pentecost, it could at no time fall on the 6th August to be transferred and fixed there. According to Ter Israel (op. cit.) the principle in this Christian feast was that it was the end of the fasting of the Apostles. The period of the "Fast of the Apostles" is of very different length with the different churches.[4] While in the modern calendars of the Greco-Melkites [5] it is given as of sixteen or

[1] Again, since this feast is celebrated in summer and it falls always between 28th June and 1st August (n.s.), it could not be connected with the Arm. vague year, which moves through all the seasons of the solar year. Neither Easter nor any other movable feast connected with the Easter, such as Ascension Day, Pentecost, etc., is to be found in these calendars.

[2] See chronology, pp. 300 and 310.

[3] Nilles (ii, 563) reverses this theory and believes that the Arm. feast is transferred from 6th August to the 7th Sunday after Pentecost.

[4] See Nilles, *Calendarium Manuale*, ii, pp. 456–9. Rev. Dr. W. Telfer writes to me that the Orthodox church keeps the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul on 29th June, and that on the 9th day after Pentecost it begins a fast which is kept up until the said feast of the Apostles. Therefore this fast, which is in essence a summer post-Pentecost fast and is therefore called the fast of the Apostles, varies in length between eight and forty-two days.

[5] See Nilles, p. 456.

twenty-one days' duration, it had been of forty-six days' length with the same church as well as with the Nestorian church in old times,[1] and from the above-mentioned statement of Ter Israel it appears that it was forty-nine days with the Armenians. Also the different churches in the old time were not in agreement as to the time of its beginning and of its ending. According to the Nestorians (and presumably also the Armenians) the Fast of the Apostles began on Monday which immediately followed the Pentecost Sunday, but according to the Melkite or the Byzantine Orthodox church (in the tenth century) [2] it began ten days after Pentecost.[3]

If the Greek church has adopted the feast of Transfiguration from the Armenians but put it at the end of the Fast of the Apostles according to its own reckoning of the length of the fast, then this could fall on 6th August, when the Pentecost was on 11th June. This happened in A.D. 349, 360, 444, 607, 691, and 702, and the adoption may well have taken place in one of the first three mentioned years. Holweck in his article "Transfiguration" in the *Catholic Encyclopædia*, while doubting the Armenian origin of the feast of Transfiguration,[4] is, however, of the opinion that "it probably originated in the fourth or fifth century in place of some pagan nature-feast somewhere in the highlands of Asia". He adds that this feast is celebrated in the different parts of Europe in different times (27th July, 17th March, 3rd September), and that, while it has been a feast of the first rank with the Syrian Church and also an important one with the Greek Church, it was only extended to the Catholic Church by Calixtus III in 1456 in memory of the Hungarian victory over the Turks in Belgrade (6th August, 1456).

The Original Place of the Feast in the Year

As to the date of transformation of this feast from a pagan into a Christian festival, it can hardly be before the beginning of the fifth century,[5] because it is not mentioned in Agathangelos's book on the history of the reign of king Tirdat and the preaching of Gregory the

[1] Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, pp. 308 and 311.

[2] When Bīrūnī composed his chronology.

[3] Bīrūnī, loc. cit. This fast is spoken of as that of Twelve Apostles. It was not connected with the names of Peter and Paul as the later Orthodox "Fast of the Apostles" seems to be.

[4] The doubt is apparently based on the absence of the Arm. feast in the old Arm. calendars publ. by Conybeare, which ground, as we have seen, is not a sound one.

[5] Nilles (op. cit., ii, 563) puts this transformation in the early fourth century.

Illuminator. But the date cannot be fixed without ascertaining the place of the pagan feast in the old Arm. calendar before the Arm. conversion, which place is not definitely known. The pagan feast is said to have been celebrated in honour of Aphrodite.[1] No Persian feast in honour of Aphrodite is known to us. The name of the feast is also connected with roses.[2] A feast of roses is mentioned by Bīrūnī among the festivals of the Greek Church (Melkite) as being celebrated on 4th May. Also I have come across some other feasts connected with roses either in Persia, such as are related by travellers,[3] or in Syria,[4] but none of these agrees with the Arm. feast in time for the identification. If the latter was of Iranian origin and the Arm. Astlik-Aphrodite was identical with (the Persian) Anāhīta and in fact another form of the Arm. Anahit,[5] then the feast of Vardavar may be supposed to have originally corresponded with the Persian feast celebrated on the 19th day of the 12th month, which was called "the Naurūz of the rivers and running waters" (the 19th day of Asfandarmadh), when according to Bīrūnī the Persians used to throw perfume and rose-water, etc., in the rivers.[6] Anāhīt or Ardvī sūrā-Anāhīta was also in origin the deity of the waters. Also the 19th day of each Armenian month is said to have been consecrated to Anahit (see *ERE.*, i, p. 797). This identity of the Arm. and Pers. feasts is however, only a possibility and nothing more. But should it prove to be an acceptable conjecture, the time of the Christianization of the feast of Vardavar may be then sought in the fifth century, when in some years, such as 425, 439, and 481, the 7th Sunday after Pentecost corresponded with the 19th day of the 12th Armenian month.

[1] Ter Israel (op. cit.) states that the "Pagan Armenians" used to celebrate on this day (Vardavar) the feast of Aphrodite and to say that she is a virgin born of the blood and foam of the sea and to call her "she who has the fingers of roses and golden branch" and that they used to scatter roses in this feast. Also according to Gregory Asharuni (loc. cit.) "... in summer they (the pagan Arms.) feasted the Lady Aphrodite, and they prattled the following silly story, that because of her awful beauty and delicacy whithersoever she ran from the sole of her feet there fell drops of blood; and in the footsteps rose and myrtle shrubs shot up from the ground."

[2] "Rose-flame" or "she who blows the roses" or "she who makes the roses grow" or "rose-kindling" according to the interpretation of the different authors.

[3] Pietro della Valle, ii, 115, p. 406; Franklin, i, p. 84, and Herbert, p. 406.

[4] See the story of the feast of the Ḥarrānian pagans in honour of Venus on 4th Kānūn I and the use of the dry roses in *al-Fihrist*, 324.

[5] The Arm. Anahit is usually made the counterpart of the Grecian Artemis.

[6] Op. cit., p. 230. According to Chardin (*Voyage*, vii, p. 261) the Armenians of Isfahān used on the day of *Vastavar* (Vardavar) to pelt (sprinkle) each other in the churches and in all houses with rose-water and flowers.

Another conjecture concerning the feast of Vardavar may be, however, proposed, which is perhaps not only a better theory than the one discussed above but also a rather more probable and reasonable one. It is to be supposed that this pagan feast was quite independent of the Armenian vague year and was just a summer (or mid-summer) feast similar to (though perhaps later in time than) the Persian feast Maidhyōishəma (mid-summer feast). It used probably to be celebrated some time in the summer, as this is expressly affirmed by Asharuni. When it was changed into a Christian feast it was connected with the Easter-Sunday (the 14th Sunday after Easter), so that this might keep it more or less in summer, whereas the Arm. year was liable to retrogression in all seasons. The 7th Sunday after Pentecost was apparently also considered by the Christians as the culminating point of the summer. We have seen that the Nestorians called it the beginning of their summer "Septenary" (seven weekly divisions), and the Fast of the Apostles, with which it was apparently connected, was in fact, as it is already said, a summer post-Pentecostal fast. Thus the pagan mid-summer feast was, when it was sanctioned by the Armenian Church, transformed into a Christian feast for the commemoration of the transfiguration of Jesus on Mount Tabor,[1] and it was fixed on the *VII Dominica post-Pentecost*, which day also falls always in summer and at its latest possible dates near the middle of that season. The Arm. custom of sprinkling each other with water in Vardavar (attested by Conybeare and by an older author quoted by him, op. cit., p. 511), as well as the same usage with the Nestorians in their Nausardêl, which is identical with Vardavar,[2] is certainly a practice of the summer feast. According to the Zoroastrian genesis God created the water in the season of Maidhyōishəma. Also the Persians had the practice of immersion in water in their feast of Tīrakān,[3] which originally was the day immediately preceding Maidhyōishəma (or the day before). On the other hand the Oriental Aphrodite (who is sometimes identified with Anaitis) in the Greek mythology was, like the Persian Ardvī sūrā-Anāhīta (Anaitis), closely connected with water.[4]

[1] Matthew, xvii, 2,

[2] The adoption of this feast by one of the two churches (the Armenian and the Nestorian) from the other, in spite of such a great similarity in practice and the coincidence in time, can hardly be conceived owing to the great antagonism between the two sects, though a common Christian origin going back to the time before the Council of Ephesus is not impossible to suppose.

[3] Bīrūnī, op. cit., p. 221.

[4] Also the rose was one of the Oriental attributes of Aphrodite.

Now if it was really in Armenia that the feast of Transfiguration was first instituted, the Orthodox Church in adopting it from there naturally did not need to connect this summer festival with the Easter system of movable feasts, because this church, unlike the Armenian, was already using a fixed year (of the Julian calendar). Therefore the feast of mid-summer could be easily fixed exactly in the middle point of the astronomical summer, which, in the fourth to sixth century, fell on 6th August.

The statement of some of the modern authors to the effect that Vardavar was originally a feast celebrated at the Arm. Avelič (the epagomenae) is, so far as I know, not based on any old document. It is rather an error arisen, I think, from the confusion made between the old Arm. vague year and the later fixed year introduced by John the Deacon, the founder of the Little Arm. era, in 1084 A.D., when, as stated above, the 1st day of Navasard was fixed on 11th August. In this new calendar the Arm. Avelič begins always on 6th August, i.e. just on the day on which the Orthodox and Syrian churches celebrate the feast of Transfiguration. But the later calendar has nothing to do with the old Arm. year, nor was the 6th August the Arm. feast, which never ceased to be celebrated on the 7th Sunday after Pentecost. Moreover the epagomenae of the Persian and Sogdian years were consecrated to the souls of the pious men (*fravashis*); and if the Armenian supplementary days had a similar character, they could hardly be related to the Armenian counterpart of Aphrodite. Indeed Vardavar coincided at some time with the 1st day of Avelič, e.g. in A.D. 455 and 560, as well as with its second day in 552 (the epoch of the Arm. Great Era). But these coincidences were not more than just incidental synchronizings.

Another Arm. feast is mentioned by Macler in *ERE.* (*Armenia*) by the name of *Vičak*, which name he translates by "fate" and of which he states that it was apparently also one of the surviving and transformed pagan feasts and that it is now celebrated from the Ascension Day to Pentecost. No source or authority is given and no identification with an Iranian feast can be proposed.

The Date of the Adoption

Although the Arm. pagan feasts discussed above seem to have been adopted as Christian feasts by the Arm. church in different times, yet the official sanction of these adoptions, as well as the fixing of their places in the Arm. year, must have taken place at the time of

the convention of one of the Arm. councils or synods. These synods, besides deciding on many disputed questions, often established canons and regulated rites, and may well have established new practices and instituted or adopted new Christian festivals. We know of eight of these synods which were held between A.D. 365 and 600. The most fitting among them for this kind of reform, however, seem to be those convened by Sahak, the great Arm. Catholicos and reformer and chief composer of the Arm. canon known by his name, in 426 and possibly also 432. This famous Armenian Father with the co-operation of Mesrop inaugurated a new era of national culture in Armenia.[1]

The Memory of the End of Armenian Independence

Indeed the time was in many respects perhaps the most important epoch of Arm. history and a turning point. For it was not only the period in which the Arm. script was drawn up (chiefly by Mesrop), the Greek works were translated into Armenian, the Bible was rendered into the national idiom, and, as Gutschmid has pointed out,[2] the last of the Orthodox Councils recognized by the Armenians (that of Ephesus) was assembled, but it was also the time when, as already said, the independence of the country and the national kingdom came to an end. In this last respect the date was of such great and national importance that the memory of that greatest event, from the political point of view of the nation, and of that particular year (428 or 429 or 430) must have been still fully alive more than six centuries later, when the Arm. fixed year was instituted by John the Deacon in 1084. The founder of the Arm. Little Era and of the stable year in adopting

[1] They not only sent some of their learned disciples to Edessa and Constantinople to secure and collect the important religious books, to translate those written in Syrian and Greek language into Armenian and to transcribe those already written in the Armenian language but with Syrian script into the newly invented Armenian writing, a work which took seven years to accomplish, but in the meantime they began also to work on regulating the church ceremonies. They compiled the *Breviary*, appointing the services for the Dominical Feasts and those for the saints, the *Liturgy*, the *Book of Church Hymns*, the *Ritual* and the *Calendar* (see J. Issaverdens, *Armenia and the Armenians*, vol. ii, p. 71). Then Sahak convened the assembly of bishops in the city of Vagharshabat (Valarshapat) in which canons were proposed and accepted, particularly for the reform of the discipline of the Church. This synod was held in 426 and another following it is said to be convened again by Sahak in Ashtihat in 432 (though the actual convention of this second synod is disputed). Although the independence (or semi-independence) of the Arm. state (in Persarmenia) came to an end just at this time, the independence of the Arm. church and the beginning of the national culture and literature of the Christian period, generally called the golden age of Arm. literature, dates from this epoch.

[2] *Über das Iranische Jahr . . .*, *Kleine Schriften*, iii, p. 209.

the correspondence of 1st Navasard = 11th August for the new calendar has simply put the Arm. year back where it was in the last year of the independent Arm. kingdom.[1] The Julian date on which the Arm. New Year had fallen in that memorable year was chosen to be henceforth the date of the beginning of the fixed year (which had mainly to serve as a norm for menology).

Perhaps the learned Armenians of later times even believed that the Arm. year had been a fixed year in the time of the Arsacid kings of Armenia [2] and that it became a vague year only after the fall of the kingdom, just as the learned Persians of the tenth and eleventh centuries (e.g. Bīrūnī) believed that the Persian year had always, in the pre-Islamic times, begun in June, because they knew that it began in June at the time of Yazdegerd III, the last Sasanian king. The Persians, or many of them, especially the Zoroastrians, made even the year in which the Sasanian dynasty ceased to reign, i.e. the date of the death of the last ruler of that house (652), their era by which they reckoned for many hundred years.[3]

John may have also reached the conclusion of 1st Navasard = 11th August through the fixed places of some Christian feasts in the Arm. vague year (possibly fixed there in the time of Sahak), which places he found corresponding in his time to the Julian dates about five and half months earlier than the fixed places of those feasts in the Julian year. But I have no definite knowledge of such feasts and their places in the vague year, and the old Arm. calendar published by Conybeare (loc. cit., pp. 527–8) does not help in this connection. Also Malikshāh's reform of the Persian calendar and his adopting a

[1] As a matter of fact the Arm. New Year in the years 428–431 corresponded to 11th August (Julian), whereas at the time of the institution of the new calendar (1084) the 1st Navasard fell on 29th February.

[2] Possibly a vague idea of the beginning of the year in autumn in the oldest times (?) and the correspondence of the 11th August to the beginning of the autumn in the system of Julius Cæsar strengthened that belief (of an old fixed year commencing in August). The old Persian (Achæmenian) year began most probably in autumn, and Gutschmid thinks that even the old Avestan year began also in this season (loc. cit., p. 211). If the oldest Arm. year really began with the month Mehekan instead of Navasard, as Marquart believes, when he states that he can prove that the traces of this usage are to be found in the Arm. language of the fifth century A.D. (*Untersuchung zur Geschichte von Eran*, p. 134, n.), then this would be a further proof for the original autumnal beginning of the year, as Mehekan fell in the older times (perhaps at the time of the adoption of the Avestan calendar by the Armenians) in September and August.

[3] This is the Magian era, which seems to have been in the first post-Sasanian centuries more in use than the era of Yazdegerd, which began with the accession of that monarch to the throne (see *BSOS.*, ix, 918–922).

fixed year in place of the vague one used up to his time, and particularly his putting the beginning of the Persian year back where, it was believed, the Persian fixed (*vihēzakīk*) year of the old time used to be, may have had some influence on John's reform of the Arm. calendar according to the same principles.[1] The reform of the Seljūq king took place only five years earlier than that of John.

In any case the first half or rather the second quarter of the fifth century seems to be a very probable time for most of the Arm. festivals and commemorative feasts of saints and martyrs to have been regulated, new Christian feasts already in usage by the mother Church or other churches adopted by the Arm. Church and new Armenian feasts instituted, as well as for the christianization of the old Arm. pagan feasts.

The Armenian Great Era

The beginning of the Arm. Great era in A.D. 552, when an assembly under Moses II the Arm. Catholicos decided to create a national era and to compose an Easter cycle for the future, might be also supposed to be a suitable date for the composition and sanction of the Arm. menology and martyrology. But it is doubtful if this assembly, besides instituting the era, dealt with anything except the said cycle, which was to be a continuation of the 200 years' cycle of Andrew of Byzantium (A.D. 352). The latter was, in its turn, also a continuation of the cycles composed by Anatolios in 277. The new Paschal cycle was worked out by Aeas of Alexandria for the next 532 years, at the end of which period John the Deacon instituted the new calendar of the fixed year in 1084, as we have seen.[2]

The necessity for creating a new era in A.D. 552 was, I think, possibly felt on account of the gradual increasing of the divergence between the years of the Seleucidan era used by most of the Christians at that time and the Arm. years. In the sixth century the Sel. date of every Arm. year in the period between the middle of July and 1st October of each year was higher by one than that of the Greek year. Therefore the reckoning by the Sel. era and Arm. years was becoming increasingly confusing.

[1] The idea of adopting a fixed year did, however, not occur first to John or Malikshāh. The earlier attempt of Anastasius the Arm. Catholicos (661–7) in the case of the Armenian and that of Caliph al-Mu'taḍid (892–902) in the case of the Persian year either failed to succeed or did not find general acceptance.

[2] The expiration of the said period (of 532 years) at 1084 may have been the principal motive of John's reform.

Since in spite of the Arm. Church becoming independent of that of Cæsarea toward the end of fourth century, the Arm. ritual and liturgy had in great part apparently followed the practice of the Eastern churches of Constantinople, Antioch, and especially Jerusalem before A.D. 451 (the date of the Chalcedonian Council), and after that date of the great schism they must have been closely related with the rites of the other Monophysite churches such as the Jacobite, Coptic, and Abyssinian, a careful comparison of the menologies and synaxaria of the said churches, which are based on the Julian or Egyptian calendar, with the old Arm. lectionary and calendars mentioned above, may help in fixing the approximate dates of the adoption by the Arm. church of the commemorative feast of each saint and martyr which may be a common feast of both churches.

The Wisdom of Transforming the Pagan Feasts

The transformation of the pagan popular beliefs and practices into Christian is not limited to the Armenian Church. A thorough research in this question may reveal such an origin for some religious feasts in the Christian commemorative calendars of the other churches, as well as for some more of the Arm. feasts, and may prove that they have been adopted with the purpose of abolishing the worship of the deities they were consecrated to and of keeping the popular practice by the natural means of consecrating the feasts to the saints of the new faith. This was by no means considered by the Christians as just an approval of the old order, by which a deity of the pagan pantheon stepped into the list of saints or martyrs of the new religion, as the Manichæan Faustus considered it to be. He accused the Catholics of transforming the idols of the heathens into martyrs and worshipping them with the same rites as before.[1] This feature is a natural phenomenon in the history of religions, and instances of it can be easily discovered in the other monotheistic religions. In Christianity mention is already made of St. George of Cappadocia, and another example may be found in St. Nicholas and his great similarity to Poseidon. Also Athenogenes, the martyr, whose commemoration is on 17th July, has according to Gutschmid (*Kleine Schriften*, iii, p. 414) the character of an old mythical hero and seems to be a Christian personification of the Arm. Vahagn or the Greek Hercules. This

[1] St. Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, xx, c. See the article *Agape* in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

explains the Arm. tradition mentioned above as to the transforming of the pagan feast in honour of Wahēwahē (or Vahagn) on 7th Sahmi into the commemorative feast of Athenogenes the martyr.[1] Even Christmas is believed to have taken the place of the *Natalis invicti* (a feast of Mithra).

* * *

As to the question of the Iranian origin of the Arm. feasts, it can be taken as almost certain in the case of the 1st Navasard, the feast of Arm. Vanatur (who in spite of his apparent Arm. originality is most probably not different from Arm. Armazd or the Persian Ohrmazd), transformed into that of John the Baptist, and in the case of that of 15th Navasard or the feast of Anāhīt,[2] as well as perhaps in the case of 7th Sahmi or the feast of Wahewahean, possibly another form of Vahagn, which is believed to be the same as the Iranian Vərəthraghna.[3] The feast of Vardavar, as we have seen, was consecrated to Aphrodite, who must be the Arm. Astlik. Gelzer believes that the latter is of Syrian origin, and he approves the suggestion of G. Hoffmann to the effect that it is the Arm. translation of the Syrian *Kaukabat*, the epithet of Bēltī. But the close relation of Astlik to Vahagn —the temple of the former was the bedroom of the latter, she being the beloved of him—on the one hand, and the similarity of Aphrodite-Astlik to the Iranian Anāhīta in its later form (as Venus) on the other, make the possibility of Astlik-Aphrodite being a *Doppelgänger* of Anāhīt not excluded.[4]

[1] Cumont, in his article "L'archéveché de Pedachtoé et le sacrifice du faon" in *Byzantion*, vi, 526 ff., discusses the similarities between Athenogenes and the Grecian Artemis, the Cappadocian Ma and the Persian Anaitis, and especially between the animal sacrifice offered to the said pagan deities and the Christian Saint.

[2] Doubt is sometimes expressed as to the identity of the Iranian Anāhitā and Arm. Anahit, but I believe not with convincing argument.

[3] Lagarde, *Armen. Stud.*, 141.

[4] Ter Israel (*Patrologia Orientalis*, vol. 5, p. 433) states that Anahit was considered as the daughter of Armazd and *is the same as Aphrodite of the Greeks*. For more details about the deities of pagan Armenia and their origin see H. Gelzer, "*Zur armenischen Götterlehre*" (*Berichte über die Verhandlungen d. K. Sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss.*, vol. 48, 1896, pp. 99–148); Windischmann, "*Die persische Anahita*" (*Abh. d. K. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1856); Anikinian, *ERE.* (*Armenia*); F. R. Tournebize in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclesiastique* of Bourdillart (*Arménie*); L. Petit in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* of Vacant (*Arménie*). The books of A. Carrier, *Les huit sanctuaires de l'Arménie païenne*, and of Emin, *Recherches sur le paganisme arménien*, were not available to me.

Note on the Divyāvadāna

By E. J. Thomas

THE corruptions in the text of the *Divyāvadāna* are well known. As we now have it, it depends upon a number of modern copies of a single manuscript inaccessible in Nepal. Nor would access to this original be likely to solve all the difficulties. The editors declared that without continual reference to the Tibetan versions it would be impossible to give a satisfactory English translation. A series of highly important emendations was given by J. S. Speyer in the *Vienna Oriental Journal* (vol. xvi), but one passage there dealt with seems to require further consideration. It is in the story of Mākandika and his daughter, whom he wished to present as a wife to Buddha. The reply of Buddha is in verse (*Divy.*, p. 519). The MS. reading as recorded by the editors is as follows :—

Dṛṣṭvā mayā Mārasutā hi vipra
tṛṣṇā na nāpi tathāratisva |
chando na me kāmaguṇeṣu kaścit
tasmād imāṃ mūtrapurīṣapūrṇām ||
praṣṭuṃ hi yakām [v. l. *yabhām*] *api notsaheyam* |

The editors read *dṛṣṭā* and *-ratiś ca*, and these need no comment. But the second pāda is unmetrical, and they insert *me* after *na*, evidently understanding it as "I have no craving nor passion", but this makes the next pāda a mere repetition of the same sentiment. The three daughters of Māra are Tṛṣṇā, Ragā, and Arati, and we have at least two of them here, Tṛṣṇā and Arati, for *tathāratiś* may imply *tathā Aratiś*, although the editors divide it as *tathā ratiś*. What of the corrupt *na nāpi* ? If we read *ragā* for *na* (thus supplying the missing syllable), and *cāpi* for *nāpi*, we get the third daughter, and the whole then corresponds in sense with the Pāli version in the *Sutta-nipāta*, 835 :—

Disvāna Taṇhaṃ Aratiṃ Ragañ ca
nāhosi chando api methunasmim.

It can scarcely be doubted that the Sanskrit goes back to a Prākrit passage essentially like this. But there are still further correspondences

with the Pāli. In the fifth pāda Speyer reads *spraṣṭuṃ* for *praṣṭuṃ*, and this is made certain by the Pāli, for the rest of it reads :—

kim ev' idaṃ muttākarīsapuṇṇaṃ
pādāpi naṃ samphusituṃ na icche.

But the Sanskrit has the unmetrical *yakām* or *yabhām*. The editors change it to *yattām*, and Speyer, who seems to have tried to emend the emendation, reads *dattām*. But this is rather airy conjecture than emendation, and if we are to resort to conjecture at all, a change of *y* to *p* seems more probable. Then if we read *pādād* we finally have a complete correspondence between the two versions.

Speyer also discussed another strophe on the same page, which, like many other verses in the book, has been printed as prose. Usually in such cases the editors insert the double daṇḍa at the end of each strophe, which seems to show that they recognized the passages as metrical, but in this case they propose an unmetrical emendation. They even seem to have misled Speyer, who quotes four pādas and calls them the whole. But there are five pādas, as in the case of the strophe discussed above. It reads without emendation as follows :—

(*Bhagavantam idam avocat :*)
imāṃ Bhagavān paśyatu me sutāṃ satāṃ satīm |
rūpopapannāṃ pramadām alaṃkṛtāṃ
kāmārthinīṃ yad bhavate pradīyate |
sahānayā sādhur ivācaratāṃ bhavān
sametya candro nabhasīva rohiṇīm ||

The first line, it is true, does not look exactly metrical. But in the first place, *Bhagavān* is wrong. A brahmin, it is well known, does not address the Lord as such, but as *bhavān*. He is a *bho-vādin*, and there are two examples of this mode of address in the third and fourth lines of this very passage. Mākandika is here represented as not knowing who Buddha was, and he calls him a *śramaṇa*. *Bhavān* is evidently required here. The editors are dissatisfied with *satāṃ*, and propose to read *satyāṃ*. This seems to show that they recognized nothing metrical about it. But *satāṃ* is not wanted. The brahmin merely speaks of " my good daughter ", and *satāṃ* looks like a kind of dittography, which has grown out of the previous *sutāṃ*. With the reading *bhavān* and the omission of the awkward *satāṃ*, the line is perfectly metrical.

Speyer's first correction was to turn *rūpopapannāṃ . . . kāmārthinīṃ* into the nominative. Why he should have thought it necessary

he does not say, but it introduces a needless hiatus (*pramadā alaṃkṛtā*), and it becomes impossible if Mākandika's first words are taken as part of the strophe. Speyer's other correction improves both sense and metre. He reads :—

sahānayā sādhu cared ratiṃ bhavān.

Sādhu here is said to be "another instance of the hortative particle *sādhu*, not understood by copyists." There is nothing in the Pāli commentary on the *Sutta-nipāta* to throw any light on this strophe, but the brahmin there addresses Buddha with *bho*. The story is also told more in accordance with the *Divyāvadāna* in the commentary on the *Dhammapada* (i, 199), and there the brahmin addresses the Lord as *samaṇa*.

The Nanda Couplet

By Alfred Master

THE Nanda couplet occurs in the Legend of Sthūlabhadra, which relates to the time of the Nine Nandas, who preceded Candragupta the Maurya. This Legend is recounted by Hemacandra in his *Sthavirāvalī Carita*, and Jacobi has made a full English abstract of it in his Bibl. Ind. edition of the work (p. 50 foll.). L. Alsdorf has given an account of this Legend in German (*Kumārapāla Pratibodha*, p. 19 foll.) to accompany the Apabhraṃśa version of his text and in an Appendix has supplemented it with extracts from other works on the subject. The couplet is recorded in Skt., Pkt., Apa., and Gujarati; and as most of the versions can be dated, they are of great linguistic interest. Their value would be still greater if the unknown element of copyists' errors and emendations could be eliminated. Those which can be detected will be noticed in due course.

The story is that Vararuci, the famous Brahman scholar (bahusattha-viyakkhaṇō), recited a poem in praise of the ninth Nanda. His chief minister (manti) Śakaṭāla, who was a zealous Jain, considered the poem to be heretical. So he told the king that it was not original and that his seven daughters had known it from their childhood. In fact, his eldest daughter could recite a poem she had heard only once, his second daughter a poem she had heard only twice and so forth. Vararuci was asked to recite his poem again to the king. The seven daughters were hidden behind a screen during the recital and were then produced one by one to recite the poem. Vararuci tried to recover his prestige by a trick which Śakaṭāla exposed. He then by way of revenge contrived a plot against Śakaṭāla. Rewarding them with sweetmeats, he trained children to chant in the streets this couplet :—

"King Nanda knoweth not of Śakaṭāla's plot.
King Nanda will be slain and Śrīyaka will reign."

(I have retained the order of the words, so as to give a better idea of the construction of the couplet, which by the repetition of the words "King Nanda" at the beginning of each line was calculated to arouse the king's interest.) Śrīyaka was Śakaṭāla's second son, his eldest being Sthūlabhadra, who was destined to be a Śramaṇa. Nanda

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heard the verse, when out for a drive, and Vararuci's plot ended in the fall and death of Śakaṭāla.[1]

As this couplet was composed for chanting by children, it was probably in colloquial form, and it will be seen later that the Skt. versions appear to be translations from a popular dialect rather than originals. The original couplet, if this part of the Legend corresponds to fact, was chanted at Pāṭaliputra and would therefore be in some form of Māgadhī. But there is no version in Māgadhī. The earliest record of it occurs in the Āvaśyaka Sūtra Vṛtti of Haribhadra (or Ā. S. Ṭīkā). There may be mention of it in the Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi, which, according to Alsdorf (*Kum.*, p. 26), contains the Legend and dates from the beginning of the seventh century A.D., but like him I have been unable to see a copy of this work.

Haribhadra's date is very uncertain. H. Jacobi (*Sthav. Car.*, p. 7, n. 1) gives the reported date of his death as St. 585. Alsdorf (*Kum.*, p. 26) considers that he is not much later than the seventh century. Haribhadra is mentioned in Uddyotana's Kuvalaya Mālā of A.D. 778 with Sīlaṃga (*GOS.*, xxxvii, p. 90 n.) and his name precedes that of Sīlaṃka in Jinadatta's "150 Gaṇadharas" (*GOS.*, xxxvii, p. 96). Śīlāṅka's works are dated A.D. 862, 869, and 876 (Peterson, 4th Rep., *GOS.*, id., p. 110; Jacobi, *SBE.*, xxii, p. 45), so, even if we suppose that there is an error of a century in the date given by the Kuva., Haribhadra cannot be later than the ninth century A.D. (see also Jacobi's earlier view, *Aus. Erz.*, p. xviii, n. 1, that H.'s date occurs in the eighth century). The couplet below is from the Āvaśyaka Sūtra Vṛtti (cited *GOS.*, id., p. 104). It is prefaced by the words :—

Vararuī ḍiṃbharūvāṇi moyage dāūṇa imaṃ pāḍhei

" Vararuci giving sweetmeats to children teaches them to chant this "

(1) *rāyă-Nandŭ năvĭ jāṇăĭ / jaṃ Săgăḍālō kāhĭĭ*
rāyă-Nandăṃ mārettā / Sīrĭ < yă > yăṃ rajjĕ ṭhăvēhĭĭ [2]

The text adds *to* after *mārettā*. It seems that *ya* was omitted owing to haplology and that *to* was then inserted to preserve the metre. The *akṣara* "*to*" has a close resemblance in contemporary script to *ttā* and this fact probably facilitated the error. The Skt. form

[1] Vincent Smith (*Oxf. Hist. Ind.*², p. 57) is not sure whether Nanda was a Jain or Buddhist. J. Charpentier (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, i, p. 164) hints that the Nanda kings may have favoured Jainism. The Jain tradition is clear that Udāyin, the predecessor of the Nandas, was a Jain and that the chief ministers of the Nandas were all of the family of Kalpaka, who was a Brahman converted to Jainism.

[2] For ease of scansion all syllables except those long by position are marked for quantity.

of *Siriyaya* is Śrīyaka, and in the ensuing examples this syllable *(y)a* is only once omitted. The Pkt. used may be regarded as Māhārāṣṭrī or poetical Ardha-Māgadhī. The metre is an unusual one. It scans like Hem. IV, 347 (cf. Alsdorf, *Apa. Stud.*, p. 50) with mātras 6 + 4 + 2, cæsura, 6 + 4 + 2. The even *pada* ends in a pyrrhic, usually a dactyl; and the common Dūhā or Dohā, which ends in a trochee, usually an amphibrach, appears to have been formed from this metre by dropping the last *mātra-* syllable and adding the *mātra* to the odd *pada*. This process has actually taken place in two later examples with indifferent success. Modern Gujarati poetry regards the uneven sections as *padas*, but the word itself, which comes from **duvadhakaṃ* = *dvidhaṃ*, as its early form *duvahayaṃ* [1] (*GOS.*, id., p. 110) from the Kuvalaya Mālā shows, seems to refer to a stanza of only two as compared with the usual four *padas*.

The orthography is normal. Short *o* is represented by *u*, but short *e* remains *e*. In the later examples *i* is often used. This couplet is usually considered the prototype of all other known couplets and very little variation from it occurs except in the first *pada*. Yet among themselves the couplets have different origins, which will become clear, as they are individually discussed.

(2) A.D. 999 Vardhamāna (Upadeśapada Vyākhyā, *GOS.*, id., p. 104 n.).

rāyă-Ṇandŏ ṇăvĭ jāṇălĭ / jaṃ Săgăḍālŏ kărēsăĭ
rāyă-Ṇandŭ mārettā / Sĭrĭyăŭ rajjĕ ṭhăvēsăĭ

This is an exact Apabhraṃśa rendering of (1). The initial cerebral *ṇ* occurs only in this example and supports the view that its use is graphic and individual, not phonetic and regional or dialectical. The short *o* is used, not *u*, for the nominative, for Pkt. *u/o*, and short *u* for Pkt. *aṃ*, the accusative termination (cf. Jacobi's *Bhavisatta Kaha*, p. 33*, for a similar tendency). *Jāṇati* is an attempt at Sankritization and *mārettā* a rare Prakritism.

(3) A.D. 1073 Devendra (Uttarādhyayana Ṭīkā, Jacobi, Sthav. Car. App., p. 4).

ḍiṃbha-rūvāṇi moyage dāūṇa imaṃ pāḍhei
rāyă-Nandŭ năvĭ yāṇăĭ / jăṃ Săgăḍālŭ kărēsăĭ
Nandŭ rāyă mārettā / Sĭrĭyăŭ rajjĭ ṭhavēsăĭ

Another MS. reads *rāu*.

[1] Also *duhayaṃ* in the line before the *dūhā*, *GOS.*, xiv, p. 60.

Jacobi (Pref., p. 6) gives the date of Devendra as A.D. 1123, relying upon two MSS. in his possession, and Weber (*Sacred Lit. Jains*, p. 124 n.) follows him. But *Ind. Off. Cat.*, Skt. and Pkt. MSS. No. 7489 gives the date as *nava-kara-hara* 1129 *vatsare*; Bhandarkar's Report on MSS. 1883–4, No. 260, gives dates from two MSS., one *navaharatsare*, which is clearly corrupt, and the other *nava-kara-hara vatsare*, but without figures; and Peterson 4th Report s.v. Devendra also gives the date St. 1129. Jacobi's date St. 1179 is not supported by an extract from either of his two MSS., and may be due to a slip of the pen, or the natural error of a German proof-reader. *Ind. Off. Cat.*, No. 7488, which gives the author's name as Nemicandra sūri instead of Devendra gaṇi, is from a later edition, and accordingly omits verses 13 and 14 of the colophon, which contain the date of composition, the place of writing, the name of the scribe Sarvadeva (one of Jinadatta's "150 gaṇadharas") and the fact that Dohaṭṭa Śreṣṭhi, Devendra's host, was the first copyist, all details inappropriate to a second edition. Āmradeva sūri's story that his name was Nemicandra and that he changed it to Devendra when he became *sādhu*, as is proved by the use of the name Devinda sādhu, seems incorrect, and Nemikumāra (a Prāgvāṭa Vāṇika like Vādi Deva sūri), who is mentioned as the author of a book written in St. 1138 in the Bhandarkar Institute list of MSS. (*GOS.*, xxxvii, p. 5 n.), may be the same man. This couplet, as Jacobi states, is taken from Haribhadra's *Ṭīkā*, with small changes. Devendra does not differentiate between the nom. and acc. like Vardhamāna, but has changed *ĕ* into *ĭ*. The version *ṅavi yāṇai* is suggestive of a Māgadhi original, but more probably should, with Jacobi, be written as *na viyāṇai*.

(4) A.D. 1118. Municandra (Upadeśapada Vṛtti, *GOS.*, id., p. 104 n.).

ēŭ lōŭ nă vĭyāṇăĭ / jaṃ Săgăḍālŭ kărēsăĭ
Nandŭ rāŭ mārēvĭṇŭ / Sĭrĭyăŭ rajjĭ ṭhăvēsăĭ

Of Municandra's other works two are dated A.D. 1103 and 1122, so that his compositions are of a late date, if he was already an *ācārya* in A.D. 1073. He was a member of the Bṛhad gaccha and was *dīkṣāguru* of Vādi Deva sūri in A.D. 1096 (*GOS.*, id., p. 64). He was a *gurusaudarya* (pupil of the same master) of Devendra and encouraged him to write his commentary (*Ind. Off. Cat.* No. 7489, colophon śloka 11). His couplet differs from that of Devendra in the substitution of *ēu lōu*, "this the people" for the first *Nandu rāu* and of the Apabhraṃśa *mārevinu* for the Pkt. *mārettā*. It cannot be inferred

from this one example that *māreviṇu* replaced *mārettā* in Apa. during the last quarter of the eleventh and the first quarter of the twelfth century, but a more critical sense of Apabhraṃśa as a literary language appears to be indicated. This sense conforms with the careful writing in Jinadatta's Caccari and Hemacandra's Grammar, which were contemporary, although Muṇicandra belongs to a preceding generation.

(5) *circa* A.D. 1130 Bhadreśvara (Kathāvali, *GOS.*, id., p. 104).

ēŭ Săgăḍālō bhăṇăĭ / jaṃ Săgăḍālŭ kărēsăĭ
Nandă rāō mārĕvĭṇŭ / Sĭrĭyăŭ rajjĕ ṭhăvēsăĭ

The date of Bhadreśvara is unknown. Alsdorf (*Kum.*, p. 28) suggests St. 1200 as a possible *floruit*, if he is to be identified with the Bh. of Peterson's 4th Report. A Bh. helped Vādi Deva sūri (A.D. 1087–1170) in the preparation of the *Syādvāda Ratnākāra*, the famous book on Jain logic (*GOS.*, xiv, p. iv n.), and was his *paṭṭadhara* (*GOS.*, xxxvii, p. 64) or pontiff. M. Jinavijaya states that Deva sūri was his *guru* (op. cit.). All these facts are possible, as Vādi Deva sūri was never a *paṭṭadhara*. Bh. uses *o* for the long vowel and *u* for the short and, like Municandra, the form *rāo*, which is now a distinctive Western India word. He has shortened, in accordance with a not infrequent practice, the *e* in *māreviṇu*. His version "Śakaṭāla is saying that which Śakaṭāla will do; having killed king Nanda he will establish Siriyau on the throne" is not happy, for the first line is not so arresting as the original, which begins with Nanda's own name, and the construction is altogether awkward.

(6) A.D. 1185 Somaprabha (Alsdorf, *Kum.*, p. 104).

devi laḍḍua ḍiṃbharūvāṇa
so pāḍhai "kovi na hu muṇai eu jaṃ manti karisai
mārēviṇu Nandu nivu Nanda-rajji Siriyaŏ ṭhavēsai".

"Giving lāḍus (sweet balls) to children, he makes them chant—No man knows, what the Minister will do; killing king Nanda, he will place Śrīyaka on Nanda's throne."

Somaprabha, the panegyrist of his senior contemporary Hemacandra, was a Prāgvāṭa Vāṇika like Vādi Deva sūri and Nemikumāra (? Devendra) and a member of the Bṛhad gaccha like the former and Municandra. Probably Devendra also was a member of the same gaccha, as he was a "guru-brother" of Municandra. The couplet has been modified to fit into the Raḍḍa metre (11/15), and bears a resemblance both to Devendra's and Muṇicandra's versions, as might

be expected. His version, like those of some of his predecessors, is not happy. The implication of the couplet is that Nanda alone is ignorant of what is common knowledge to everyone. S.'s verbal forms are of some interest. *Laḍḍua* corresponds with Guj. *lāḍu*, Hind. *laḍū*, *laḍḍū* and Mar. *lāḍū*, *laḍū*. *Ḍiṃbharūvāṇa* is a Prakritism (gen. = dat. pl.), but, curiously enough, the Pkt. versions both of (1) and (3) have the acc. pl. ending in *-āṇi* (Skt. *-āni*). Devendra has not copied Haribhadra's version blindly, and it is difficult to account for this inflexion, as even in the Vedas, which exercise considerable freedom in the matter of double accusatives, the root *dā* is always found with the dative. There is, however, another instance of this use in Māhārāṣṭrī. In Jacobi's earlier MS. A dated A.D. 1555 of Devendra's Comm. on the Uttar. occur the words *dinnaṃ jakkhā uvaiyaṃ* ("she gave the oblation to the Yaksha", Meyer, *Hindu Tales*). MS. B has *Jakkhassa*, a reading which Jacobi adopts (*Aus. Erz.*, p. 39). *Jakkhā* is in the acc. pl., and the plural seems to give a better sense. This particular use must have been influenced by the fact that verbs of sacrifice may take two accs. in the Vedas, but it may be that we have to do in both cases with a popular "ungrammatical" use.

For the first fut. *karisai* So. has *metri gratia* been compelled to use a transitional Apa.-Old Guj. form. There are no instances of the fut. termination *-ai* for *-ii* in Old Guj. except in the sec. sing. *desai*, *bihasai* of the Ardā Vīrāf (A.D. 1415), which contains many archaisms. These changes have no phonological value, because from A.D. 1400 to A.D. 1700 both in the present and the future *-ai*, *-ii*, *-i* occur roughly in sequence, terminating finally in the *-e* of the early eighteenth century.[1] It is unlikely that the sound ever deviated much from that of open *e*.

It is impossible to trace the facts here, but the Mugdhāvabodhamauktika (1394), Kriyāsamuccaya (1410), Ardā Vīrāf, Pṛthvīcandracaritra (1422), Nanna Sūri's Upadeśa Mālā Bālāvabodha (1487), Extracts from MSS. of 1460, 1541, 1679, 1737, 1765, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, Ratnacūḍa Rāsa, No. 55 of the Tod Collection, *RAS.* (1622) and Hodivala's plates of MSS. dating from 1594 to A.D. 1796 (Studies in Parsi History), as well as Tessitori's and T. N. Dave's treatises, are the sources for the above *obiter dictum*.

(7) *circa* A.D. 1170 Hemacandra (*Sthavir.*, Jacobi, viii, p. 49).

[1] The same process occurs in the instrumental-locative of nouns and pronouns.

—*Vararucis tataḥ*
caṇakādi pradāyeti ḍiṃbharūpāṇy apāṭhayat
" *na vetti rājā yad asau Śakaṭālaḥ kariṣyati*
" *vyāpādya Nandaṃ tadrājye Śrīyakaṃ sthāpayiṣyati* ".

" Vararuci then having given gram and so forth made children recite :—The king does not know, what that S. will do, etc." The date assigned is correct within a few years. I have set this couplet slightly out of its chronological order, in order to bring it into closer contact with another Skt. Śloka of Somatilaka, which runs as follows :—

(8) A.D. 1338 Somatilaka (Śīlataraṅgiṇī, *Kum.*, Alsdorf, p. 190).

na vetti mūḍho loko yac Chakaṭālaḥ kariṣyati
hatvā Nanda-nṛpaṃ rājye Śrīyakaṃ sthāpayiṣyati.

Except for the gratuitous and irrelevant word *mūḍho* " stupid," and *loko*, which occurs in (4) under the form *lou*, there is little difference in meaning from Hemacandra's couplet. It is, however, remarkable that there should be any difference at all, for according to Alsdorf (*Kum.*, p. 30) Somatilaka's work is a conscious imitation of Hemacandra's. " *Sprache, Wortschatz und Stil sind denen Hem.'s so auffallend ähnlich, dass man an bewusster Nachahmung kaum zweifeln kann.*" There was nothing to prevent Som. taking the couplet bodily from Hem., but he apparently preferred to give his own version of the Pkt. or Apa. couplet. His version supports the assumption already made that the couplet was not originally composed in Skt.

To return to Hem.'s version—Hemacandra has avoided the double accusative by altering the order of the words, he has substituted the less luxurious gram for the more expensive sweetmeats and he has cleverly divided *rājā Nanda* between the two lines of the Śloka, as he could not retain the two words in both the lines.

As regards Som.'s Śloka it only remains to add that he has found a way of keeping the phrase " king Nanda " by using *nṛpa*.

(9) A.D. 1448 Somacandra (Kathāmahodadhi, *Kum.*, Als., p. 202 (in margin).

mūḍhă lōă nă vĭjāṇăĭ / jaṃ Săgăḍālă kărēsĭ < *ĭ* >
Nandă rāyă mārēvĭṇŭ / Sĭrĭ < *yă* > *ŭ pāṭĭ ṭhăvēsĭ* < *ĭ* >

The text itself reads :—

paścāt chāttrāṇāṃ paṭṭikāsu ekaṃ ślokaṃ likhati :
" *Śakaṭālo Nandaṃ*
" *mārayitvā Nanda-rājye Śrīyakaṃ sthāpayiṣyati.*"

This śloka is incomplete and represents another Skt. version, nearest perhaps to the Apa. version No. (6) of Somaprabha. The author of the Apa. couplet is unknown. I have not followed Alsdorf's amendments in their entirety, and consider it more likely that the two futures, which should end in *-ai*, were actually written so, but Alsdorf's reading, which is more probable from the graphic than from the linguistic point of view, has been retained. He has not, however, emended the word *karesi* in the first line, as the metre requires. The *-ă* of the nom. and acc., although found frequently in their MSS., is suspected explicitly by Alsdorf (*Kum.*, p. 57) and implicitly by Jacobi (*Bhav.*, 23*) of resulting from the omission of the sign for short *u*. Jinadatta in his Apabhraṃśa works (*GOS.*, xxxvii) is consistent in the use of *-u*, and there is a valuable fourteenth century palm-leaf MS. in the Tod Collection of the Royal Asiatic Society,[1] which affords in this respect a welcome confirmation of the printed text. The early versions of the Couplet favour *o* or *u* for the nom. and *a* for the acc.; and this practice seems more reasonable, although Hemacandra, as Jacobi shows, indicates *u* for both the nom. and the acc., a rule which Jinadatta, who was Hemacandra's contemporary, also observes.[2] The substitution of *a* for *u* was, no doubt, often due to carelessness, but a contributory reason was the phonological tendency, which transformed final *-ĭ* as well as final *-ŭ* into *-ă*. Thus *kari*, which occurs in Apa. as well as in Old Gujarati, becomes *kara* in later Gujarati, both being the 2nd sing. imperative, representing an earlier *karahi*. The substitution of *pāṭi* "throne" for *rajji* is found also in the later Gujarati version.

(10) A.D. 1634, copied 1814 (Dīpavijaya, Sthūlibhadra Rāsa, *Kum.*, Als., p. 222).

Nandarāya jāṇe nahī / jẽ Sakaḍāla karesa
Nandarāya mārī karī / Sario pāṭa ṭhaveha

This version, as might be expected, is much modernized, so as to fit the Dūhā metre. The copyist is prone to nasalization, and *jẽ* is not, as might be supposed, a Marathicism. *Mārī karī* is not Mod. Gujarati, but quite usual Old Gujarati (and its equivalent is found in Mod. Hindi). *Nahī* is an old literary form (although *nahi* is actually found in Hodivala's MSS., op. cit.) as early as A.D. 1532. *Pāṭa* is the direct for the oblique form of the noun, a device which is quite

[1] A note on this MS. is being published in the current number of the *JRAS*.
[2] This was possibly a later stage in the development of this inflexion.

commonplace in modern editions of Old Gujarati poetry, to preserve the metre. It rests upon a misconception, as not *pāṭē* (the modern form), but *pāṭĭ* is correct. *Karesa* and *ṭhaveha* are impossible forms. Fifteenth century Old Gujarati forms of the future are 1st pers. sing. *karisu* (Kriyā. and Upadeśa.), pl. *karisiũ*, 3rd pers. sing. *karisii* (id., and cf. Tessitori § 121 for all forms). The latter has some other forms, but has not given the precise dates of any. The letter of Nuseravāna of about A.D. 1600 has already *karaśe*, *āvaśe* (Hodivala, p. 220), and a letter of 1650 has *āpaśu* "we shall give" (id. 233), showing that the *-i-* in the termination was already dropping out. The Rāsa containing the Couplet has preceding it the line "*mẽ navi jāṇi kuḍaṃmati je karasẽ tana ni ghāta*" "I did not know the evil intent, that he would destroy me". (Alsdorf has "*dass der Schurke jemand töten wollte*", which can hardly be correct.) The words *karesa*, *ṭhaveha*, therefore represent nothing but deformed Apa. with a hint of a Pkt. original in the *h* of *ṭhaveha*. *Karaṣe*, etc., could not be used because the Dūhā (Guj. *dohro*) must end in a trochee. The whole treatment of the Couplet is consistent with the comparatively modern Gujarati practice of dropping all terminations in old poetry, if they do not in their modern form conform with the metre. This practice has made so much Gujarati poetry incomprehensible that, combined with other copyists' errors, it has caused Gujarati poetry as a whole to fall into undeserved disrepute. Much of its beauty has been corrupted or altogether lost to readers of discrimination through the emendations and Bowdlerisms of unintelligent copyists.

It is believed that the above Couplet-sequence yields, within its limits, an accurate account of the method in which a popular verse of great antiquity was modified, century by century, to suit the development of the language in Gujarat.

The Alternance *ɪ-* ~ *ɯ-* in Ancient Japanese

By S. Yoshitake

To vol. iii, No. 1, of *Monumenta Nipponica* J. Rahder contributed an article in which he gives a list of consonant alternances and vowel alternances in Japanese including various dialects spoken in Ryūkyū. The importance of an extensive and careful study of such linguistic phenomena cannot be overestimated, for it constitutes the very first step towards the laborious task of grouping Japanese words into word-families, thence tracing them back to their respective roots. In so doing we must examine not only the alternances between vowels and those between consonants—both regular and sporadic—in various dialects, but also such varieties of vowel alternances as *ɪ-* ~ *i̯ɯ-* (e.g. *ɪkɯ* ~ *i̯ɯkɯ* "go", *ɪɯɛ* ~ *i̯ɯmɛ* "a dream"), and *a-* ~ *ɯ̯a-* (e.g. *akatɯ* ~ *ɯ̯akatɯ* "distribute", *atarɪ* ~ *ɯ̯atarɪ* "neighbourhood"), which have oddly escaped Rahder's attention.

In this paper I shall deal only with a few instances of the alternance *ɪ-* ~ *ɯ-* in Japanese by the aid chiefly of Turkish and Mongol. The material is taken almost exclusively from Ancient Japanese, for the simple reason that Japanese dialectology has not yet made so much progress as to serve any useful purpose in our present inquiry. On the other hand, the known facts and theories concerning Turkish, Mongol, and Tungus dialects have, it is hoped, been utilized to the full.

For the sake of simplicity and to acquire uniformity of transcription for all languages compared, I have adopted a broad system of notation which on the whole agrees with that of the International Phonetic Association.[1]

Ancient Japanese contained a few words ending in *-naꝼɯ* and having an alternant ending in *-ꝼɯ*, such as for example *agaꝼɯ* ~ *aganaꝼɯ* "atone" and *ɯraꝼɯ* ~ *ɯranaꝼɯ* "augur". The existence of these double forms leaves no doubt as to their respective stems. In the first pair of words[2] the stem *aga* has the basic meanings "tribute, compensation", and occurs in *agamònɔ* "things raised or offered in compensation for various offences" and *agata* "a field

[1] For Ancient Japanese sounds see my little book entitled *The Phonetic System of Ancient Japanese*, 1934.

[2] Rahder (p. 180) is undoubtedly right in regarding *akɪnaꝼɯ* "price, trade" as a cognate of *aganaꝼɯ*.

where tributary vegetables are cultivated".[1] It thus corresponds to Old-Turkish *aqī* "riches, treasure, reward, tribute", Uigur *aqi* "present, gift", etc.[2] Similarly, the words *ɯraꝼɯ* and *ɯranaꝼɯ* are built upon the stem *ɯra*, which has always been considered as meaning "the back, the reverse side, something hidden, the heart" and identified with *ɯra* in *ɯramɯ* "resent", *ɯraẓamɯ* "envy", *ɯraganasɯ* "sad", etc.[3] According to this hypothesis, therefore, to divine is to inquire into a hidden, divine mystery.

It is common knowledge, however, that the earliest Japanese process of divination was by roasting the shoulder-blade of a deer and by reading the cracks thus formed on the bone. As is well known, this method of divination is peculiar to Shaman culture and is still preserved by the Kirghiz-Turks and the Kalmuk- and Buryat-Mongols, who use the shoulder-blade of a sheep instead.[4] Before accepting, therefore, the current derivation of the word *ɯranaꝼɯ* it is of interest or even necessary to examine the linguistic habits of the peoples who did or still do practise the same rituals of magic as did the proto-Japanese.

One theory has indeed been advanced in such a consideration by S. Nishimura, according to whom the stem *ɯra* of *ɯranaꝼɯ* is connected with Tungus *ula* "reindeer".[5] I have so far been unable to find this particular word in any Tungus dialect, but P. Schmidt maintains that Tungus, Oroche, Goldi *oron*, *oro*, Negidal *oron*, *ojon*, and Manchu *oron* "reindeer" are of Palaeo-Asiatic origin, citing the Chukchi word *xorana* "reindeer" in comparison.[6] He also believes that Finnish *poro* "reindeer" preserves the original initial consonant.[7] Whether it is *ula*, *oro*, or *poro*, it is a far cry from a reindeer to divination, and Nishimura's hypothesis seems at least to lack a semasiological link.

[1] Various interpretations have been put forward concerning the derivation of the word *agata*. Among others may be quoted: (Mabuchi) *akati-ta* "allotted field", (Norinaga) *aga-ta* "raised field" and (Matsuoka) *aga-ta* "Our (Imperial) field". K. Shiratori interprets the word as meaning "fortress, city", identifying it with Ainu *kotan* "island, border", Mongol *qota(n)* "fortress, citadel, castle, town", Manchu *hoton* "citadel, fortress" and Korean *kot* "a place", but without explaining the function of *a-*, which he simply calls a "prefix" (cf. TN, pp. 119–20). Of all these interpretations Norinaga's is most accurate, for not only does this great philologist explain the precise meaning of the word *agata*, but its stem *aga* is in all probability related to *agɯ* "raise" (cf. MZ, pp. 1529–33). For Turkish *ag-* "rise" and its Mongol counterparts, see VS, pp. 267, 278.

[2] Cf. TI, pp. 167–8; VA, p. 97.

[3] Cf. AK, pp. 196, 217–18; TN, p. 175.

[4] Cf. TJ, pp. 67–72; RA, pp. 473–5; RV, p. 115.

[5] Cf. TN, p. 175. [6] SN, pp. 5, 28. [7] SE, pp. 1–2.

Now, in the Uigur fragments discovered in Turfan we find a word *īrq*, which in one of the texts is used as a Turkish equivalent of Chinese 卦 *kua*.[1] W. Bang and A. von Gabain, following V. Thomsen, derive this Uigur word from **īrīq*, comparing it with Alt., Tel., Kaz. *īrīm*, Chag., Tar. *irim* " divination, omen " and Shor *īrīl-* " split, fissure ", all going back to the root **īr* (~ **jar* > *jar* - " crack ").[2] Derived from the same root **īr* are Mongol (written) *iruwa*, *irwa* " extraordinary thing, sign, presage, augury, prognostic ",[3] Khalkha *jɔrɐ*, Kalmuk *jor°* " omen ", Buryat *jɔrɔ* " prediction ".

The initial vowel *ɯ-* in Japanese seems always to have been a rather unstable sound and not infrequently alternated with *ɪ-* in Ancient Japanese, as e.g. *ɪnɯ* ~ *ɯnɯ* " dog ", *ɪtɯꜰarɯ* ~ *ɯtɯꜰarɯ* " tell a lie ", *ɪra-* (in *ɪratɯko* " beloved child ") ~ *ɯrɯ-* (in *ɯrɯꜰasɪ* " adorable "). In some modern dialects of Northern Japan Standard Japanese *i* is often replaced by *ï* or *ü*, which latter usually corresponds to Standard Japanese *ɯ*.

In the light of these peculiarities of the Japanese vowel *ɯ* it is not unreasonable to conjecture that the stem *ɯra* of *ɯranaꜰɯ* is of the same origin as the above-mentioned **īr*, with the basic meanings " crack, separate ". This hypothesis certainly explains the structure of the word *ɯrakata* (lit. " crack-form ") better than does the current interpretation of *ɯra*.[4] Moreover, the equation Japanese **īr* = Turkish **īr* gives us a hint as to the probable roots of the Japanese words

[1] BGT, pp. 4–5.

[2] Mention may here be made of Old-Turkish *īraq*, Tel. *īrak*, Yak. *īrāx* " far, distant ", etc., which, according to W. Bang, are related not to *īrq* but to Uig. *jīraq*, Tar. *jiraq*, Osm. *iraq*, Shor, Koib., etc., *raq* " far, distant " (cf. BGT, p. 5, footnote 1). He is of the opinion that these words have been derived from **jīr* which has developed from, or is identical with, *ar* (BA, pp. 20–22). It is, however, plain that *ar*, *arī* " on the other side, thither " are built upon **a* (cf. DG, p. 616) which is also found in Old-Osmanli *an-*, the stem of all the oblique cases of the personal pronoun of the 3rd person (cf. DG, pp. 201–2), with the directional suffix *-rī* > *-r* (cf. ZS, p. 47). If, therefore, **jīr* were really derived from, or identical with, *ar* (< *arī*), then its final *-r* must also be a directional suffix. That such is probably not the case can be seen from Old-Turkish *jīrgaru* " to the left, to the north ", where *-ru* is a directional suffix (cf. ZS, pp. 48–9). Thus it is less difficult to assume an alternance between **jīr* and **īr* than to suppose that in *jīrgaru* the older function of *-r* had been forgotten and the suffix *-ru* was therefore added.

[3] B. Y. Vladimirtsov derives *iruwa* from **īrŭwa* (DAN, pp. 294–5; VS, pp. 181, 204, 302).

[4] The stem *ɯra* " inner " of *ɯramɯ* " resent ", etc., seems entirely of different origin. In all probability it is related to Mongol (written) *yry* (or, according to Ramstedt, *œry*) " the interior, the inside ", which Z. Gombocz connects with Osm., etc., *œz* " the best part of a thing, the inside, the heart ", etc. (GL, p. 4).

ɪmɯ, *i̯ɯ*, *i̯ɯmaꜰɯ* "shun, purify".[1] The word *ɪmɯ* seems to go back to **ɪr-mɯ* (where **ɪr* is an alternant of **ɯr*), while *i̯ɯ* and *i̯ɯmaꜰɯ* appear to have been derived from **i̯ɯr*, i.e. **ɯr* with an *i̯-* Vorschlag.[2] Thus we arrive at the following derivation.

*ïr
- **ɪr-mɯ* > *ɪmɯ*.
- **ɯr-a* > *ɯra*, *ɯraꜰɯ*, *ɯranaꜰɯ*.
- **i̯ɯr* > *i̯ɯ*.
- **i̯ɯr-mɯ* > *i̯ɯmɛ* "refrain from . . . !", *i̯ɯmaꜰɯ*.

A correspondence similar to that between Turkish **ïr* and Japanese **ïr* seems to be found between Old-Turkish *ïduq* "sent or bestowed by destiny, blissful, blessed, holy, sacred," Uig. *ïdïq*, *ïduq* "destiny bestowed by god, sent (by god), fortunate, blessed", Altai dialects *ïjïq*, *ïq*, Abakan dialects *ïzïq* "consecrated, allotted for an offering", Yak. *ïtïk* "revered, holy",[3] and Japanese *ɪtɯ* ~ *ɪdɯ* "glory, might, consecration", *ɪtɯkɯ* "serve or worship god (after having shunned pollution and purified one's body), revere", *ɪtɯkɯsɪ* "dignified", *ɪtɯkɯsɪmɯ*, *ɪtɯkɯsɪbɯ* "love", *ɯtɯkɯsɪ* "lovely", *ɯtɯkɯsɪmɯ*, *ɯtɯkɯsɪbɯ* "love", *ɯdɯ* "preciousness, dignity, praiseworthiness", *ɯdɯnaꜰɯ*, *ɯdɯnɔꜰɯ* "approve, consent".[4] Just as the Turkish words here quoted all go back to **ïð*,[5] so do their Japanese counterparts. Thus :—

*ïð
- **ïd-ɯ* > *ɪdɯ*.
- **ɯd-ɯ* > *ɯdɯ*, *ɯdɯnaꜰɯ*, etc.
- **ït-ɯ* > *ɪtɯ*, *ɪtɯkɯ*, *ɪtɯkɯsɪ*, *ɪtɯkɯsɪmɯ*, etc.
- **ɯt-ɯ* > *ɯtɯkɯsɪ*, *ɯtɯkɯsɪmɯ*, etc.

[1] Cf. TN, pp. 130–2. C. Haguenauer suspects a possible relationship between *ɪmɯ* and *i̯ɔmɪ* "Hades", *i̯amɪ* "darkness", etc. (HC, p. 181), but I rather think these words with back stem vowels have been derived from a root with a dental initial.

[2] "Vorschlag" (prothese, prothèse) is the development of a non-etymological element at the beginning of a word. If often occurs in both Turkish and Mongol, and is also found in early Chinese loan-words contained in Japanese, as e.g. *ɪɯ̯ò* (< **i̯ɯ̯ò*) ~ *ɯɯ̯ò* (< **ɯ̯ɯ̯ò*) "fish" (< Arch. Chin. *ŋi̯o*), *mma* < *ɯma* (< **ɯ̯ma* < Arch. Chin. *mɒ*) "horse", *mmɛ* < *ɯmɛ* (< **ɯ̯mɛ* < Anc. Chin. *muai*) "plum". Rahder (p. 181) prefers to consider *ɪɯ̯ò* ~ *ɯɯ̯ò* to be related to Indonesian *ivak*.

[3] Cf. TI, p. 27, note 3; p. 144. K. Shiratori cites *joh-t'ung* 若統 "fortunate" without disclosing its source (SH, p. 46).

[4] Possibly also *ɪsa*, *ɪza* (in the names of gods and places), *ɪsasa* "sacred", *ɪsɯzɯ* (the name of a river), *ɯ̯ɪi̯a* "courtesy" and *ɯ̯ɪi̯amaꜰɯ* "revere, honour".

[5] Cf. GL, p. 36. G. J. Ramstedt seems to consider this *ð to have been a palatalized *r* (cf. RF, pp. 26–32), while N. Poppe appears to regard it as a fricative *r* (cf. PT, pp. 78–9).

Turkish *ïduq*, etc., are usually considered as derivatives of *ïd-*, *it-*, etc., "send."[1] But the difficulty is that no satisfactory explanation seems yet to have been offered as to why Yakut *ïtïk* "holy" has a short stem vowel while the verb *ït-* "send" has a long vowel as a contrast to Uig. *ïd-*, Soy. *ït-*, Kaz., Koib. *ïs-*, etc. The only possible explanation of this discrepancy appears to be that since all other Turkish dialects have a short vowel in this particular verb we may regard the long vowel in *ït-* as a peculiar development in Yakut itself, although V. Grønbech traces the verb back to **i̯ïi̯ït*[2] and the derivative *ïtïk* to **i̯ïi̯t*.[3] Our assumption is well supported by the Chuvash form *jar-* "send", for, according to N. Poppe, the stressed **ï* in proto-Turkish seems to have become *a* in Chuvash—in the present case with an *j̊-* Vorschlag—thus **ïð-* > **j̊ar-* > *jar-*.[4]

The vowel length in Yakut presents many interesting problems. The word *ït* "dog" is another case in point. In all other Turkish dialects, too, the words for "dog" contain a short vowel, i.e. *ït*, *it*, *ɪt*, and (Chuvash) *jïd̥ë* ~ *jëd̥ë*. G. J. Ramstedt compares these Turkish words with Buryat *ite* (< **ita*) "voracious",[5] which comparison, one must admit, is perfectly sound from both the phonetic and the semasiological points of view, if the Turkish words really go back to **ïta*. But since Buryat has also words for "greedy" which have apparently been derived from the same root as Mongol (written) *ide-* "eat", namely *idimɛr* and *idimɛɛj*, Ramstedt's hypothesis cannot be readily accepted without a more thorough investigation into the Turkish words themselves.

When Grønbech, in an attempt to explain the Chuvash form *jïd̥ë*, pointed out the vocalic similarities between the words for "dog" and the words for "louse", thus :—

Kir., Osm. *it*, Kaz. *ɪt*, Yak. *ït*, Chuv. *jïd̥ë* "dog",
Kir., Osm. *bit*, Kaz. *bɪt*, Yak. *bït*, Chuv. *pïjd̥ë* "louse",[6]

H. Pedersen objected, saying that the word *pïjd̥ë* contains the sound *j* which is lacking in *jïd̥ë*.[7] The objection thus raised by Pedersen, justifiable as it is in a measure, is not sufficient to invalidate Grønbech's

[1] Cf. TI, p. 27, note 3; GF, § 75.
[2] GF, § 101.
[3] GF, § 123; according to Pedersen **ïït* > *ït* (PL, p. 556).
[4] Cf. PT, p. 71; also RF, pp. 12, 14–15. A similar change as this may also have taken place in Japanese, thus **ïð* > **jar* > *jaru* "send", *jararu* "drive away".
[5] RF, pp. 14–15. [6] GF, § 101, § 142. [7] PL, p. 559.

general line of argument, for the Eastern Turki dialect spoken in Kashgar has, besides *it*, a variant *iʃit* "dog", which occurs also in Sarö-Yögur in the form *ĩʃt*.[1] This strange *ʃ-* sound, according to G. Jarring, is found in the following four words :—

iʃt ~ *iʃʲt* "dog" (< *it*)
piʃt "louse" (< *pit*)
iʃki ~ *iʃʲki* "two" (< *iki*)
iʃtik "sharp" (< *itik*)[2]

M. Hartmann (*KSz.*, vi, p. 65) tells us that *iki* goes back to **jik* and after *j* and *i* had changed over, the *j* assimilated itself to *k*, thus **jik* > **ijk* > *iʃk*.[3] Contesting the possibility of such a phonetic change, Jarring for his part maintains that in the four words cited above the stem vowel resembles very closely the so-called Viby *-i* in Swedish but is pronounced with still more prominent hissing, and that it is this hissing of the vowel *i* that has brought about the sound *ʃ*.[4]

Another interesting explanation has been offered by K. Schriefl.[5] Quoting the words given by Hartmann, i.e. *ʲʃʲkki* "two", *patiʃtʃi* "shepherd", *iʃtik* "sharp", *kʃtʃkr-*, *kʃtʃka-* (= *kūʃkar-*) "call", *kʃitab* "book", *iʒgʒime* "twenty", *bʒ* "one", he states that in the dialect under consideration an inter-consonantal vowel (hence also a vowel in initial position) has a tendency to be reduced or even be suppressed, and that such a reduced *i* can become *j*, thence change into *ʒ*(*ʃ*), as it does in many languages ; thus *ikki* > **ʲkki* > **ʃkki*, *patitʃi* > **patʲtʃi* > **patʃtʃi*, and so forth. But since the combination with the *ʃ* presents difficulty in pronouncing the words, vowels have been introduced as "Übergangsvokale" in keeping with the Turkish phonetic habits, as is clearly shown in Hartmann's writing : *ʲʃʲkki*. So also *ittik* > **ʃtik* > *ʲʃtik*, *kitab* > **kʃtab* > *kʃʲtab*, *jigirmi* > **ʒʲgʲrmi* > **ʒ³g³rmi* > **ʒ̊g̊ʒ̊rmi* > *ʲʒgʒʲ(r)mi*.

All these words may not have followed similar phonetic changes in the course of their developments, yet it seems more than probable that devocalization of a vowel or consonant (or both) has been at

[1] Cf. MV, p. 63.
[2] JO, p. 124.
[3] Cf. JO, p. 124 ; BA, p. 28.
[4] JO, pp. 124–5. The assibilated *i* as spoken of by Jarring is, according to G. Raquette, heard in the following words : *it* "dog", *pit* "louse", *il*, *jil* "year", *kī* "soiled linen", *kīm* "garment", *ʼiki* "two", and sometime also in *bir* "one", *him* "who", and *kiʼtāb* "book" (RG, p. 117).
[5] SB, pp. 183–7.

work in all cases. The word *bir*, for example, may well have been changed into **bi̥r̥*, thence into *br̥* as in Kaʒan and Kara-Kirghiz,[1] and finally into *bʒ*.[2] Likewise in the change *kitab* > *kʃⁱtab* we may assume that owing to the strong stress laid on the second syllable the vowel *i* was first devocalized and then was turned into *ʃⁱ*.

The whole problem is indeed extremely complicated, but it nevertheless seems apparent that at least the four words cited by Jarring once contained a palatal or palatalized nasal in the second syllable. Precisely what that consonant was it is now impossible to trace; it may have been something like *j̃*, *ɲ*, *ŋ̇*, or even *ɦ*. Of these sounds, *j̃* existed in Old-Turkish and is still heard in Yakut, Karagas, and Uryankhai.[3] According to E. Lewy, *ɲ* occurs in Yakut and *ɦ* in Old-Turkish and Yakut,[4] whereas, judging from W. Radloff's statement, a consonant approaching *ŋ̇* appears to be contained in the dialects of Northern Altai, Abakan, etc.[5] Under these circumstances it would perhaps be wise to leave undecided the phonetic value of the consonant under consideration. None the less, since our argumentation must be based on hypotheses, we may provisionally consider, for the sake of convenience, our lost consonant to have been *j̃*. This sound, first through the loss of nasalization and then through the process of devocalization, was in some of the Eastern dialects changed into **ç*, thence into *ʃ*, whose presence in the Kashgar word *i'ʃit* "dog" cannot easily be accounted for by an earlier **ïta*.[6] In the majority of other dialects either the **j̊* (< **j̃*) was dropped or the **ç* (< **j̊* < **j̃*) was changed into **h* which was then lost. What probably happened to the four words in question may be shown as follows:—

(1) The proto-Turkish **'ïj̃^ït* "dog".

**'ïj̃^ït* > **ïj̊t* > **ïçt* > (Sarö-Yögur) *ïʃt*, (Kashgar) *iʃt*, *iʃⁱt* > *i'ʃit*.
**'ïj̃^ït* > **ïj̊t* (? > **ïçt* > **ïht*) > (Other dialects) *ït*, *it*, *ɪt*.
**'ïj̃^ït* > **'i̯ajⁱt* > **i̯aj̊t* > **i̯açt* > **i̯ëhd̥ë* > (Chuv.) *jëd̥ë* > *jïd̥ë*.[7]

[1] Cf. PT, p. 69.
[2] Schriefl derives this word thus: *bir* > **bʒr* > *bʒ* (SB, p. 185).
[3] Cf. TS, pp. 54–5.
[4] HL, pp. 91, 94.
[5] Cf. RN, pp. xviii, 105.
[6] Both Ramstedt and Poppe derive the Chuvash forms from **ïta* (cf. RF, p. 12; PT, p. 71).
[7] Does the word *jëttɪ* in *ag̊ar jëttɪ* "a powerfully built dog" (where *ag̊ar* means "a hound") preserve an older form of *jëd̥ë*? How are we to explain the relationship between Chuv. *jëd̥ë* and the Old-Bulgarian word *etx̀* (or *jetx̀*) "dog"? (Cf. JSFOu., xxx, pp. 14–15). These problems must be reserved for future investigation.

(2) The proto-Turkish **'bīj̊ᵗt ~ *bï'j̊ït* "louse".

(*a*) **'bīj̊ᵗt > *pīj̊t > *pīçt* > (Kashgar) *pift*.
**'bīj̊ᵗt > *bīj̊t* (? > **bīçt* > **bïht*) > (Other dialects) *bït, bıt, bı*

(*b*) **bï'j̊ït > *bï'j̊ït* > (Chuvash) *pïj̊ḑë > pïḑë*.

(3) The proto-Turkish **'ıj̊ᵗki ~ *ı'j̊iki* "two".

(*a*) **'ıj̊ᵗki > *'ıj̊ki > *'ıçki* > (Kashgar) *ifki, ifᵗki*, (Sarö-Yögur) *fki*
**'ıj̊ᵗki > *'ıj̊ki* (? > **'ıçki* > **'ıhki*) > (Other dialects) *iki, eki, ɛki*
**'ıj̊ᵗki > *'ıŋ̊ki* > (Karagas, Uryankhai, Shor) *iŋi, igi*[3]

(*b*) **ı'j̊iki > *ı'jiki > *ık'ki* > (Other dialects) *ikki, ɛkki*, (Chuv.) *ikl* > *iĝı, ik*.

(4) The proto-Turkish **'ij̊ᵗti ~ *i'j̊iti* "sharp".

(*a*) **'ij̊ᵗti > *ij̊ti > *içti > *ifti* > with *-k* (Kashgar) *if'tik*.
**'ij̊ᵗti > *ij̊ti* (? > **içti* > **'ihti*) > **'iti* > with *-k* (Other dialect *i'tik*.

(*b*) **i'j̊iti > *i'jiti > *it'ti* > with *-k* (Taranchi) *it'tik*.

The consonant *v* in Chuvash *ṡivḑẓı* "sharp" (= Uig. *jitig*, Küä *jidig*, Att. *jidə*, Kom. *jiti*, Koib. *tʃittig*, Yak. *sütī* "sharp")[4] h probably come from an older *g*, thus **jiŋti > *ṡigti > ṡivḑẓı* (> *ṡitʃı*)

The hypothesis put forward above seems to explain the wor for "dog" in all the other languages of the Altaic family, namely :-

Mongol (written) *noqai*,[6] Khalkha *nɔxᵘē*, Kalmuk *noxē*, *nox* Monguor *nɔxᵘē*, Buryat *nɔxɔi*.[7]

Manchu *indahun*, Goldi, Olcha *inda*, Negidal *ina*, *enakin*, etc Oroche *inakin*, Tungus *ninakin*.[8]

The proto-Turkish word for "dog" appears to have been derive from **'ij̊ᵗ* which alternated with **ī'j̊ï* and **ī'j̊ë*. The Mongols droppe

[1] Cf. KE, p. 165.

[2] These may have developed from *ikki* and *ɛkki*.

[3] Cf. KE, p. 164.

[4] Cf. GF, § 107; RL, pp. 71–2.

[5] Cf. PL, p. 558.

[6] K. Shiratori cites from the Liao-shih 遼史 the passage 揑褐犬也 "*nieh-* is a dog" (SH, p. 46).

[7] These Mongol words are compared by Ramstedt with Uralian *loga, loka, lok lokka, lai, lei*, etc., "fox" (cf. SR, p. 118), while Vladimircov quotes in comparis Manchu *ṡuqa* "young lynx, Russian puppy" and Samoyed *loka*, etc., "fox" (V p. 350).

[8] P. Schmidt considers these Tungusic words as loans from the Palaeo-Asiati and draws attention to Japanese *inu* "dog" (SN, pp. 5, 16). He does not tell u however, from what language they have been borrowed. It would probably n have been from Gilyak, for in this language the word for "dog" is *kan*, which Ramste compares with Turkish *qantʃuk* "bitch" (where *-tʃuq* is apparently a diminutive suffi and Korean *kɛ* "dog", written *kai* < **kañi* (RK, § 23).

the unstressed initial vowel of *ĭ'jë[1] and, after changing *j* into *n*,[2] added the diminutive suffix *-qai*.[3] In Tungusic languages the initial vowel has been preserved, and after *j̃* was changed into *n* the diminutive suffixes *-kin* and *-hun*[4] have been added. The only difficulty is the Turkish ending *-t*[5], which is kept in some of the Tungusic forms. By analogy I am inclined to consider this final as an old diminutive suffix probably related to the Finno-Ugrian diminutive suffix **-nt* ~ **-nd*.

In this way alone can the Japanese words *ɪnu*, *unu* "dog" be compared with the corresponding words in the Altaic languages.[6] If the form *u̯ɛnu* (? *u̯ɛnu*) 惠奴 given in the Wamyōshō (tenth century) is really a variant of *ɪnu* and *unu*, then the earlier **ĭnu* must have acquired an *u̯*-Vorschlag, thus **u̯ĭnu* > *u̯ɛnu̯* (or *u̯ɛnu̯*). The following are the probable developments :—

**ĭ'j̃ĭ* > **ĭ'nu* < *ɪnu*, *unu*, **u̯ĭnu* > *u̯ɛnu* (or *u̯ɛnu*)

As a further instance of the alternance *ɪ-* ~ *u-* in Ancient Japanese we may cite *ɪku* "go, flow", *uku* "float", and *i̯uku* "go, flow". These words have been compared by H. Winkler and W. Pröhle with similar words in the Uralian languages. Winkler equates *uku* with

[1] The initial vowel does not fall off in Khalkha, because in this dialect the first syllable is always stressed (cf. RU, p. 50). But in the Monguor dialect spoken in Kansu the falling off of the initial vowel is quite common, as e.g. *dur* (< Mong. written *edər*) "day", *ṅdē* (< Mong. written *ende*) "here", *mugæn* (< Mong. written *emegen*) "old woman" (cf. MSM., p. 807).

[2] That the Old-Turkish *j̃* may correspond to Mongol *n* can be seen from Old-Turkish *qoj̃* "sheep" = Mongol (written) *qonin*, Kalmuk *xōs* (<* *xoi*) "sheep".

[3] The diminutive suffix *-qai* is found in Khalkha *thāx^{a}ē* (< **tai-qai* > **tei-xa* > Chuvash *tixa*) "foal" = Turkish *taj*, *taị* "foal" (cf. RF, p. 24; VS, p. 293). It also occurs in the form *-kai* ~ *-kɛi* in Uryankhai, Kazak-Kirghiz, Kazan, etc. (cf. KO, pp. 163–4; NT, p. 570).

[4] These must be related to the diminutive suffixes *-kān* ~ *-kōn* in Barguzinsk Tungus (cf. PM, p. 6), *-kan* ~ *-ken* ~ *-kon* in Manchu (cf. ZG, pp. 81–2), *-qan* ~ *-ken* in Mongol written (cf. PN, p. 114) and *-qina* ~ *-xīna* ~ *-ḡīna* ~ *-kīna* in Turkish (cf. ZS, p. 20). A diminutive (hence augmentative) suffix of the same origin is also found in the Japanese word *kari-gane* "wild goose".

[5] Poppe, like Ramstedt, believes that the Chuvash forms *jëḏë* and *jĭḏë* preserve the original final vowel which has been lost in all other dialects (PT, p. 72). Their belief seems to be based on the assumed change **ĭta* (> Buryat *ite* "voracious") > *jĭḏë*, which, as we have seen, is probably not what actually happened.

[6] A comparison of Japanese *inu*, Tungus *inakin* and Manchu *indahun* has already been made by H. Winkler (WU, p. 279).

Finnish *uia-*, Lappish *vuajet-*, *vujje-*, etc., Vogul *uji-* "swim"[1] while Pröhle cites in comparison Hungarian *ūs-* (written *úsz-*), Ostyak *uḳe-* (?), Vogul *uj-*, Syrian *uį-*, Mordvin *ujə-*, Finnish *ui-* "swim".[2] But since these Finno-Ugrian words appear to go back to something like **vuǰj* or **uǰj*, the comparison is scarcely justifiable, unless the equation Finno-Ugrian **-jj-* = Japanese *-k-* can be established.

The word *įɯkɯ* is compared by Winkler with Lappish *juoks-* "run", North-Ostyak *jogotlem* "come", *jogodta* "arrive", Ostyak *jigem*, *jugam* "come", etc.,[3] and by Pröhle with Hungarian *jut-* "reach", Ostyak *joxt-* "come", Vogul *joxt-*, Mordvin *jutta-* "pass", Finnish *jouta-* "reach", Yurak-Samoyed *jadā-* "go", Tavghi-Samoyed *jotu-* "go".[4] All these Uralian words, according to O. Donner, go back to **jok*[5], while H. Paasonen considers the words quoted by Pröhle as having come from **jot*.[6]

To the root **jok* may also be traced back Finnish *joki*, Norwegian-Lappish *jokka* (*joqa*) "river", etc., which A. Sauvageot relates to Turkish *aq-*, Chuvash *jʊx-* "flow", pointing out that *aq-* has lost the initial **j-* which was preserved in Old-Turkish *jygyrti* "ran" and *ygyr* "river".[7] In this assumption Sauvageot is probably right, for Chuvash *jʊ-* appears to have come from **i̯a*, which in post-consonantal position has given rise to *-a-* (~ *-ī-*) in Turkish and *-i-* in the Mongol written language.[8] To quote a few examples: Turk. *qa-n* = Chuv. *jʊ-n* (< **ḳi̯a-n* < **qi̯a-n*) = Mong. *tʃi-sun* = Khalkha *tʃu-sun* = Buryat *ʃu-gxan* = Monguor *tshë-dzu* "blood"; Chag. *qar* "snow" = Sag., Koib. *kïrā* "frost" = Kir., Kaz. *kïra-u* "frost" = Yak. *xar* "snow" = Chuv. *jʊr* "snow" (< **ḳi̯ar* < **qi̯ar*) = Mong. *kira-qun* "white frost" = Buryat *xirū* "white frost"; Uig. *sari-q* "yellow" = Chuv. *ʃʊrē* "white" (< **si̯arī*) = Mong. *sira* "yellow" = Khalkha *ʃară* "yellow".[9]

The proto-Turkish **i̯a* seems to correspond to **a* ~ **ī* in proto-Japanese as in modern Turkish dialects, but on the Japanese soil the sound **ī* has undergone various changes peculiar to Japanese. Whereas

[1] WU, pp. 261, 264, 266.
[2] PS, p. 181.
[3] WU, pp. 261, 264, 265, 267.
[4] PS, p. 179.
[5] DW, p. 99.
[6] PB, pp. 36–7.
[7] SR, pp. 118–19.
[8] Cf. PT, p. 71; VS, p. 145.
[9] These three sets of words may well be compared with Ancient Japanese *ti* "blood", *kiri* "mist, haze" and *siro* "white", respectively.

the proto-Turkish *i̯aq has developed into ïq- "swim down-stream" in Shor, Kirghiz, etc., i^k- "flow" in Chagatai and *jʊx-* "flow" in Chuvash, besides *aq-* "flow" in most dialects, the corresponding proto-Japanese *ïk became *ɪkɯ* "go, flow", *ɯkɯ* "float" (> *ɯkabɯ* "float") and, with an i̯-Vorschlag, i̯ɯkɯ "go, flow". From the same stem *ɪk-* of *ɪkɯ* seem also to have been derived *ɪka* "cuttlefish" and *ɪkada* "raft", where *-da* is a suffix similar to *-da* in *karada* "body". Thus we arrive at the following derivation.

*ïk
- *ɪk- > *ɪkɯ, ɪka, ɪkada.*
- *ɯk- > *ɯkɯ, ɯkabɯ, ɯkamɯ.*
- *i̯ɯk- > *i̯ɯkɯ.*

The four roots in proto-Japanese from which we have deduced three distinct cases of the alternance *ɪ-* ~ *ɯ-* in Ancient Japanese may now be contrasted with the corresponding roots in proto-Turkish and the Altaic parent language.

1. (*a*) Altaic *ïr = Proto-Japanese *ïr.
   (*b*) Proto-Turk. *ïð = Proto-Japanese *ïð.
2. Altaic *ïj̃ï = Proto-Japanese *ïnɯ.
3. Proto-Turk. *i̯aq = Proto-Japanese *ïk.

The instances dealt with in the foregoing pages, though very small in number, will be sufficient to show that the alternance *ɪ-* ~ *ɯ-* in Ancient Japanese is in some cases due to the development of an earlier *ï in the Japanese language itself. Incidentally also our treatment of the subject-matter will have demonstrated how important it is in a comparative study of languages to examine, besides the consonants, the qualities and the lengths of the vowels compared, and where necessary the distribution of stress accent. It must be emphasized that no comparative study is possible without taking these phonetic aspects into consideration.

ABBREVIATIONS

AK = M. Andō, *Kodai Kokugo no Kenkyū*, 1924.
BA = W. Bang, "Aus Türkischen Dialekten," *KSz.*, xviii, 1918–19.
BGT = W. Bang und A. von Gabain, "Türkische Turfan-Texte," *Sitzungsberichten der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 1929, xv.
DAN = *Dokladï Akademii Nauk Soyuza Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik*, No. 16, 1929.
DG = J. Deny, *Grammaire de la Langue Turque (Dialecte Osmanli)*, 1921.
DW = O. Donner, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Finnisch-Ugrischen Sprachen*, i, 1874.
GF = V. Grønbech, *Forstudier til Tyrkisk Lydhistorie*, 1902.

GL = Z. Gombocz, "Zur Lautgeschichte der Altaischen Sprachen," *KSz.*, xviii, 1912–13.

HC = C. Haguenauer, "Du Caractère de la Représentation de la Mort dans le Japon Antique," *T'oung Pao*, xxxiii, 2, 1937.

HL = M. Heepe, *Lautzeichen und ihre Anwendung in verschiedenen Sprachgebieten*, 1928.

JO = G. Jarring, *Studien zu einer Osttürkischen Lautlehre*, 1933.

JSFOu = *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne.*

KC = W. Kotwicz, "Contributions aux Études Altaïques," *Rocznik Orjentalistyczny*, vii, 1929–30.

KO = N. O. Katanov, *Opit Izsledovaniya Uryankhayskogo Yazika, s Ukazaniem Glavneishikh Rodstvennikh Otnosheniy Ego k Drugim Yazikam Tyurkskogo Koreniya* 1903.

KSz = *Keleti Szemle.*

MSFOu = *Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne.*

MSM = A. Mostaert et A. de Smedt, "Le Dialecte Monguor parlé par les Mongols du Kansu Occidental," *Anthropos.*, xxv, 1930.

MV = C. G. E. Mannerheim, "A Visit to the Sarö and Shera Yögurs," *JSFOu*, xxvii, 1911–12.

MZ = *Motoori Norinaga Zenshū (Zōho)*, iii, 1926.

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PB = H. Paasonen, "Beiträge zur Finnischugrisch-Samojedischen Lautgeschichte," *KSz.*, xiv, 1913–14.

PL = H. Pedersen, "Türkische Lautgesetze," *ZDMG*, lvii, 1903.

PM = N. Poppe, *Materialī dlya Issledovaniya Tunguskogo Yazika, Narechie Barguzinskikh Tungusov*, 1927.

PN = N. Poppe, "Die Nominalstammbildungssuffixe im Mongolischen," *KSz.*, xx. 1923–27.

PS = W. Pröhle, "Studien zur Vergleichung des Japanischen mit den Uralischen und Altaischen Sprachen," *KSz.*, xvii, 1916–17.

PT = N. Poppe, "Die Tschuwassische Sprache in ihrem Verhaltnis zu den Turksprachen," *Kőrösi Csoma-Archiv Zeitschrift für Türkische Philologie und Verwandte Gebiete*, ii, 1–2, 1926.

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RF = G. J. Ramstedt, "Zur Frage nach der Stellung des Tschuwassischen," *JSFOu.*, xxxviii, 1922.

RG = G. Raquette, "Eastern Turki Grammar," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen an der Königlichen Friedlich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin*, xv, 2, 1912.

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RN = W. Radloff, *Phonetik der Nördlichen Türksprachen*, 1882.

RS = G. J. Ramstedt, "Das Schriftmongolische und die Urgamundart, phonetisch verglichen," *JSFOu.*, xxi, 2, 1902.

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SE = P. Schmid "Etymologische Beiträge," *JSFOu*, xlii, 1928.

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SN = P. Schmidt, *The Language of the Negidals*, 1923.

SR = A. Sauvageot, *Recherches sur le Vocabulaire des Langues Ouralo-Altaïques*, 1930.

TI = V. Thomsen, "Inscriptions de l'Orkhon Déchiffrées," *MSFOu*, v, 1896.
TJ = R. Torii, *Jinruigakujō yori mitrau Waga Jōdai no Bunka*, 1930.
TN = U. Tsugita, *Norito Shinkō*, 1939.
TS = V. Thomsen, *Samlede Afhandlinger*, iii, 1922.
VA = H. Vámbéry, "Noten zu den Alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei und Sibiriens," *MSFOu*, xii, 1899.
VS = B. Y. Vladimirtsov, *Sravnitel'naya Grammatika Mongol'skogo Pis'mennogo Yazuika i Khalkhaskogo Narechiya, Vvedenie i Fonetika*, 1929.
WU = H. Winkler, *Der Uralaltaische Sprachstamme, das Finnische und das Japanisch* 1909.
ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*
ZG = I. Zakharov, *Grammatika Man'chzhrskago Yazika*, 1879.
ZS = A. Zajaczkowski, *Les Suffixes Nominaux et Verbaux dans la Langue des Karaïm Occidentaux*, 1932.

A Grammar of the Language of Lotora, Maewo, New Hebrides, Melanesia

Compiled by †W. G. Ivens, Litt.D.

Abbreviations

adv.	= adverb	vb.	= verb
conj.	= conjunction	v.i.	= intransitive verb
demonstr.	= demonstrative	v.t.	= transitive verb
pers.	= person, personal	v.p.	= verbal particle
pl.	= plural	MN.	= Melanesia
prep.	= preposition	S.I.	= British Solomon Islands
sing.	= singular		

References

Bug. = Bugotu, S.I.
Fl. = Florida, S.I.
Lam. = Lamalanga Grammar, Ivens, *BSOS.*, Vol. IX, Part 3.
Lau = Mala, S.I.
Lob. = Lobaha Grammar, Ivens, *BSOS.*, Vol. X, Part 2.
M. = Mota, Banks' Islands.
Melanesian Demonstratives, Ivens, *BSOS.*, Vol. IX, Part 2.
MIL. = 'Melanesian Island Languages,' S. H. Ray. Cambridge University Press, 1926.
ML. = 'Melanesian Languages,' R. H. Codrington. Clarendon Press, 1885.
Nguna = MIL., p. 204.
Sa. / Ulawa } = Sa'a and Ulawa Dictionary, Ivens. Oxford Press, 1928.

MAEWO is the northernmost island eastwards of the double chain of islands in Melanesia known as the New Hebrides. Dr. R. H. Codrington gives a grammar of Maewo in ML., pp. 408–420. The dialect used by him for the grammar was that of Tanoriki, a place some twelve miles from the north end of the island on the west side. [illegible] was founded principally on information supplied by [illegible] part of Maewo in the Melanesian Mission [illegible]ton also made use of a small edition, [illegible] language. The transla-

from the Gospels, 50 pp.[1] Owing to the greater amount of information regarding the language thus made available, it is possible to compile a much fuller grammar than Codrington's, while acknowledging the value of what he has done.

There is very little difference in the grammar of the two dialects, Tanoriki and Lotora. Some of the demonstratives given by Codrington are not found in the texts used for the present grammar. Codrington states that the sound *ngg* (as *ng* in 'finger'), occurs, if rarely, in Tanoriki; but there is no occurrence of it in the earlier or the later texts, nor in Codrington's grammar. The texts show the occasional use of *p*, which sometimes is a variant of *b*; e.g. *putu*, for *butu*, to promise, covenant; *pita*, white.

The syllables are mainly open, but any of the consonants used, except, perhaps, *mw*, may terminate a syllable.

There is a transposition of syllables in Maewo as compared with similar words in Mota, Banks' Islands: *liviti*, to strengthen, M. *viliti*; *viritag*, near, M. *rivtag*; *galoa*, right hand, M. *galao*; *tatarisa*, equal, M. *sasarita*; *garaqa*, illative conj., M. *qara*.

Maewo *d* (*nd*) is frequently Mota *n*, there being no *d* in Mota; *wudu*, perhaps, M. *wun*; *doloma*, to swallow, M. *nolo*; *dolu*, all, M. *nol*; *durdur*, carefully, M. *nurnur*; *dinga*, to reach, M. *ninga*; *dai*, blood, M. *nara*; *dam*, yam, M. *nam*.

The present grammar contains in particular a fuller treatment of (1) Articles; (2) Verbs; (3) Prepositions; (4) Conjunctions, than is found in Codrington's grammar. In addition § 27 provides instances of verbal suffixes, consisting of a consonant with *a*, such as have not hitherto been recorded in Melanesia outside of Fiji.

I. Alphabet

1. Vowels: *a, e, i, o, u*. The vowels have the usual sounds found in Melanesian languages.

Diphthongs: *ae, ai, ao, au, ei*: *gae*, stri[illegible] to spread; *tau*, to do; *sei*, who?

Consonants: *k, g, t, d*; *p, b*[illegible]

II. Articles

2. Demonstratives: *a, na.* These two articles are in general use with common nouns.

A is used (1) with a subject, except in the case of nouns of the first class in the genitive, *na* being used instead: *a leo*, the law; *na limwana*, his hand; (2) with a second object after the copulative conjunctions *ti, ka*, where otherwise *na* would be used: *ti rongo na kove ti a bue*, he heard the music and dancing; *mo sura dago mawu na leo vasai ti a leo sorasora*, he kept the commandments and the ordinances. This is the use also in Lob. and Lam., the probable explanation being, as Codrington says, that the second noun is at such a distance from the governing word that its influence cannot reach so far.

The article *a* is used, contrary to the usual custom in the Northern New Hebrides and Banks' Islands, with a noun in the genitive: *a loloku*[1] *u tarania*, my desire is; *ti a lolona ti nanarag taliwura*, and when he came to himself; *a wulana mo ta lavatea*, he was six months old; *ti a limana mo masingagi na tano mamasa*, and his hands prepared the dry land. Instances of this use are too common in the texts to be attributed to faulty translation, and Codrington[2] provides an instance: *a valera irua*, the house of them two.

There are instances in the texts of the use of the article *a* with an object when that object is at some distance from the governing word: *niko mo dago betegagi nonga a leo wiawia*, thou hast perfected praise; *mo tekeragi suwo ala a qati som irua*, she cast in there two mites. The evidence, however, for the use seems inconclusive.

Na is used (1) with nouns of the first class in the genitive: *na bulaku*, my property. This holds when a word is inserted between article and noun: *na tavala bulaku*, the half of my property; *na pane matagaogaoku*, the hand of my betrayer; (2) with nouns which are the object of a verb or prep., except in the case noted above; (3) with the pl. sign *ira* when speaking of a class of people; words thus used with *na* may be verbs, but they are treated as nouns: *ira na pita*, white people; M. *pita*, fair in complexion; *ira na tatua*, men; *ira na wesawesa*, the lame. One may compare the corresponding use of the pl. article *ra na* in Florida, S.I.

In the texts *na* is used after the pron. *sese*, every, each: *sese na varea*, every country; also after the negatives *tigai, tigala*, § 42: *tigai* (*tigala*) *na God*, there is no God; *tigai na laqana*, there is no speech; also after the conj. *ka*, and: *ka na roro ikiaga*, and this news. These uses may be due to euphony.

3. Plural: *ira, ra, iri.* These are pronouns, but they are used also as plural signs of sets of people: *ira lelelu*, the disobedient; *ira tagtagsom*, the rich; *ra natu mwagata*, children of vipers; *iri ratuana*, his friends.

4. Personal: *i, i ia; ro, iro.* The personal article *i* is used with names of males; *ro, iro* with names of females: *i Jesus; ro* (*iro*) *salogi*, the blessed one.

I is used to personify: *i masimasingagi*, the worker; *i sala*, the messenger; *i muai*, the first, of persons. *I ia* means 'the person who', 'he': *i ia kiaga*, this person.

The noun *ani, an*,[3] thing, after the usual Melanesian custom, is used with the personal article *i* to denote 'the person': *i ani*, the male person; *iro ani*, the woman; *ira ani*, the persons.

[1] See § 14. ML., p. 411. [3] MIL., p. 286, 11, *anu*.

III. Nouns

5. There is the usual division common to Melanesia of nouns into two classes, (*a*) those that take, and (*b*) those that do not take a suffixed pronoun of possession.

The first class consists of (1) names of parts of the body, or certain personal possessions; (2) certain relationship terms; (3) words denoting part or position, e.g., 'part,' 'top,' 'underneath,' 'end,' 'beginning,' 'place'; (4) certain nouns with the detachable suffixes *gi*, *i*: e.g. *oigi*, fruit; *goarigi*, root; *leogi*, voice; *siugi*, oil; *tagtagii*, master.

6. Form. Words which are nouns may be used as verbs without any change of form: *usa*, rain, to rain; *aloa*, sun, to be fine, of weather.

Noun Suffixes. The noun suffixes appearing in the texts are *ana*, *na*; *a*; *ga*; *va*; and the detachable suffixes *i*, *u*, *ui*, *iu*, *gi*. The suffixes *ana*, *na* are more gerundival in meaning, *a* is more nominal. These suffixes are usually added to verbs.

Ana: *wota*, to be born, *wotaana*, birth; *rasu*, to depart, *rasuana*, journey.

Na: *tinai*, middle, *tinana*, midst: *ale tinanara*, in their midst; *laqa*, to speak, *laqana*, speech; *garawia*, true, *garawiana*, truth.

A: *tunubu*, to assemble, *tunubua*, a crowd; *mule*, to return, *mulea*, return; *mate*, to die, *matea*, death; *a* may be added to a compound phrase: *dodoma rikia*, unbelief.

Ga: *toitoi*, to spring up, grow, of plants, *toitoiga*, weeds; *suwo*, down, *suwosuwoga*, rheumatism; M. *siwosiwo*.

Va: *ete*, to see, *eteva*, sight.

The adjectival suffix *sa* is used also as a noun suffix in *tangtangisa*, merciful, pitiful; mercy, pity.

There is a modification of the final vowel of the suffix *ana* in the texts with certain words, when used of the genitive, *a* changing to *e* or *i*[1]: *mo ete na masoane God*, he saw the salvation of God; *suri na togaane Arelua*, concerning the welfare of the Church; *a galeani marama*, the deceits of the world; *a wesuani ure*, the end of the world. The verb *singara*, to be bright, shows a noun form *singari* in the genitive: *a singari God*, the glory of God.

The detachable suffixes are used with what Codrington calls 'Independent Substantives', and the pronouns of possession are added to the stem: *surii*, bone, *na surina*, his bone; *tavalui*, side, *tavaluna*, with him. The detachable suffix *gi* appears in a non-detachable form in *sogogi*, free gift, M. *sogov*; *masingagi*, work, *masinga*, to work; *towotowogi*, a sign, *towo*, to measure.

The noun *anai*[2] is used with *basobaso*, finished; *basobasoanai*, the last of a series; *basobasoane qong*, the last day.

8. Plural. A plural is not necessarily marked, the singular often serving as a plural. A definite plural is denoted by the addition of *mwaraga*,[3] many, or *ririki*, apart, scattered about, different. These

[1] See § 9. [2] See ML., p. 272.

[3] Cf. Bug. *mara*, Sa. *mwala*, people; Torres Islands *mwera*, *mweragă*, pl. signs.

two words may be combined, *ririki* generally preceding: *a aniani mwaraga, a aniani ririki, a aniani ririki mwaraga,* things. The phrase *a kulu,* a company, a number of, may be added to a plural: *ira tagologolo a kulu,* many righteous persons.

The pronouns *ra, ira, iri* are used with nouns to denote the plural of persons: *ra ta Judea,* the Jews; *iri ra tasiku,* my brethren. The plural suffix *ra* used of the object may be followed by a noun in the singular: *minira na tatua,* to the men.

9. Genitive. There is no genitive particle. In the case of nouns of the first class with the suffix *i,* the final vowel of the word base being *a* or *o,* e.g. *matai,* eye, *tanoi,* place, a genitive is denoted by the dropping of the suffix, and the change of *a* or *o* to *e*: *totuai,* woman's brother, *a totue Mary,* Mary's brother; *loloi,* middle; *ale lole ima,* in the middle of the house; *tamai,* father; *Tame Lord igita,* the Father of our Lord.

This change of *a* to *e* holds also in the case of two nouns in juxtaposition when the first noun governs the second in the genitive: *a tatue masingagi,* the man of ministration, officer; *maseqala,* space, place of; *le maseqale qong lavateai,* on the sixth day. A genitive may be denoted by the simple juxtaposition of two nouns: *a qong warana,* the day of judgment. When the final vowel of the word base is other than *a* or *o* there is no change of the vowel, the noun ending being dropped to denote the genitive: *tolii,* egg, *a toli kuru,* a hen's egg; *qatui,* head, *qatu qoe,* pig's head; *natui,* son, child, a *Natu Tatua,* the Son of Man. The suffixing of the pronouns of possession, 3rd pers. sing. and pl., to nouns of the first class denotes a genitive: *napanena,* his hand; *napanera tatua,* men's hands.

As Codrington says,[1] the noun *dai,* blood, changes its first vowel in 2nd and 3rd pers. sing.: *na daiku,* my blood, *na deinga,* thy blood, *na deina,* his blood. No other instance of such change occurs in the texts.

10. Reduplication. Certain nouns are reduplicated in order to denote a plural: *mwera,* child; *mweramwera,* children; *tasiu,* brother; *tatasiu,* brethren; *ani,* thing; *aniani,* things; *lebati,* kinsman, friend; *lebalebati,* pl.; *vatu,* stone, rock; *vatuvatu,* stones.

11. Gender. To denote gender, *tatua,* male person, is added to the noun, for males, and *taima,* female person, for females. The article *a* may precede.

'Father,' Vocative, is *tata.*

IV. Pronouns

12. Personal.

Sing.	1. *inau, nau, na*	Pl.	1. incl. *igida, gida, da*
			excl. *ikami, kami*
	2. *iniko, niko, go*		2. *ikamu, kamu, kam*
	3. *ia, i*[2]		3. *ira, ra*; *iri, ri*

[1] ML., p. 409.

[2] MIL., p. 270, *i.*

For the form *ia*, 3rd pers. sing., cf. Vaturanga, S.I., *ia*. It is probable that *ia* is a combination of the personal articles *i* and *a*.[1] In that case the form *i*, 3rd sing., may be the personal article *i*.

The dual and trial numbers are formed by the addition of the numerals *irua*, *rua*, two; *itolu*, *tolu*, *tol*, to the plural pronouns: *kamiu irua*; *kam tol*; *ira* (*iri*) *irua*; *gida irua*.

Codrington says[2] that the short forms *na*, *go*, *da* are only used in the imperative and optative, and never in the indicative; but the texts show these short pronouns, together with the form *i*, used of the present, past, and future, as well as of the imperative and subjunctive: *i ni tavaragata*, he will arise; *gon tigi laqa lai tea*, thou shalt not be able to speak; *na ne gigilea*, I shall know; *go mo sogon tewa*, thou gatherest; *na u sage ne tig saqea tea*, I went but did not find him; *na ni reve na vi valu*, I shall read and then write. These last two examples are from ML., p. 414. An imperative use of the short pronoun *go* is seen in *go rasu souna*, depart! It will be seen below in § 41 that the secondary v.p. *go* is also used for the imperative, and the following example provides an instance of the double use of *go*: *baso tau go vanomai go malamalai*, then come thou and sacrifice. A subjunctive use of the short pronouns *na*, *go*, *da* goes with the use of the conditional and potential particle *wa*[3]: *na wa etea na*, if I should see him; there is no use of the form *i* with the subjunctive.

It is difficult to distinguish between the short pronouns *na*, *i*, and the secondary v.p.[4] *na*, *i*; but when the form *na* is used with the primary v.p. *ni*, *mo*, or the secondary v.p. *ne*, it is clearly a pronoun and not a v.p. Also when the form *i* is used with the v.p. *ni*, *n*, it is a pronoun and not a secondary v.p.

Codrington gives the form *ni*, 3rd pers. sing., but no such form is found in the texts.

The longer forms of the personal pronouns may be used as both subject and object of a verb. They are also used as pronouns of possession: *i Lord inau*, my Lord.

13. Forms suffixed to verbs and prepositions as object:—

Sing.	1. *au*	Pl.	1. incl. *gida*
			excl. *kami*
	2. *ko*		2. *kamu*
	3. *a*		3. *ra*, *ira*

The forms in the 3rd pers. sing. and pl. are used of things as well as of persons. The pronouns of the object may be suffixed to a second verb, or to an adverb or particle, following the governing verb.

There is a use of the suffixed pronoun *a* as an anticipatory or additional object: *suria na leo*, according to the law; *ti sorera na tatua lebata*, and he sent certain men.

14. Forms suffixed to nouns to denote possession.

Sing.	1. *ku*, *k*	Pl.	1. incl. *da*
			excl. *mami*, *mi*, *m*
	2. *nga*		2. *mu*
	3. *na*, *n*		3. *ira*, *ra*; *ri*

For the change, in 2nd pers. sing., of *nga* for the usual Northern New Hebrides and Banks' Islands *mwa*, see ML., p. 214. For *mu*, 2nd pers. pl., instead of the common *miu*, see ML., p. 472, and MIL., p. 207.

Examples: *na gongiri Philip matana James*, Philip and James' day; *ale nagora tolu*, in the face of them three; *na limwaku*, my hand; *i tamanga*, your father.

[1] Mel. Demonstr., III.
[2] M.L., p. 410.
[3] See § 53.
[4] See § 41.

The above forms are suffixed as object to the verb *turi*, to stand, in all persons, and to *sou*, to remove, away, in 3rd pers. sing: *i nagonago mu turina wone Lord*, the king trusts in the Lord; *kami na turimi*, we will trust; *go lai soun*, remove it; cf. *masau*, ML., p. 461, 3. There is also a use of these pronouns in all persons with the noun *lolo*, heart, desire, which is used as a verb with a v.p. or a negative particle, the person of the suffixed pron. agreeing with the subject as in the case of *turi* (*supra*): *kamu u lolomu*, you desire; *nau mo loloku*, I desire; *a langi wa lolona seresere*, the wind desires to blow; *tigi lolona eteete sage*, he would not look up; *ge lolomu*, you desire. This corresponds more or less to the Florida 'middle use' of the noun *lio*, heart, desire: *inau tu lionggu*, I desire.

15. Demonstratives :—

ede, here, this; *a ede*, here; ML., p. 468, 4, *eda*, there; MIL., p. 300, 36, *enda*, there; *dala*, that; occurs at end of sentence; *ga*, this, used in compounds; *gala*, that; follows noun; *nagala*, that, follows pron. or adv., used in explanations: *ia nagala*, that person; *tigai nagala*, not so; *qala gala*, thus; *la gala*, that there; *ka*, this, follows noun or prep. or adv.: *roronia ka*, *ka roronia*, now; *a qatagii ka*, *suria ka*, because of this; *kaga*, this, these; follows demonstr. or pron. or noun; *kiaga kaga*, this; *kala*, that; *i ia kala*, that person; *kala* is used as expletive 'there'; *kiaga*, *i kiaga*, this, these, follows or precedes noun; *kiala*, *i kiala*, that, those, follows noun or *ka*: *ale kiala na*, then; *la*, that; used in compounds, *kala*, *i kiala*, etc.; *laka*, *lakaga*, here, this; follows noun; *na*, this; follows pronoun or noun or adv., conveys emphasis: *a qatagii na*, because of this; *doqala na*, thus; *ia na u rorongo*, he it is that hears; *iniko na*, it is you; used after a verb to denote a preterite, or to make a positive statement: *i Abraham tigi wota tea na*, before Abraham was born; *na wa etea na*, if I see him; *naka*, this; emphatic; follows pron. or noun: *kiaga naka*, this very thing; *a qong naka*, this very day.

16. Interrogatives :—

sei, *isei*, who? any, someone; *irisei* pl.; *sava*, *a* (*na*) *sava*, what? any thing: *a sava ani*, whatsoever.

17. Distributives :—

sese, each, every: *sese na varea*, every land; *sese kamu*, each of you; *sese leoda*, our various languages. The transitive verbal suffix *i* is added to *sese*, which is probably a verb meaning 'to apportion to each:' *lailai sesei*[1], to receive each; the pronouns of the object may be added; *valu*, *val*, each, every: *a valu tunuge*, every kingdom; *valu tau*, every year; M. *val*.

18. Indefinite Pronouns :—

gase, only, alone, no other, by oneself; the pronouns of possession are always suffixed, showing *gase* to be a noun: *iniko gasenga*, you only. There are instances in the texts of the suffixing of the pronouns of the object to *gase*: *gaseko*, *gasea*[2]; *gesegese*, another, different, to be different; *lebata*, some; follows noun: *a tagei lebata*, some seed; *ira na lebata*, some people; *lebata* may precede a noun in the genitive, the final vowel changing to *i*: *ia mo sore na lebati tatua*, he summoned certain men; *tuara*, *i tuara*, a certain person; *salai*, various, all kinds of: *a sale ani seseta*, all kinds of evil; *salai*, probably = *salai*, generation, kind; M. *sale*; Lob. *halai*; *tea*, a certain one, another, precedes noun: *le tea varea*, in another country; *tea qong*, some day; for use of *tea* with negative particle, see § 42.

[1] MIL., p. 302, 48, *sesei*.
[2] Cf. ML., p. 360, 3.

19. Emphatic Pronoun :—

tabu,[1] a noun, with the pronouns of possession always suffixed, denotes 'of own accord', 'self', and also has a reflexive use : *igida tabuda*, we ourselves ; *ki nau wa aregi roro giau tabuku*, if I glorify myself ; M. *ma-tapui*.

20. Possessives.

There are two possessive nouns, *ga*, *ma*, which are used respectively of things to eat or drink ; they precede a noun, and the pronouns of possession are always added ; the article *na* may precede, and the article *a* may accompany the noun following.

The nouns *no*, *ano* denote general possession, 'belonging to' ; the pronouns of possession may be suffixed, and the article *na* may precede ; *ano* may precede or follow a noun : *nona a gavu*, *na nona gavu*, his clothing ; *nona tavala meroana*, his enemy ; *na nora*, theirs ; *nora a taiua*, their men ; *a tunubua anoku*, my people ; *no* with suffixed pron. following a verb denotes 'for my part', etc. : *gida ete noda*, we saw.

In the case of proper names, or with the pron *sei*, who ? the *o* of *no*, *ano* is lightened to *e* : *a angel ne i Lord*, the angel of the Lord ; *a taima ane i Lord*, the Lord's handmaiden. A noun *bulai*, property, possessions, with the pronouns suffixed, is used as equivalent to 'my', etc., where property is concerned : *na bulara sheep*, their sheep ; *bulana uma*, his garden ; *bulaku aniani ririki*, my belongings.

V. Adjectives

21. The adjective follows the noun. A few simple adjectives, used without a v.p., appear in the texts : *lata*, big ; *tamai*, big, great ; *wia*, good ; *seseta*, bad ; *garaqa*, new.

When the adjective is used verbally the v.p. *u* precedes : *a som u tatarisa*, sufficient money. A few instances occur in the texts of the use of the v.p. *mo* with adjectives.

22. Adjectival Prefixes.

There are two prefixes denoting condition, *ma* (*mo*), *ta* (*tata*) : *malidú*, leaning over, out of plumb ; *madare*, torn ; *madiding*, cold ; *motusatusa*, broken in pieces ; *moukag*, released ; *tagogoi*, quickly ; *tagologolo*, straight ; *taunigi*, hidden ; *tatataraoa*, disobedient. The prefix *mala* (*malamala*) denotes 'somewhat', 'rather' : *malamala riki*, a little smaller ; *mala tagasogi*, somewhat startled.

Certain adjectives denoting quality precede the noun ; these are *ñala*, *tamtamani*, *ore*, all meaning 'bad' : *a mala ani*, a bad thing ; M. *mala*, bad ; *toli*, good, upright in character : *le toli tano*, in a good ground ; *matai* : *mate tano*, good ground ; *a toli mate masi*, the good fish ; M. *matai*, good.

Tagtagsom, possessing money, denotes 'rich'. Codrington gives *muro gangan*, fond of eating, greedy.

Dolu, *odolu*, all, *tolu*, few, follow the noun.

23. Adjectival Suffixes : *ga*, *gi*, *a*, *sa*.

Ga : *tawe*, old woman, *tawega*, old, of woman ; *bune*, to be with child, *bunega* ; *wono*, to close, fill up, *wonoga*, choked ; *toratoraga*, strong.

Gi : *mamasagi*, dry ; *gasegi*, only ; *taunigi*, hidden ; *tewa*, one, *tewagi*, together ; *sora*, to send, *ira ani soragi*, the persons sent ; *tavirogi*, turned round.

A : *singasingaria*, clear ; *tagarasua*, continual ; *ngara arearea*, to cry bitterly.

Sa : *tarisa*, equal, sufficient ; *galosa*, weak ; *tanglangisa*, merciful.

[1] See § 34.

24. Comparison.

Comparison of adjectives is made by the use of the preposition *dani, dan,* from : *u riki dan na tagei mwaraga mwaraga,* it is smaller than all seeds ; *iti lata dani na ani mwaraga u mwaraga,* it is greater than many things ; *ni tigi toraga lai tea dania,* he will not be stronger than he ; *liwi,*[1] to leave, go beyond, be in excess, may be used to denote degree ; the pron. of the object may be suffixed : *u lata liwi dan,* bigger than ; *ia mo tekeragi liwira odolu,* she contributed more than them all.

A superlative is made with *rangai* (hot), very : *u riki rangai,* least.

VI. Verbs

25. Transitive Verbs. Certain verbs are transitive in themselves, i.e. the pronouns of the object may be suffixed to them.

26. Transitive Terminations. There are certain terminations which when added to a verb make it transitive, or determine its action upon some object. These terminations may be added to verbs which are transitive in themselves. The terminations found in the texts are :—

(1) Simple : *i,* or a consonant with *i* ; (2) compound, consisting of *agi, ag,* with or without a preceding consonant, *ni* being added in some cases to the compound.

Simple : *i ; gi, g ; ni ; ngi ; ri, r ; si, s ; ti ; vi, v.*

I : susu, susui, to point ; *la, lai,* to give, take, receive ; *rongo,* to be powerful, *rongoi,* to enable, empower ; *rowo,* to depart, *rowoi, rowogi,* to go to, up to.

Gi : dare, daregi, dareg, to await ; *ligo, ligogi,* to promise ; *wosa, wosag, wosagini,* to smite ; *vate,* to say, *vateg, vategini,* to accuse ; *uniuni,* to be hidden, *unigi,* to hide ; *matai,* eye, *matagi, matagini,* to gaze at, behold ; *gi, g* is added to the second member of a compound : *vano rowogi,* to reach ; *dago rorotag,* to do always : *ti dago souna worag na bulana,* he wasted his goods ; *goroi,* ear, *teiqorogi,* to listen, a listener, *teiqorogini,* to listen to.

Ni : dago, to do, *dagoni* v.t. ; *ruwaga, ruwagini,* to fear ; *ni* is added to the second member of a compound : *dago souni,* to put away ; *dago sesetagini,* to harm ; *dago salangani,* to lay waste.

Ngi : soso, sosongi, to press round ; M. *soso,* to pack.

Ri, r : suari, to encounter, find, have a vision ; Nguna, Ulawa, *sua* ; *sage,* up, *vasager,* to set a thing on the fire.

Si, s : bunisi, to nuzzle, kiss ; M. *pun* ; *vivis,* to bind ; M. *vir.*

Ti : wono, to close, *wonoti,* to fill up, compress ; *ti* is added to the second member of a compound : *dago ragoti,* to exalt.

Vi, v : gorovi, to embrace ; *alovi,* to beckon ; Sa. *alohi.*

Compound : *ag, agini ; nagi ; ragi, rag ; sag ; tagi, tagini ; vagi.*

Ag, agini : susuag, to impale ; *taleag, taleagini,* to turn ; M. *tale ; saleagini,* to drive away.

Nagi : kokonagi, to keep ; M. *kokomwag.*

Ragi, rag : tekeragi, tekerag, to dismiss, launch ; M. *tikerag ; adurag,* to annoy ; M. *anumwag.*

Sagi, sag : mabusag, to breathe ; *labasagi,* to work at ; M. *lapasag ; arasag,* to sift.

Tagi, tagini : tiba, titibatagi, to stumble ; *lagotagi, lagotagini,* to behold ; *viritagi viritagini,* to be near.

Vagi : guruvagi, to put to rights ; M. *wur ; angaangavagi,* to revile.

[1] ML., p. 395, *levi.*

27. Several verbs found in the texts show a suffix consisting of a consonant with *a*; the verb so constituted being intransitive. The suffixes found are *ma, na, nga, ra, sa, va*. One may compare these with the Fijian verbal suffixes consisting of a consonant with *a*.[1]

Examples: *ma : doloma*, to swallow; M. *nolo*; *na : vangona*, to awake; M. *vavangov*; *vangana*, to feed; F. *vanga*, to eat; *nga : salanga*, to be lost, desolate; M. *salenga*, scattered; Sa. *tara*, to drift, of canoe; Polynesian *hara, hala, sala*, to miss the mark; *dadanga*, to look up; Lam. *dada*; *sasanga*, to carry; M. *sasa*; *ra : tete, tetera*, to spread out; M. *teter*; *taliwura*, back, to return; Lob. *taligu*; *singara*, to be white, to shine; M. *singa*, to shine; *tura*, to stand; Lam. *tu*; *sa : vivisa*, to bind; M. *viv*; *garu, garusa*, to wash; *virisa*, to do with determination; M. *virig*; *leasa*, to exchange, take the place of; Torres Islands, *liă*; *varasa*, to tread; M. *vara*; *va : tangova*, to touch; M. *tango*; *siriva*, to shave; M. *sir*; *sova*, to fall; Torres Islands, *ho*; *venaga*, to climb, go on board, may be Torres Islands, *vine, vin*, with similar meanings.

Several of these verbs have a transitive suffix ending in *i*, with the same consonant: *doloma, dolomi*, to swallow; *vangona, vangoni*, to awake; *taliwura, taliwuri*, back, again; *singara*, to shine, *vasingari*, to enlighten; *tura*, to stand, *valuri*, to cause to stand; *garusa, garusi*, to wash; *virisa, virisi*, to do with determination; *vivisa, vivisi*, to bind; *leasa, leasi*, to exchange; *venaga, venagi*, to climb, etc.

That one is justified in claiming for the language a second set of verbal suffixes is shown by the fact that the two suffixes exist together, also that a given suffix is replaced in a kindred language by one of the ordinary simple suffixes of § 26, or the verb is found in use without a suffix. It would therefore seem incorrect to say that the transitive form of these verbs is due merely to a change of the final vowel from *a* to *i*, as in the cases quoted in § 28. Rather one must say that the verbs in question take two suffixes, one intransitive, the other transitive.

28. Certain verbs change a final *a* to *i* in order to give a transitive force: *dodoma, dodomi*, to think; *ruwaga, ruwagi*, to fear; *risa, risi*, to turn into, become; *asa, asi*, to kill; *sura,*[2] *suri*, to follow. In these cases it cannot be shown that the final consonant with *a* constitutes a verbal suffix. Ray [3] notes a change of a final *a* or *e* to *i* with certain verbs in Roviana in order to convey a transitive force.

29. Certain verbs change a final *a* [4] to *e* in order to give a transitive force: *bava, bave*, to give birth to; *wosa, wose* (*wosagi*), to hit; *wanga, wange*, to open the mouth; *wara*, to say, *ware*, to say to a person; *liba, libe*, to direct; *salanga*, to be lost, desolate, *vasalange* (*vasalangagi*), to destroy, make desolate; *vangoda, vangode*, to catch fish with a net; M. *vangona*; *weda*, to be heavy, changes *a* to *e* and adds the transitive suffix *i*, *wedei*, to weigh upon. *Wanga* contains the verbal suffix *nga*, *wa* being the word base of *wanga*.[5]

30. A suffix *ta* is seen in *tavaragata*, to rise up; M. *tavaraka*; *tueta*, old; M. *tuai*; *mwasagita*, to be feverish; M. *mwasag*; *savuta*, to blow, of wind; M. *savu*.

31. Verbal Prefixes.

These are numerous: (1) *taba : tabariu*, to decline, of sun; M. *riu*; *tabalingi*, to spill; M. *ling*, to pour; (2) *taga : tagarasu*,[6] to keep on going, continuous; *rasu*, to go; (3) *tara : tarawasa*, open, of eye; *wasa*, to be open; (4) *tava, tawa, tama*, of spontaneity: *tavaragata*, to rise up; *tavarisa*, upset, disturbed in mind; *risa*, to turn round; *tawalaka*, rent in twain; *tamauliuli*, loosed; *uli*, to loose.

[1] ML., p. 180.
[2] MIL., p. 412, 44.
[3] MIL., p. 551.
[4] Cf. Lobaha, § 3.
[5] ML., p. 84.
[6] ML., p. 445, *tagasuci*.

32. Causative Prefix :—

va : vatura, to raise up ; *vaturi*, to place, set ; *vagaogao*, to proclaim ; M. *gao* ; *valiuliugi*, headlong. The causative prefix *vaga* is used to make Ordinals and Multiplicatives : *vagaruai*, second ; *varuarua*, twice ; it is also used with the compound verb *dago vagamate*, to kill ; and as a causative itself in *vagamaso* (*vamaso*), to save.

The verb *da* (*do*), to do, appears as a causative prefix in *daqala*, *doqala*, thus ; *dadiri*, to cause agony to (*gagadiri*, anguish).

33. Reciprocal Prefix.

Reciprocal action is denoted by the prefix *vagala : vagala saqesaqe*, to meet one another ; *vagala tabetabe*, to love one another ; *vagala totori limwa*, to grasp one another's hands. *Vagala* is probably *va*, causative prefix, and *gala*, to hit, succeed ; M. *qalo*. The prep. *gini*, with pl. pron. *ra* suffixed, is used in a reciprocal sense with *laqa*, to speak : *ge laqalaqa ginira*, they talked to one another ; cf. Lam. *ram awo ginginira*, they said among themselves.

34. Reflexive action is denoted by the use of *tabu*, self, with the suffixed pronouns of possession : *isei wa dago buriburi tabuna*, whosoever humbleth himself.

35. Passive.

The passive is expressed : (1) impersonally, by the use of the v.p. *u*, *mo*, *mo ta*, *mo ni* : *mo wange na valaṇa*, his mouth was opened ; *suria mo ni dago malumlum taliwurira*, for they shall be comforted ; (2) by the use of the secondary v.p. *ta*, *ge*, *na*, 1st and 3rd pers. pl. and 3rd sing. : *ta dodoma sonia na bugumu*, your sins are forgiven ; *ka ge velvet na leo u wia*, and the gospel is preached ; *na dago aowea*, he shall be saved. For the use herein of *ta*, see Lob., § 35.

36. Reduplication.

Verbs are reduplicated (1) by the repetition of the first syllable : *lata*, *lalata*, big ; (2) by the reduplication of the whole word : *veti*, *vetiveti*, to say ; (3) by the repetition of the first two syllables : *talenga*, *taletalenga*, to be shaken. A vowel may be dropped : *diringa*, *dirdiringa*, to knock. A verb with the causative prefix *va* may be treated as (3) : *leasa*, in exchange, *valeasa*, *valevaleasa*, to exchange. Reduplication intensifies the action of the verb.

The verb *dago*, to do, has the irregular reduplication, *tagodago : mwere ko mo tagodago*, as you do.

37. Auxiliary Verbs : *eva*, *va*, *da* (*do*) ; *toga*.

Eva, to lie down, is used as a copula : *eva taqai*, to take place for the first time ; *a vale tavalimwa u eva tau*, there were five porches ; *va*, to go, is used preceding a verb to denote 'to be' : *o som wa tigi va tarisa mea tea*, she had not sufficient money ; *va*, following a word, denotes 'also', 'besides' : *irisei va*, some besides, in addition ; *ti a vavine va*, and a woman also ; *na vi tuana va*, and it shall be added to ; *mwerea tau va qariki*, as also to-day ; for *da* (*do*), to do, see § 32 ; *toga*, to stay, stop, also bears the meaning 'to be'.

38. Compound Verbs.

These are numerous : *la tau*, *lai tau*, to place, put ; *lai vanomai*, to bring ; *rongo sura*, to believe ; *dodoma soni*, to forgive ; *tala soni*, to remove ; *ete saqe*, to find, succeed in finding ; *roro saqe*, to encounter. A verb in English with an adv. meaning 'out' or 'in', of motion, is rendered by two verbs, the second verb being used with a v.p. (2) : *mo sasanga ge lua na tamate*, a dead person was carried out ; *mo vanomai ti lua*, he came out ; *ti tigi kekerag sei tea ni vano na sasaroro*, and he suffered no one to go in. The verb *so*, to move position, combines with a noun or a verb, as in Mota :

so wusu, to thrust out the lip, to hate; *so taliwura*, to return; *so risa*, to turn round. The noun *ebe*,[1] body, is used with verbs to denote a mental condition: *ebe meamea*, to be meek, humble; *ebe riki*, to be confident.

39. Verbal Particles. The verb is conjugated by means of particles which precede it. There are two kinds of particles in use which Codrington calls Primary and Secondary. The Primary are the ordinary fixed particles found in Melanesian languages; the Secondary change with the person and number of the subject, pronominal or otherwise. In this grammar the abbreviation v.p. (1) means 'Primary Verbal Particle', and v.p. (2) means 'Secondary Verbal Particle'.

As Codrington says, 'A verb may be used without a verbal particle in a direct statement, where the verbal particle *u* would be used, but it is not common to do so': *nau woli na kau i sawulu tea*, I have bought ten cows.

40. The primary verbal particles used are *u*, *mo*, *wa*, *ta*, *ni* (*n*), *mo ni*, *na*, *ti*, *vi* (*v*), *tei*.

U is devoid of temporal significance, and merely makes a word a verb. In general *u* may be taken to represent the present, but with *tau*, § 45, following the verb *u* denotes the past: *ikamu ira salogi u lolowono*, blessed are ye that mourn; *ira na lebata u ete goro sheep*, certain men looking after sheep; *moi ira u ete tau*, because they saw. After a past or a future tense the verb reverts to *u*: *muerena som mo unigi tau, ti sei u ete saqea*, like money which was hidden, and someone found it. A verb with *u* may be an infinitive: *niko u lolonga u lailai*, do you wish to receive?

There is a use of *u* with the adv. *ala*, there, and with *lolo*,[2] heart, desire: *ia u ala*, he is there; *kamu u lolomu*, you desire; *u* is also used impersonally: *u sole rangaiau*, I am tormented. *U* is the particle in general use with adjectives in a verbal form.

Mo also is devoid of temporal force, and is used indifferently of present, past, or future time. In the texts it is used more commonly than *u*. To express the past positively the v.p. (1) *ta*, or *ta ti*,[3] or the adv. *tau* are used following *mo*: *inau mo loloku*, I desire; *mo wara goro taua*, he forbad him; *ko mo ta ti dodoma suria qa*, and while he thought thereon.

A verb with *mo* may be an infinitive: *go vi ete gigilagi mo siba souni*, thou wilt then see clearly to pluck it out. *Mo* may be used with adjectives in a verbal form, but such use is not common. *Wa*[4] is generally used of the present or past, but it may denote the future: *suria ia wa talotalo na langi*, because he rebukes the wind; *ale aloa wa susu*, when the sun was setting; *ti wa mule sumai*, and he returns; *na wa eva tamata suwo na maturu*, I will lie down in peace and sleep; *ki kiaga wa baso*, and (when) this was finished, afterwards; the v.p. *ti* may precede *wa*: *o qoe ganigani ti wa sumai*, the wolf comes; *ti i Mary ti wa vano*, and Mary went.

Ta is used alone to denote the past; it may be added to *mo*, and *ti* may follow *ta*: *i lagi ta sumai*, the bridegroom has come; *ale ia ta ti laqa*, while he was speaking; *mo ta tatai*, it is written; *mo ta baso*, afterwards, in narration.

Ni is used of the future or the imperative; it is shortened to *n* in the singular when used with the short pronouns *na*, *go*, *i*: *ia ni nagonago*, he shall be great; *in rasu*, he will go; *gon rasu*, go thou! *go ni tikeraginia*, send her away; *nan tavaragata*,

[1] Cf. the use of Sa. *sape*, body.

[2] See § 2.

[3] Cf. Fl. for the accumulation of v.p.

[4] ML., p. 396, 4, *wa*.

I will arise; *in dinga le qong kiala*, up to that day; *ni* may denote 'let', 'should', 'to', of purpose, of the 3rd person, or when used impersonally: *ni lai na uli ani seseta*, to give remission of sins; *si in dago seseta*, or to do evil; *ira ni garigari*, let them rejoice; *ni* with the v.p. *vi* following denotes 'till': *ini vi ete*, till he sees; *ni* is used following *wari*[1] to denote 'in order that'. The compound particle *mo ni* is used of the future: *mo wara tau mo ni lai sage i Natu Tatua*, it is ordered that the Son of Man be lifted up; *a qong mwaraga ia mo ni dago masinga*, he will work many days.

Na is used of the future, and also carries a notion of 'should', 'would', 'let', 'to', of purpose. It is used only of the plural: *irisei qa wa tataro na lai*, they that pray will receive; *kami na suri tagarasu na togaana*, that we should follow continuously the right way; *ira na dodoma sura*, they will repent; *gon dago na taqangimi na sinara*, enlighten our hearts; *loloda na wia*, let our hearts be well disposed.

Ti is used in narrative, of continuity or succession: *ki ti vano tau, ti lai ti tuania a vui lavarua*, and he went and took to himself seven spirits; *ki ia ti wa*, and he said; *ki ti ete nona, ka ti garigari suria*, and he saw and rejoiced thereat; there is a use of *ti* with a future sense following the pronoun *gida*, 1st pers. pl. incl.: *gida ti garigari*, let us rejoice; *gida ti mate nga ka*, we shall indeed perish; *ti tueta*, for ever.

It is difficult in some cases to distinguish between this *ti* and *ti* v.p. (2) 3rd pers. sing.

Vi (v) is used of the future with an idea of consequence of action or thought, and never with a mere future sense; it is practically an illative conjunction denoting 'then', 'thereupon'; it also denotes 'till': *gida ta vi rongo suria*, we will then believe him; *ira ge vi gigilea*, they will then know; *ira ne vi natu Abraham*, they will be children of Abraham in consequence; *nau na vi laqa miniko*, till I tell you; *ira ge vi ete*, till they see; *vi* is also used to denote 'lest', 'should not': *kami ge vi sova*, lest we fall; *ira ge vi sari na som*, that they should not contribute money. The form *tivi*, i.e. *vi* with the v.p. *ti*, is used without a subject to denote 'lest' or as an illative conjunction: *tivi doqala wudu*, lest it be thus; *ka tivi mo toitoi tau*, and when it has grown up; *ka tivi ia mo tekeragi na tunubua*, and when he had sent away the people.

Tei is used as a v.p. with numerals, denoting supposition: *tei tolu*, it might be three; *a ani u wia tei tewa*, one good thing possibly; *wari lai vano tei riki*, to receive a little.

41. Secondary Verbal Particles.[2] Codrington's classification of these particles follows their predominant characteristic: (*a*) those with *e*; (*b*) those with *a*.

(*a*) with *e*: Sing., 1, *ne*; 2, *go*; 3, *i*, *ti*, *iti*.
Pl., 1, incl. *te*; excl. *ge*; 2, *ge*; 3, *ge*.

(*b*) with *a*: Sing., 1, *na*; 2, *go*; 3, *na*, *ne*.
Pl., 1 incl. *ta*; excl. *gana*, *gane*; 2, *ge*; *gana*, *ne*.

Codrington regards these particles as being combinations of (verbal) particles and personal pronouns, and varying in consequence. A correcter way to view them seems to be to say that they consist of personal pronouns or demonstratives or primary verbal particles, either alone or in combination. Thus *ne*, *go*, *i*, *te*, of the first set, and *na*, *go*, *na*, *ne* (sing.), and *ta* of the second set, are probably pronouns, while *ti* is a v.p., and *iti* is a compound of pronoun and v.p., and

[1] § 53. [2] See ML., p. 396.

gana, gane are compounds of v.p. *ga* and the demonstratives *na, ne*; *ne* being a modification of *na*.

The form *ti*, 3rd pers. sing., is often difficult in practice to distinguish from the v.p. (1) *ti*; the forms *ne*, 3rd pers. sing., and *gane*, 1st pers. pl., are not given by Codrington.

For the forms *ga, ge*, see ML., p. 396, 4, where they are secondary verbal particles; for the pronouns *ta, te*, see MIL., pp. 237, 295, *ta, te*, and p. 304, *da, de*.

The particles are used (1) in conjoined clauses, signifying consequence, logical or in time; and, as Codrington says, the forms with *e* follow a former clause where the time expressed by the v.p. used, *u, mo, ti*, is either present or past; and the forms with *a* follow a former clause where the time expressed by the v.p. used, *ni, ti, vi*, is future. In this use the secondary v.p., if used without a copulative conj., may be translated by 'and' or 'but'; (2) the forms with *e* may be used alone of the present or past without a preceding clause, and with the full form of the pronoun or any other subject preceding, i.e., they can be used as v.p. (1); and the forms with *a* may be used similarly of the future, with or without a future v.p. following; (3) the forms with *a* are used of the imperative; the 1st pers. pl. incl., *ta*, may be strengthened by the pronoun *da* preceding; (4) the forms *na, ne, gana, gane*, 3rd pers. sing. and pl., are used of the subjunctive, to denote 'should', 'let', 'to', of purpose.

Examples: (1) with *e*: *ka ti tavaragata ti vano*, and he arose and went; *mo valuia iti veti wa*, he answered and said; *na mo saro rangai ne tigi saro lai tea*, I sought diligently but could not find it; with *a*: *nan tavaragata na vano na wara wa*, I will arise and go and will say; *gida ti vano ta mate tewa mea*, let us go and die with him; (2) with both *e* and *a*: *ira ge ruwaga*, they were afraid; *a tavala ure gana matawuta*, the ends of the earth shall be afraid; *ira na nagonago ge tura sage*, the kings of the earth stand up; *gida ta vi rongo suria*, we shall then believe him; (3) *ge tekeragira ira gana lata*, let them grow up; *iniko go vanomai*, come thou here! *da ta vano*, let us go! (4) *vavano na saqe*, till he finds it; *na toga na toga, na tueta*, for ever; *na tigai*, it cannot be; *nau tigi rarareg na solesole*, I shall not wait in vain; *ge tuwa na ura na lasa*, fill the waterpots full; *ko dago kami gana valu*, you caused us to read; (5) the v.p. *ge*, 3rd pers. pl., may be added to v.p. *ta* (1), *mo ta*: *le tano togatoga nora tdge gorogoro*, in the seats of the scornful; *irisei mo ta ge salanga*, those who are lost; *ka ge tage laqa tea tavaluna*, and they did not speak with him.

42. Negative Particles.

The negative particles in use are *tigi* (*tig*), *tigai, tigala*. *Tigi* (*tig*) is always followed by *tea*[1] = 'at all'; a v.p. (1) or (2) usually precedes. *Tea* may follow the verb immediately, or may follow any words that qualify or depend on the verb: *niko mo tigi dodoma weda tea*, you did not honour; *ka ge tigi nga saqe sei tea*, and he found no one; *a gong tigi mwaraga tea*, the days were not many.

Tigi is used in exclamations of admiration or wonder: *tigi tatua lata tea*, what a big man!

Tigai is generally used with a v.p. (1) or (2) preceding, and *tea* is not always added: *ka ti tigai lai na siugi*, and took no oil; *u tigai areare na sasana wari Mary*, is not her name called Mary? *gongiku tigai ga gogoi tea*, my day has not yet come; *na tigai gala*, it shall not be at all; *tigai* is used where we would use an affirmative, Matthew xv, 27, *Tigai, Lord*, yes, Lord; it is also used in exclamations: *tigai salai dodoma varuarua*, what a doubting generation!

[1] See Lob., § 40.

Tigala follows a noun or verb, and means 'there is not', 'not to be'; a v.p. may precede: *a wine tigala*, there is no wine; *isei nona gavu tigala*, whosoever has no clothing; *nora rongo sura mo tigala*, they had no faith; *nok roro na tigala*, my glory will be nothing. *Tigala* appears to be a compound of *ti* + *gala*, where *ti* is a negative (as also in *tigi*, *tigai*), and *gala* = 'at all'.[1] It would seem that all three negatives are really verbs.

43. Dehortative.

The dehortative used is *kare*,[2] which Codrington says means 'to do away with'; *kare* precedes and *tea* follows the verb in a negative sentence. The pron. of the object, 3rd sing., *a*, is generally added to *kare*; and a v.p. (1) or (2) generally precedes: *karea* means 'do not', 'let it not be so'! *kare ruwaga tea*, do not fear; (*ge*) *karea vagala totori lima*, do not grasp one another's hands; *gida ta karea dago titibalaginina tea*, let us not cause them to offend; *karea* is also used as a strong negative.

44. Mood.

The simple verb may denote an imperative: *tavaragata*, rise up! The commoner method for the imperative is by the use of the pers. pron., 2nd pers. sing., *go*, and the v.p. (2) with *e*, 2nd pers. pl., *ge*. An infinitive is denoted by the use of the v.p. *u* or *mo*,[3] or by the juxtaposition of two verbs: *mo qatagi sinara*, it began to shine; *mo tarana lailai*, he desires to receive.

For the subjunctive *wari*[4] is used or *wa*.[4]

45. Completion of action.

The verb *tau*,[5] to make, do, following the predicate, denotes completion of action; the pron. of the object, 3rd sing. or pl., may be suffixed to *tau*: *mwerea mo vatowotowo taua*, as was promised; *baso tau*, then, of narration; *ka tivi mo toitoi tau*, and when it has grown up. The particle *vagala*, already, added to the verb denotes completion: *nau mo manogatoga vagala*, I am prepared. The demonstrative *na* following a verb denotes completion of action: *na wa etea na*, if I see him.

For the past tense, see § 40, *mo*, *mo ta*, *mo ta ti*.

46. The verb *lai* is used following another verb to denote 'be able', 'can'. In a negative sentence *tea* follows *lai*.

VII. Adverbs

47. Adverbs usually follow the verb.

Time:

ale, *le*, when; *roronia*, *roronia ka*, *ka roronia*, (*a*) *kakaka*, now; *tiqa*, not yet; precedes the verb, no v.p. is used necessarily; M. *tiqa*, yet; *mo tiqa wesu tea*, is not yet fulfilled; *qariki*, to-day; *a maran*, to-morrow; *marani*, morning; *ro qong*, *ro qong rik*, morning, early morning; *raviravi*, evening; *a na nora*, yesterday; *na nova*, day before yesterday; *oisa*, third day on; *tueta*, formerly, a long time, for ever; *muai*, first, *mumuai*, aforetime; *turumua*, in front, before, first; *totoiwo*, *taqai*,

[1] Cf. *vagala*, § 33.

[2] Cf. *kere*, 'not,' ML., pp. 362, 372.

[3] See § 40.

[4] See § 54.

[5] It seems probable that *tau* of *rongotau*, to hear, is this verb *tau*; *rongo*, *rorongo*, being used by themselves as meaning 'to hear'.

for the first time ; *gogoi*, quickly, a little ; *tagogoi*, quickly ; precedes verb ; *qagogoi*, *qagogoi riki*, *galewora*, *galeagi*, *vagatewa riki*, a little while, shortly ; *kare qa riki* (*nga tea*), shortly ; *masigi riki nga*, within a little, almost, nearly ; *taliwura*, back, again, also ; *radu*, continuously, straight on ; *rorota*, always ; *tagarasu*, continually ; *ngeisa*, when ? of future ; whensoever, by and by ; (*a*) *na ngeisa*, when ? of past ; *vagatewa*, *vagatewagi*, for ever, very much, greatly, finished, perfect, ready ; *wesuwesu*, finished, completely ; *qa*, still, yet ; Torres Islands *qa* ; *ia mo soai tau qa*, while he was still far off ; with negative particle, *tigai qa* = 'not yet' : *mo tigai qa rongo gagadiri tea*, when he had not suffered as yet ; *va*, also, in addition.

48. Place.

See Demonstratives. *Ala*, there, there was, to be there, because ; *lagala*, there ; *bea*, *a bea*, where ? which ? of choice ; anywhere ; *laka*, *a laka*, *lakaga*, *ede*, here ; *vano* (to go), away, out, of motion ; *sumai* (to come hither), hither, here ; *vanatu*, away ; the common MN. *mai*, hither, *atu*, away, have no separate existence,[1] but are compounded with *su*, 'to move position,' and *vano*, 'to go' ; *ara*, *aragi*, *arag*, away ; M. *reag* ; *rowo* (to run), away, beyond ; *sage* (to go up), up, east ; *kalo*, up ; *soai*, *gagasoai*, afar off ; *viritagi*, near ; the pron. of the object may be suffixed ; *talau*, through, of motion.

49. Manner.

qala, *qalaka*, *daqala*, *doqala*, *doqala na*, *qalagala*, thus ; MIL., pp. 216, 49 ; 412, 43, *pale*, *pala*, as ; *tewa*, *tewagi*, together ; *sara tewa*, with one accord ; *tewa tavano*, sole, only ; *wudu*, haply, perhaps ; *nawono*, for no reason, wantonly ; *wora*, *woragi*, to no purpose, in vain, for no reason, merely, just ; *solesole*, in vain ; *awe*, in mistake, wrong ; *burei*, *bureburei*, anyhow, not orderly ; *guruvagi*, *bete*, *betegagi*, well, properly ; *nga*, very, entirely ; intensifies meaning of vb. ; *matemate*, ready ; *wuri*, *wuriwuri*, all, complete ; *ririki*,[2] scattered about, separate ; *mwere*, as, like ; Lob. *mwere* ; the suffixed pron. of the object, *a*, may be added : *mwerea niko mo wara tau*, as you said ; the final vowel may be dropped before *a*, *i*, *u* : *mwerisei*, like whom ? ; *mwera tagei mustard*, like a mustard seed ; the v.p. *u* is used with *mwere* which is thus treated as a verb ; it is used also as a noun,[3] the suffixed pron. *na*, 3rd pers. sing., being added : *mwerena tatua balu*, like a thief ; *saginia*, how ?, *u* (*ni*) *disinia*, *ni didisi ginia*, how ? why ? whereby ? *u disinia a sava*, why ? *disava*, how ? *kami ni disava*, how shall we do ? *rangai* (to be hot), very ; *gasegi*, alone, entirely, a little while ; *mwaraga*, much, many ; *vagamwaraga*, often ; *liugi*, more, in abundance ; *segisegi* is used with *riki*, little, to denote 'very' : *u riki segisegi*, very little ; *gala* [4] has an explanatory use : *karea gala*, do not at all ! *tigai gala*, not at all ; *vagala*,[5] very ; has an explanatory use, and also denotes past time : *a ani vagala*, the very thing.

Tigai, no ; *auwa*, yes.

VIII. Prepositions

50. *A*, Locative, at ; used of names of places : *a Maewo*, Maewo ; *mo dinga a maseqala kiala*, he reached the place ; *mo sumai a wongana*, he came down from heaven. *a la* ; *a le* ; *a ta*.

There is no preposition used of motion to a place.

Ala, Locative, therein, there ; there was, concerning it : *a sogogi ne i God ala tau qa tavaluna*, the grace of God was with him ; *ala* is used with the v.p. *u*, *mo* : *ia u ala mo toga a Galilea*, while he abode in Galilee ; *a nie bei lavatea mo ala*, there were six waterpots there ; *ta ala*, thereof.

[1] Cf. Lob., § 45.
[2] See § 8.
[3] Cf. Lob., § 44.
[4] See § 42.
[5] See § 33.

Ata, of, belonging to, of place: *i Jesus ata Nasareth*, Jesus of Nazareth.

Le, in, to; while, when; no article follows: *le isara*, to their home; *le wone aka*, on the ship; *le sava*, wherein? *le varea*, outside; *ta le*, of, belonging to; *ta le nia*, in bed.

Ta, belonging to, of place: *a tatua ta Maewo*, a man of Maewo; *ira ta wongana*, the heavenly host; *da ta*, *da ta le*, of, belonging to.

Data, of, belonging to: *laqana data Maewo*, the speech of Maewo. *Da* of *data* is a variant of *ta*.

Be denotes relation or place, also 'about, concerning, for', and 'to', of purpose; no article follows: *be leonga*, at thy word; *be vula*, in the moon; *u tarisa be qariki*, meet for to-day. M. *pe*.

Gi is used (1) denoting 'for', 'to be'; the article *na* follows: *mo dago gi na lalangira bulu*, made it a cave of robbers; (2) in place of a transitive verbal suffix: *garusa rongorongo giau*, baptize me; *wari are natunga giau*, to call me your son; (3) the pron. of possession, 3rd pers. sing., *na*, *n*, is added, and the meaning is as (1), 'for', 'to be': *gina* (*gin*) *bulana*, for his possession; the sense may also be instrumental: *gina bei*, with water; *gina noku som*, with my money; (3) after *risa*, to become, turn into: *ka tivi risa wuriwuri gina leven ginia*, until all became leavened.

The form *gini*, with pronouns of the object added, is used in place of a verbal transitive suffix: *inau u gigilea giniko*, I know thee; *ni tekerag rorongo ginia*, to put her away secretly; *u lolona ginia*, he desired it; *mo turumua ginira*, he led them; the form *ginia* is used at the end of the sentence to denote 'withal', 'thereby': *na risi bread ginia*, to become bread withal. *Ni* thus added to *gi* is the transitive verbal suffix *ni*.[1]

Mi, with, of accompaniment, to, dative, for, with, of instrument; the suffix pron. *na*, *n*, is added in the 3rd pers. sing., showing *mi* to be a noun; the article *na* may follow: *mo laqa mina Lord*, he spoke to the Lord; *min i Lord*, to, for, the Lord; *go ni mina mwera*, you will be for a son; *min na rongoana*, by hearing; *mi* is also used of position: *le matoai mina tano malamalai*, on the right side of the altar.

The form *mini*, to, dative, or used of position, has the pronouns of the object attached, showing that the ending *ni* is a transitive verbal suffix[2]: *minira tatua anona*, to his men.

Me, with, of accompaniment; the pronouns of the object may be suffixed: *vano me*, to take; *me kami ti me kamu*, with us and with you; *u tarisa meau*, it is becoming to me; *vagalasaqesaqe mea*, to meet him; *u sari vatowotowo me Galilea*, right opposite Galilee.

Da denotes 'motion from'; the pron. of possession, 3rd sing., *na*, *n*, is always suffixed: *dana bugura*, from their sins; the article *na* may follow: *dan na matea*, from death; *tura goro kami dan na tavala meroana*, protect us from the enemy.

The transitive verbal suffix *ni* is added to *da*, and the pronouns of the object may be suffixed: *dania mumuai*, from of old; *danira*, from among them.

There is a use of *dani*, meaning 'from', with the article *na* following: *dani na bei*, from out of the water; *isei dani kamu*, one of you.

Moi, *a moi*, *mo*, *moa*,[3] with reference to, concerning, because of; because, for. It would appear that the *i* of *moi* may be dropped before *i*: *mo inau*, *ka moi nau*, because I; *a moi iri na tasiku*, because of my brethren; for *a* of *a moi*, cf. conj. *ti a*; *moa sava*, why?

51. Nominal Prepositions.

wonga, above, on top; used of persons and things: *a wongana*, above, heaven; *a wongamu*, above you; *u lata wongara god*, greater than the gods; *wowo*, above:

[1] See *da*, *infra*.

[2] Cf. Lob., § 45, for use of verbal suffix *i* added to the nouns *lobe*, *lu*.

[3] See Conjunctions.

le wowomu, above you; *wona*, above: *tivi laia wone duruduru*, and took him on top of a hill; *wonana*, on top of it; *lolo*, inside, within: *a lolona*, *ale lolona*, *le lolona*, therein, within: *le lole vale*, inside the house; *lalo*, within: *a lalona*, inside, therein, in it; Sa. *lalo*; *tinai*, middle, midst: *le tine vale*, in the middle of the house; *tinana*, midst; *le tinanada*, in our midst; *veigi*, under part: *le vei*, under; *le veiku*, underneath me; *le vei rongomi*, under our feet; *tawu*, back, rear, behind, after: *a tawu*, afterwards; *le tawuk*, behind, after me; *balili*, side, beside: *ale balili bei*, beside the stream; *tavalui*, side, denotes 'with', of position; used of persons, and the pronouns of possession are always added: *ia tiqa toga tavaluna*, he did not yet live with her; *tavalura*, with, among them; *tavaluna*, the other, fellow, of a pair; *tavaliu*, side, denotes 'to', dative, 'among', 'with', of persons: *hosana tavali Natu David*, hosanna to the Son of David; *dinga tavali Jesus*, up to Jesus; *tavali God*, with God; *mo toga tavali tatua*, he dwelt among men; *tavalai*, side, other side, portion: *tavala qilo*, beyond the lake; *na tavala bulaku*, the half of my goods; *a tavala meroana*, the enemy; *qatagii*, beginning, cause, reason; because; the demonstratives *na*, *ka* are added: *a qatagii na*, because; the article *na* may follow: *a qatagii na ani kiala*, because of that; *qatagina na sava*, why? *a qatagina kiala*, therefore.

52. Verbal Prepositions.

dinga, to reach, up to, till: *vano dinga na qong kiala*, up to that day; *suri*,[1] to follow, about, concerning, because, according to; used of motion to, of persons; the pronouns of the object may be added, and the article *na* may follow: *suri sava*, why? *suria na leo*, according to the law; *surira natura*, to their children; *suri na malemalena*, to be his guest; *suri kamu*, on your behalf; *ti suwo surira*, and descended on them; *daliviti*,[2] round about: *dalivitira*, round about them; *viritagi*, near: *viritagira*, near them; *liwi*, to exceed, to be over and above; *liwira*, more than they; used in comparison of adjectives; *goro*, to shut, stop, prevent, to be in the way of; against, round about: *tura goro*, to protect, stand in the way of; *ara goro*, to fence round; *laqa goro*, to forbid; *titiqow goro*, to kneel before a person.

IX. Conjunctions

53. Copulative.

ti, *ti a*, and, but; also introductory: *ti iniko*, but you; *ti wa*, and; *tia mo*, and, because; *ka*, and, but: *ka a tunubua mwaraga*, and much people; *ka ti*, *ka tia*, *ka wa*, *ka mo*, and; *ku* (*ka u*) *disiginia*, how? *ki*, a modification of *ka*, and, but; also introductory; used generally before a following *i*: *ki ia*, and he; *ki kiaga*, and this; *ki ti*, and; *i*, and, also introductory: *i ira mo ulo sage*, and they cried out; *a ure i irisei u toga le lolona*, the world and they that dwell therein; *moi*, *mo*, *moa*, and; see § 50, *moi*.

Introductory.

ia, then, now, in narrative; probably = *ia*, he; cf. Sa. *nge*: *ia i Peter*, then Peter; *ia ira*, then they; see Copulatives.

Adversative.

ka mo, *tigai*, *tigai ka*, *tigai mo*, *tigai moa*, *at*.[3]

Disjunctive.

si, or: *si ni tigai*, or not (to be); *si tigai*, or not.

[1] See § 28. See MIL., pp. 412, 44, and ML., p. 448, 7.
[2] MIL., p. 219, *daliviri*, Lam. *dali*.
[3] MIL., p. 327, 50, *at*.

Illative.

vi,[1] *tivi*, then, thereupon; *garaqa*, *qaraga*, just now, in consequence, then, for the first time; precedes verb immediately; no v.p. need necessarily be used: *a tatua garaqa lagi*, the man just married, bridegroom; *baso tau iti garaqa malesu*, afterwards he was hungry; *garaqa mule*, and then return; M. *qara*; *garaqa*, by metathesis.

Conditional.

wa,[2] *ti wa*, if; precedes verb immediately, except in neg. sentence: *ka wa ia wa tigi toga tea*, and if he does not stay; *ti i natu tamata wa toga ala*, if a son of peace be there; *ka wa doqala*, and if it be so. There is a use of *wa* as a potential conjunction, like M. *qe*, denoting a subjunctive: *in wa taro*, if it be calm; *isei wa tarana*, whoseover wishes; *a sava ia wa aregi*, whatever he may command; *wari*, *war*, either alone or with *wa*, denotes 'if', 'whether': *wari nau wa taura*, if I take.

Declarative.

wari, *war*, *wara*,[3] that, in order that, to, of purpose; the v.p. *ni* generally follows: *mo ete wara ia*, he saw that it was he; *wara a laqana a Lord ni tura lai*, that the word of the Lord might stand.

Reported speech.

The particles used to denote reported speech are *wari*, *wara*, *waru*, *wa*.[4] *Wara* probably = *wara*, 'to say.' A further use of *wara* is explanatory, 'namely,' 'that is,' it also denotes 'to', of purpose, 'should'; and is further used for politeness, deferentially: *wara go ni tuaniau*, please help me; the form *waru* at times appears to be a contraction of *wara u*.

54. *Qa*, following a verb, lightens a command, or has an explanatory or emphatic use: *sumai qa*, come here, please; *ka go vet qa*, speak, please; *irisei qa*, whoever; *tigai qa*, no.

55. *Mata*, with the pronouns of possession added, denotes 'with', 'and', of a second person accompanying: *mataku tamanga*, thy father and I; *inau mataku ratuaku*, I and my brethren; *i tamana matana ravevena*, his father and mother.

56. 'Until,' 'till' is rendered (1) by v.p. *vi*, *ini vi*, *ti vi*, and *dinga* (to reach), *vano* (to go): *a lolo seseta na vi rasu arag*, until the anger be overpast; *ini vi ete*, till he sees; *a Herod tivi mate*, till Herod was dead; *vavano go mate*, till you are dead; the adv., *qa*, 'still,' following the verb, also denotes 'till': *ini saqea qa*, till he finds it.

57. 'Time when' is denoted by the prep. *le*, *ale*; also by the v.p. *ni*, *vi*: *go dodomi nau ngeisa goni sumai*, remember me when thou comest; *ikamu vi ete ki kamu ge gigilea*, when you see you will know.

58. 'Lest' is rendered by the v.p. *vi*, *tivi*, or by the prep. *dani*, *dania*, from, with the v.p. *vi*, *ti*, *tivi*, or the conj. *wa*[5]: *kami ge vi sova*, lest we fall; *a Satan tivi sali lai kami*, lest Satan ensnare us; *dani na sava ti salanga*, lest anything be lost; *tivi tigi tatarisa tea*, lest it be not sufficient; *ge baro goroa dania wa rasu danira*, they forbad his departure from them. Sa. *mwaani*, from, is also used meaning 'lest'.

The verb *dodoma* is used, with v.p. *vi*, meaning 'lest': *dodoma ge vi rorongo gana lelu*, lest they hear and disobey; the pron. of the object are attached to a transitive form *dodomi*: *dodomiko go titibatagi le vatu*, lest you stumble on a stone; *dodomira ge vi mule*, lest they return.

[1] See § 40.
[2] Cf. MIL., p. 414, 51, *va*, and ML., p. 316, 7, *wa*.
[3] Cf. *vara*, MIL., p. 366, 42.
[4] M. *wa*; MIL., p. 395, 53, *wa*.
[5] M. *wa*, lest.

X. Numerals

59. Cardinals.

One, *tewa*; two, *rua*; three, *tolu, tol*; four, *vati*; five, *tavalimwa*; six, *lavatea*; seven, *lavarua*; eight, *lavatolu*; nine, *lavati*; ten, *sawulu, sawul, sangwulu, sangwul*; hundred, *medolu, meldolu*; thousand, *tari*.

The unit above ten is expressed by *domwai*[1]: *sawulu tewa domwana rua* (*domwani rua*), twelve. The sum above a hundred is expressed, according to Codrington, by *lang wonana*, turn over on it: *medolu tewa lang wonana sawulu rua*, a hundred and twenty. In the texts *domwai* is used for both the unit over ten and the sum above a hundred. This may be a mistake.

Codrington states that the form *sangwul* is used when there is no numeral combined with it, but that otherwise *sawul* is used. In the texts the two words are used more or less indifferently.

The cardinals follow a noun or pronoun; they are used (1) adjectivally: *sawul rua*, twenty; (2) verbally: *a aka irua*, the ships were two, two ships.

The cardinals from 'one' to 'ten' prefix the v.p. *i* when used verbally.

Tewa, one, also denotes 'together', as does the adjectival form *tewagi*; for *vagatewa*, see § 47; *ruagi* means 'both': *a aka ruagi*, both ships; *irua lata*, two only; *tari*, thousand, also denotes 'countless', and is used with v.p. *u*.

The prefix *bul*, M. *pul*, is used of numbers of people together: *ira bulu rua*, they two; *bulbul rua*, by twos. Codrington quotes the prefixes *soga, toga, tura*.

60. Ordinals.

First, *muai*; second, *vagaruai, varuai*; third, *vagatolii, vatolii*; fourth, *vagavatii, vavatii, vatii*; fifth, *vagatavalimwai*; sixth, *vagalavateai, lavateai*; seventh, *vagalavaruai, lavaruai*; eighth, *vagalavatolui*; ninth, *vagalavatii*; tenth, *a sawului*; hundredth, *medoliu, a medolu anai*.

All the ordinals take the noun suffix *i*; three of them have alternative causative prefixes, *vaga, va*; three alternative forms have no causative prefix; *vagaruai*, second, has the form *vagarue* in the genitive: *na vagarue sasana*, his second name.

For *muai*, first, see § 47.

As with the Cardinals, the Ordinals of the second hand show a prefix *lava* or *la* which, as elsewhere,[2] would seem to denote 'the other side'. Codrington[3] suggests that *tava* of *tavalimwa*, five, may be *tavaliu*, side: *taval limwa*.

61. Multiplicatives.

Once, *vagatewa*; twice, *vagarua, varuarua*; thrice, *vagatolu*, etc.; ten times, *vagasawulu*; hundred times, *meldolu vagatewa*.

62. Distributives.

tewatewa, one by one, one apiece; *ruarua, i ruarua*, two at a time, two apiece, by twos, double: *dodoma ruarua*, a double mind. The Distributives are formed by doubling the Cardinals. A word *dalrongorua*, two at a time, appears in the texts.

63. Interrogatives.

visa, i visa, how many? so many, as many; *vagavisa*, how often? also indefinite.

64. As in Lobaha, there is a verbal particle *ta* used with numerals, which may be the M. v.p. *ta*, with modal or potential use: *o qong ta vati*, there were three days; *o tau ta sangwul vat*, forty years. See also v.p. *tei*, § 40.

XI. Exclamations

65. *ae*, address; Lau *ae*; M. *gai*; *o*, assent; *ka*, surprise; *kala*, acquiescence, 'there!' 'that's right!' 'that's good!' *qa*, explanatory, expletive; *gara wia*, verily!

[1] M. *numwei*. [2] M.L., p. 224. [3] M.L., p. 303.

II

The Secret Committee of the East India Company, 1784–1858

By C. H. Philips

IN the seventies and early eighties of the eighteenth century the Secret Committee had shown, as we have seen, an increasing tendency to become subservient to the Ministry, and in consequence the Directors had begun to keep a careful watch on the Committee's activities. Although, in April, 1783, to please Fox they nominated the "Chairs", Sir Henry Fletcher and Nathaniel Smith, to be the Secret Committee, with authority to conduct the Company's naval and military affairs and to consult with the Ministry, they at the same time cautiously enjoined that such powers should be valid for only one month. These powers were grudgingly renewed monthly until November, when Fox, with the approval of Fletcher, who was one of his best friends and firmest political supporters, produced his India Bills, which sought to destroy the Company's existing home government.[1] That Fletcher had seen and yet silently acquiesced in these revolutionary Bills was deemed by the majority of the Directors to be a betrayal of his trust as chairman, and they promptly sacked him.[2] So great was the blow to their confidence in the "Chairs" that subsequent to the overthrow of the Coalition in late December they forbade the new Chairmen privately to interview the Ministers unless accompanied by Laurence Sulivan, the senior Director and trusted representative of the Indian interest, the strongest party in the Court.[3] They then decided that the whole Court rather than the Chairmen should conduct the proposed negotiations for an India Bill with the new Minister, Pitt; shortly afterwards inviting him to submit his plan.[4]

[1] See my article, "The East India Interest, 1783–4," *Trans. R. Hist. Soc., 4th Series*, xx.

[2] Fox had nominated Fletcher as one of the seven Directors who by his plan were to manage the Company's business. Ibid.

[3] See my article, "The New East India Board" *English Historical Review*, July, 1940.

[4] Pitt's first India Bill had been defeated in January, 1784.

The preliminary draft of Pitt's Bill was forwarded for the Directors' consideration early in June, 1784. One of its most important clauses proposed to empower the Ministry, represented by a supervisory Board, to send secret orders direct to the Company's Governments; a proposal which promptly elicited the following reply from the Directors [1]:—

> "Concerning secret orders, this Court is of the opinion that to the extent stated . . . the power thereby given would at one blow annihilate the Company's government. They are ready to recommend to the General Court to consent to vest power in His Majesty's Ministers to issue secret orders concerning the levying of war or making of peace *on being first communicated and afterwards transmitted through the Secret Court of Directors*";

which was to say, through the whole body of the Court sitting in secret session. To this Pitt at first agreed, but his desire to absorb the Company's political powers, fostered by his friend Dundas, and hinted at in the debates in the Commons, and the obvious difficulty, if not impossibility, of transmitting secret orders through so large a body, led him to change his mind. Moreover, in 1770 and again in 1781 the Secretary of State had successfully despatched confidential instructions from the Cabinet to India through the Secret Committee.[2] These precedents and the evident usefulness of such a small committee, which he knew could be handled and perhaps coerced more easily than the Court of Directors, finally induced Pitt to establish a permanent, statutory Secret Committee, consisting of not more than three members, through which the Ministry, represented by a Board of Control, could send secret dispatches to India.[3]

[1] Chatham Papers, P.R.O. 356, June, 1784.

[2] Home Misc. 67, f. 39, December, 1770. Desps. of the Secret Committee, vol. 1, 1780–6.

[3] The duty of safeguarding the Company's ships and soliciting the Admiralty for convoys was thenceforth vested in the Committee of Correspondence, which usually nominated a *Committee of Secrecy* of five of its members to perform this duty. This Committee must be distinguished from the Secret (Political) Committee. Previous to 1784 the two terms had been used indiscriminately to describe one and the same Committee. After 1784 no knowledgeable person confused the terms. In July, 1815, a separate Secret Commercial Committee of five was established to co-ordinate the Company's commercial and political policy. Directors' Court Book, 120, f. 4, 9th April, 1812. Cf. 121, f. 5. See Correspondence Memoranda, 42, 27th July, 1814; also Secret Commercial Minutes and Letters, 4 vols. The Court of Directors, the Committee of Treasury, and the Committee of Correspondence often sat in secret and kept Secret Minutes. Although on p. 4 of his *Guide to the India Office Records* Sir William Foster states that there are six volumes of Secret Committee Minutes, the India Office Record Department can produce only four volumes, 1778–1824.

The full clause in the Act read as follows [1] :—

> "If the said Board (of Control) shall be of the opinion that the subject matter of any of their deliberations concerning the levying of war or making of peace, or treating or negotiating with any of the Native States or Princes in India, shall require secrecy, it shall and may be lawful for the said Board to send secret orders and instructions to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors for the time being, who shall thereupon, without disclosing the same, transmit their orders and dispatches in the usual form, according to the tenor of the said orders and instructions of the said Board to the respective Governments and Presidencies in India, and that the said Governments and Presidencies shall pay a faithful obedience to such orders and dispatches, and shall return their answers to the same, sealed under cover with their respective seals, to the said Secret Committee, who shall forthwith communicate such answers to the said Board."

It will be seen that the clause did not provide for discussion or revision by the Secret Committee of the orders transmitted; hence it has been held that from 1784 the Secret Committee acted merely as a channel through which important political orders and information passed between the Board of Control and the Presidency Governments. This was certainly not true of the period 1784 to 1829, and only partly true of the following years down to 1858.

In practice the Secret Committee always discussed the Board's secret drafts, frequently dissented and returned them for amendment, often originated secret political orders and, for a short period in 1806–7, even assumed control of the Company's external policy. Not until after 1829 did the Secret Committee display a tendency to become a mere ministerial instrument, and even then it yielded its long enjoyed privileges only after protest.[2]

Throughout, the statutory Secret Committee, which normally consisted of the "Chairs" and one other, usually the senior Director,[3] enjoyed many advantages over the President of the Board. Its members were usually both experienced and knowledgeable in Indian affairs; they were virtually life-members of the Direction; they had at their

[1] 24 George III, cap. 25, s. 15.

[2] Cf. *Cambridge History of India*, v, 315, which refers to the Board's "power of sending orders through the Secret Committee of the Directors, which the latter could neither discuss nor disclose. . . ." "In matters of urgency the President himself might cause a dispatch to be prepared which was then sent to the Secret Committee, which could only sign it and send it off."

[3] The same source says (v, 201), "The Secret Committee nearly always consisted of two, the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Court." On the contrary, the Court, in jealousy of the executive power of the "Chairs", insisted on its third representative, usually the senior Director, attending and taking part in the Secret Committee's proceedings.

service a first-rate permanent staff, particularly in the Examiners' Department. The Presidents of the Board, on the other hand, were more often than not ignorant of India business; their tenure of office was short [1]; their staff decidedly inferior and underpaid compared with that of the India House.

The course of events from 1784 to 1788 revealed that Pitt and Dundas, the dominating figure in the new Board, were seeking to subordinate the Court of Directors as a political power; as Pitt publicly declared in July, 1784, "The Board's power would consist in directing what political objects the Company's servants were to pursue," and again in 1788, "The principal object of the Act of 1784 was to take from the Company the entire management of the territorial possessions and the political government of the country." [2] Clearly, for this purpose the Secret Committee was one of the Minister's most useful weapons: and so much the more because the Court of Directors showed some disposition to resist the Board's encroachments on their power. When in 1786, for example, it seemed likely that the Court would block Dundas's much criticized policy towards the Nawab of the Carnatic, he reserved the question to be dealt with through the Secret Committee; and at the same time quickly pushed through Parliament a bill compelling the members of the Committee to swear an oath of secrecy! [3]

Dundas early completed his arrangements for handling the secret East India correspondence.[4] As revealed during the negotiations

[1] Between 1784 and 1858 there were thirty changes in the Presidency.

[2] *Parl. Hist.*, xxiv, 1092; xxvii, 89.

[3] 26 Geo. III, c. 16, s. 11. Cf. Auber, *Constitution of the E.I. Co.*, 189. Tierney, *Real Situation of the E.I. Co.*, 28. The obligation to take the oath was incorporated in the Charter Acts of 1793 and 1813. The form of the oath was changed in 1813. Copyists used by the Secret Committee also took an oath of secrecy.

[4] A well-defined system of secret correspondence was established. The President, who often consulted the "Chairs" privately beforehand, sent the secret dispatch in draft form to the Secret Committee, whose Secretary, the Examiner of Indian Correspondence, turned the draft into a formal dispatch. It was then forwarded for the President's approval, signed by the Secret Committee members and sent to India. When the Secret Committee originated a secret letter, a draft in "previous communication" was first sent to the President. If he accepted it, the usual procedure was then followed. Secret letters from India were received and read by the Secret Committee before copies were forwarded to the Board. Cf. Register, Secret Committee of Correspondence, Nos. 219, 550, 551. Cf. also Board's Correspondence with Secret Committee, 2, f. 83. The clerks who transcribed dispatches were usually, though not always, taken from the Examiner's Department. Mill, Peacock, and Strachey, appointed Assistant Examiners in 1819, all took the oath of secrecy, which was required of all transcribers in the Secret Department. Secret Committee Minutes, 4, 27th April, 1821.

for the India Bill, he had from the beginning envisaged some discussion with the Secret Committee of all confidential instructions for India,[1] and for this purpose he instituted on 7th April, 1785, a new body, the Secret Board of Control, which hitherto has escaped the attention of historians.[2] Dundas intended this body to be the Board's equivalent of the Company's Secret Committee. Attendances at Secret Board meetings (of which there were on the average about eight a year) was open to all the Commissioners ; and in its early days the Secret Board was in fact, as its name implied, the Board in secret session. Whenever the members of the Secret Committee were summoned to the Board, the Secret Board interviewed them, and at such meetings the more important India business was discussed, and secret minutes regularly taken.

Down to 1792 Dundas had matters pretty much his own way with the Secret Committee, so much so that in the spring of that year, when the preliminary negotiations for the renewal of the Company's Charter began, he told Francis Baring, the Chairman, that he intended to make legal the *de facto* position : in short, " the Secret Committee was to be abolished and the secret correspondence to be direct to and from the President of the Board of Control." [3] However, in a private interview, Baring, a sagacious and resourceful business man, pointed out to Dundas that " if the management of the commerce and of the revenues is to be left with the Directors, and yet the business of the Secret Committee to be wholly in the executive power, the plans which the Directors might adopt for trade might not accord with the political or coercive measures deemed expedient by the State ".[4] In this, Baring had undoubtedly put his finger on a weakness in the system established by Pitt's Act of 1784. At a time when the Company's political and commercial affairs were so closely interwoven, it was absurd to deny to the new Board the right to intervene in commercial matters. In practice, Dundas had necessarily, though illegally, often interfered with the Court of Directors' commercial instructions in order to bring them into line with the Board's political plans, and the existence of the Secret Committee had enabled him to do this without

[1] Ibid., 1, 15th August, 1785.

[2] Its last meeting was held on 19th October, 1805, when Castlereagh was President. By that time the President was in fact the Board. In the last few years of the Secret Board's life, the President was often the only member present at its meetings. Secret Board Minutes, vol. 1.

[3] Dundas to Baring, Home Misc., 413, f. 241. See my book, *The East India Company*, pp. 71–5.

[4] Charters, India Office, vol. 10, December, 1792. Cf. Bruce, *Plans for the Government of India*, 620.

undue fuss.[1] He could therefore hardly fail to see the point of Baring's argument; and this, combined with the imminence of war with revolutionary France, caused him to give up his idea of changing the form of the Company's home government.

During the war against France the Secret Committee justified Dundas's decision. On 20th December, 1792, six weeks before war officially broke out, the three Committee members sent a memorandum to Dundas succinctly outlining the Company's situation. In view of the likelihood of war, they proposed the establishment of a convoy system, at least between the Cape and St. Helena, to safeguard the valuable homeward-bound East Indiamen.[2] Maintaining that the Company was well able to take care of itself in India, they declared that the greatest potential threat lay in the possibility of a concentration of French naval and military forces at the French islands of Bourbon and Mauritius, whence the French might easily capture the weakly defended Dutch possessions in the East, in particular Ceylon and the Cape, which lay on the sea-route to India. To prevent this the Secret Committee proposed to give British naval protection to the Cape and Ceylon, and to prepare a plan for the capture of the French islands, which in any case were to be deprived by blockade of their nearest supplies of food from the Cape.[3] Dundas, who had been given charge of the conduct of the war, followed these suggestions fairly closely. The proposed convoy system was established, Cape Town was occupied in 1795 and Ceylon captured in the following year; but the attack on Mauritius, although fully worked out, did not materialize.[4]

Down to 1800 the Secret Committee members and Dundas remained in general agreement on the management of the war in so far as it affected the Company; they, for example, concurred with the Governor-General, Wellesley, on the necessity of destroying the power of Tipu Sultan of Mysore; but as soon as it became clear that Wellesley sought

[1] See Index of Dissents, India Office, 22nd August, 1786. Board to Court, 1, ff. 351, 357. In 1815 a Secret Commercial Committee was established to co-ordinate political and commercial policy.

[2] As one might have expected, during the war the Secret Political Committee managed the affairs of the convoys and issued secret shipping signals. Cf. Board's Secret Drafts, 2, 19th February, 1796.

[3] Add. MSS. 34447, f. 273. Cf. Secret Committee Minutes, 28th January, 1793.

[4] Ibid., 3, 16th September, 1793, 22nd February, 13th June, 1794. Board's Secret Drafts, 1, 29th October, 1795. Dundas considered the Mauritius expedition "a difficult and hazardous enterprise . . . and dangerous in the extreme". But the island was easily captured in 1810. *Hist. MSS. Comm. Dropmore*, x, 53, 112.

at all costs to extend British India and to become the arbiter of the Indian political world, the leading members of the Secret Committee, in particular Charles Grant and Jacob Bosanquet, made a determined stand against both the Board and the Governor-General.[1] Indeed, the Secret Committee was sincerely, if wrongly, convinced that with further extension of territory "the Company's equilibrium would be overshot. In the sphere of ruling", they claimed, "there is to be discovered an optimum spread of such power as the ruler may possess and beyond that limit lies the danger of dissipation of energy and loss of effectiveness relative to the power expended."[2] Backed by the great majority of the Court, they fought for consolidation as against expansion, and between 1800 and 1807 achieved a great measure of success. In the course of this prolonged struggle Dundas sickened, his successor, Dartmouth, resigned, and the succeeding President of the Board, Castlereagh, was faced with the unenviable prospect of forcing Wellesley's policy, with which he himself was neither fully acquainted nor agreed, on a strong, united, hostile Direction.

Two attempts which he made late in 1802 to establish direct contact with Wellesley by sending sealed orders through the Secret Committee were sharply checked by the "Chairs"; on the first occasion, as a result of their protest that there was no statutory sanction for such a procedure, Castlereagh gave way "with much politeness and attention", and on the second he was compelled to promise "that no dispatch of a similar nature shall be sent down by the Board hereafter without having the proceeding more gravely considered".[3] When, in December, 1803, Castlereagh confirmed Wellesley's treaty with Oudh, the Secret Committee stoutly opposed him and after prolonged argument finally signed the secret dispatch of confirmation "merely obeying the directions of the Act of Parliament", adding, "We do not intend thereby to give our sanctions to measures which appear to be fundamentally unjust."[4] Shortly afterwards, Castlereagh also sanctioned Wellesley's treaty of Bassein

[1] The Secret Committee undertook to provide the bullion necessary to maintain the size of the Investment, which could not be maintained by the Indian Governments in wartime. This necessitated interference with the Company's remittances and trade and ultimately involved the home government in heavy losses. Cf. *Minutes, Select Committee, Public*, 1832, p. 144.

[2] I have taken this quotation from one of Charles Grant's speeches of a later date, but it accurately expresses the Directors' opinions in 1800 and generally 1800–1834. *Asiatic Journal*, 1819, p. 286.

[3] Secret Committee Minutes, 3, 21st October, 1802, and 17th November.

[4] Ibid., 23rd December, 1803.

with the Peshwa, although he had neither studied it nor fully understood its implications [1]; but the Secret Committee, which laboured under no delusion as to the probable outcome of the treaty, declared that Wellesley would soon involve the Company in war with the Marathas, and therefore that the home government should "take immediate and decisive measures against . . . the pursuit of . . . schemes of conquest".[2] When it became obvious that the treaty would cause a rupture with the Maratha chiefs, Castlereagh began to change his opinions: he conferred with Bosanquet, the Chairman, and with the Secret Committee, and then forwarded to Wellesley a paper of critical *Observations on the Treaty of Bassein.*[3] Later, after Holkar had entered the war and inflicted a severe defeat on the British forces, Castlereagh's doubts of the wisdom of Wellesley's policy increased. The Secret Committee through its spokesman, Charles Grant, took this opportunity to press for the supersession or recall of Wellesley, and although Castlereagh temporized,[4] he was soon forced to the conclusion that "every chance of our case being improved is exhausted". Whereupon, the first Minister, Pitt, gave way to the Secret Committee by authorizing the recall of Wellesley.[5]

It was to Wellesley's credit and honour that he had foreseen and accepted the full consequences of the unstable conduct of the Indian princes and of the military superiority of the English. In the circumstances, he had quite properly aimed at establishing the Company as the head and arbiter of India. But in the process, lacking a financial policy worth the name, he brought the Company's Governments to the verge of bankruptcy. With his recall the pendulum of policy swung to the other extreme. The Secret Committee members temporarily assumed control of the Company's external policy,[6] and to Wellesley's successor, the cautious, obedient Barlow, they dictated the terms of the unsatisfactory settlement of 1806–7. Orders issued by them in October, 1805, and repeated in February, 1806, forbade the Governor-General to extend British commitments to the west of the Jumna, to enter into alliances which might lead to future

[1] Cf. Castlereagh's admission to Wellesley, 9th October, 1805. Home Misc. 505, f. 300.

[2] Secret Committee Minutes, 3, 10th April, 1804.

[3] Home Misc. 504, ff. 52, 378, 7th January, 1804.

[4] Ibid., f. 240; and 505, f. 238, 30th August, 1804.

[5] Chatham Papers, P.R.O. 121, December, 1804. Ross, *Cornwallis*, iii, 521. *Courts and Cabinets, George III*, vol. iii, 403.

[6] The Secret Committee was assisted by the frequent changes in the Presidency of the Board at this time.

contests or to interfere in Native States' internal affairs.[1] Thus the responsibility for the public peace and just administration of India outside the Company's borders was renounced.

With minor modifications and exceptions the Company, under the influence of the astonishingly consistent Secret Committee, foolishly maintained this policy until the period of Lord Ellenborough's first Presidency of the Board, 1828–1830.[2] Even those strong-willed Presidents, Buckinghamshire (1812–16) and Canning (1816–1821), accepted as valid the arguments and policy of the Secret Committee [3]; and Hastings, the Governor-General (1813–1823), in settling Central India after he had crushed the Marathas, dared not in this matter entirely ignore the instructions of a unanimous home government. Repeatedly informed that the home authorities would not sanction interference by the Company's Government in the internal concerns of the newly conquered states, Hastings, who wished to retain his post with its large salary as long as possible, usually included in his treaties with them a clause specifically to exclude any such activity.[4]

Canning himself was so much impressed by the experience and knowledge of the leading Directors,[5] who were usually to be found in the Secret Committee in the capacity of Chairman, Deputy, or senior Director, that he had no hesitation in calling on them to advise

[1] Cf. Board's Secret Drafts, 3rd October, 1806, to September, 1807.

[2] So eager and able was the Secret Committee to state its case and to debate the secret dispatches with the Board that a separate series of correspondence evolved—Board's Correspondence with the Secret Committee.

In 1814 in an investigation into the powers of the Directors by the Proprietors, it was revealed that the Secret Committee's duties were "to receive and consider all communications of a particularly private and delicate nature in the Political Department, both with His Majesty's Ministers and the Indian Governments and also with the Board of Control, which it may be deemed inexpedient, at least in the first instance, to render liable to a general discussion". Proprietors Committee, *Allowances to Directors*, 207. Cf. the statement of Auber, Secretary to the Company, before the Commons' Select Committee in 1832: "Anterior to 1813, and during the whole proceeding of the Mysore War, and those of the Maratha Wars in the years 1802, 1803, and 1804, and likewise the expedition against the Cape, Manilla, the Moluccas, the French islands, and Java, various dispatches were proposed by the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, and some also lately." *Minutes, Select Committee, Public*, 133.

[3] The Secret Committee originated five secret dispatches in 1816. Board's Correspondence with the Secret Committee, 1.

[4] Cf. Board's Secret Drafts, 5, 22nd May, 1819. See Secret Notes *re* India, 3. 1818–19, most of which contain extracts warning Hastings against interference in Native States' internal affairs.

[5] There were in the Court five men, Grant, E. Parry, Elphinstone, Cotton, Bosanquet, who had been in office over a quarter of a century.

him in the negotiations (1820–4) between England and Holland for a settlement of disputes in the Eastern Archipelago.[1] It was to the Secret Committee's insistence at this period that Britain probably owes her possession of Singapore. At a time when Canning, conscious of the weakness of Britain's legal claim to Singapore, was ready to abandon that station, the Secret Committee members stubbornly contended that possession of it was essential to safeguard the China fleet's passage through the Straits of Malacca.[2] When Canning, doubtful of Britain's capability of holding Singapore, replied by inviting them to name a port "which will fulfill the duties we hope for from Singapore", they countered by declaring that, since there was no comparable port, it must on no account be relinquished.[3] The Dutch finally gave way on this point, and in the treaty of March, 1824, the British occupation of Singapore was recognized.[4]

Hastings had meanwhile vacated the Governor-Generalship, and the Chairmen, consistently with their anti-war aims, and arguing that a man of known amiability would be most unlikely to adopt an aggressive policy in India, set their minds on Lord Amherst as his successor, and, with Canning's assistance, they procured his appointment.[5] In order that the new Governor-General might be left in no doubt as to the principles of external policy which he was expected to observe, the Secret Committee drew up a memorandum, which, however, was immediately vetoed by Charles Wynn, the President of the Board.[6] Nevertheless, ignorant as he was of Indian affairs, Wynn found it necessary to consult the Committee in drafting the new dispatch, with the result that it scarcely differed in substance from the cancelled version. The final, comprehensive document, which was duly forwarded to Amherst, undoubtedly bears the impress of the Secret Committee's opinions and may be accepted as representative not only of their views but also of the majority of the Directors in this period.[7]

Amherst was told that "the situation in India is conducive to

[1] Board to Secret Committee, 1, f. 93, 18th January, 1820. The Secret Committee appointed an advisory Secret Select Committee, consisting of the Chairmen, Pattison, and Marjoribanks, and the two senior Directors, Elphinstone and Grant.

[2] Ibid., ff. 95–105, 4th February to 12th July, 1820.

[3] Board's Secret Drafts, 5, 8th August, 1820. Cf. Dutch Records, 30, ff. 1–88, March, 1822.

[4] *Parl. Hist.*, xi, 1443, 17th June, 1824.

[5] Ibid., xii, 1167, 24th March, 1825.

[6] Register, Secret Committee, No. 504, 10th March, 1823.

[7] Ibid., No. 506.

peace . . . and the extent of empire . . . to govern is such as it would not only be unwise but hardly safe to exceed ". His main problem, the home authorities continued, was to clarify the confused relations between the Company and its allies and feudatories. At the same time Amherst was to bear in mind " that advice should be given as rarely and always with as little of authority as possible, and the measures should be effected in the name of the Native Princes "; and, above all, he was to " preserve as completely as possible to our allies the degree of independence which they now enjoy ".

Although the home authorities had accurately assessed the situation in India, their proposals for coping with it were quite inadequate. They soon found that it was impossible to prevent their Indian Governments from interfering in the domestic administration of the Indian States' rulers, who lacked the motives to rule efficiently and well. Even so, year after year down to 1829, the home government adhered to the same timid, destructive policy, with the result that the difficulties of the Presidency Governments were enormously increased, and the course of their policy made more than usually erratic.

For some years past the Court of Directors had been steadily losing its reputation for knowledge and experience of Indian affairs.[1] In consequence of the opening of the Indian trade in 1813 the Private Trade and City interests had gained control of the India House. Unfortunately their representatives, although for the most part shrewd business men, often possessed only a superficial knowledge of India.[2] Under the existing system it was essential that the Directors, in particular the " Chairs ", should provide that first-hand knowledge of India which the President of the Board almost invariably lacked. When the " Chairs " themselves, who always sat on the Secret Committee, were found wanting in this respect, the Presidents of the Board naturally became even less willing than usual to defer to their opinion.

In September, 1828, Wellington, the first Minister, appointed Lord Ellenborough to the Presidency of the Board. Ellenborough's abilities were brilliant, his energies superabundant. In character he was overbearing, bombastic, and extremely ambitious; but with

[1] Recently the Direction had lost its most respected and reputable members by the death of Parry and Grant, and the retirement of Cotton, Elphinstone, and Bosanquet.

[2] *Parl. Hist., 3rd Series*, xviii, 743. The President, Wynn, himself called Parliament's attention to the fact that of the seven successive Chairmen with whom he had to deal between 1822 and 1829, only one had resided in India.

all his faults he was yet capable of deep insight and vigorous, efficient action. From the start it was obvious that he had made up his mind to bring the policy of the Company's Indian Governments directly under the Board's control, to exert a greater influence than hitherto over the Company's subordinate allies, and, with watchful eyes on Russia, to interlock the foreign policy of British India and England.[1] It was equally clear that in pursuing these aims he would come into conflict with the Secret Committee.

As part of his anti-Russian policy Ellenborough projected "missions to Sind and Lahore and a commercial venture up the Indus",[2] but the Secret Committee members, although ready to agree to these ventures, refused to authorize payment for them by the Company, claiming rather that the British Government, which had initiated them, should stand the cost.[3] Annoyed at this resistance to his schemes, Ellenborough curtly informed the Chairman, Loch, "The Board has the legal power of authorizing and the Secret Committee of directing pecuniary disbursements," and he went on to state that in his view the Committee could not legally exercise a discretion in the matter [4] :—

> "Whatever be the powers of the Secret Committee," he added, "the extent of these powers cannot possibly be affected by the circumstance of the Board or of the Committee taking the initiative. The Secret Committee is altogether distinct from the Court of Directors. It can act by sanction of the Board or by its impulsion—in whichever way it may act it is still one and the same, and it must necessarily in my opinion have been the intention of the legislature that it should possess the means of efficiently performing the functions it is authorized and directed to discharge."

To this the Secret Committee made no reply. Indeed, it had long enjoyed far more power than it could legally claim.

Ellenborough next directed his attention to increasing the checks exercised by the Company on the internal administration of its subordinate allies. For example, he drew up secret orders decreeing an extended control over the Maratha state of Nagpur,[5] to which the Secret Committee privately but promptly objected as changing the line of policy long adhered to by the home government. Nevertheless, Ellenborough refused to alter the dispatch, whereupon the Committee

[1] Ellenborough's policy was to a large degree influenced by the ideas and information of Benjamin Jones, recently appointed Assistant Secretary to the Board. See my book, *The East India Company*, pp. 268–71.

[2] Ellenborough's *Political Diary*, ii, 150.

[3] Board to Secret Committee, 2, f. 222, Loch to Ellenborough, 15th September, 1829.

[4] Ibid., f. 225, reply, 17th September, 1829.

[5] Board's Secret Drafts, 7, 9th June, 1830.

members again protested, this time formally, that they could see no reason to justify a sudden reversal of policy. They went on to make the extravagant claim that "in the deliberation upon such a change . . . the Court of Directors ought to be parties. . . . If this is denied them they are divested of their legitimate share in the Government of India".[1] They concluded by asking Ellenborough's permission to show the dispatch to the Directors, which, foolishly and much to the Committee's surprise, he gave.[2] The whole Court thus became aware of the dispute and of the intended change of policy. Tardily realizing his mistake, Ellenborough sent off the "secret" dispatch to India, the Secret Committee members to the last refusing to concur, and signing it under protest, and, as they said, "ministerially only."

Rather than give the Court of Directors a second opportunity of criticizing his policy towards the Indian States, Ellenborough refused to allow them to issue orders on a question affecting the Gaekwar of Baroda, instead informing them that he intended to deal with the matter through the Secret Committee. The Directors at once indignantly pointed out that the power of transmitting orders through this Committee was expressly confined by Act of Parliament to cases "which shall be of a nature to require secrecy", and that "they could conceive of no orders in this case which necessitated secrecy".[3] Although the "chairs" also complained on behalf of the Secret Committee, Ellenborough, fully satisfied that he was within his rights and determined to brook no interference, bluntly told them that he "intended to take upon the King's Government the whole responsibility of the foreign policy of India".[4] Thereupon, the resistance of the India House collapsed and Ellenborough became the first President successfully to deny to the Secret Committee a share in directing the Company's foreign policy. An opponent of the Company and of the Directors, he obviously interpreted the Act of Parliament literally, ignoring the practice of the past forty-five years. The Secret Committee in his eyes was merely the body which transmitted the President's

[1] Minutes, Secret Court of Directors, 30th June, 1830. Board to Secret Committee, 2, f. 244, 21st June, 1830.

[2] Later he said that he gave it inadvertently. Minutes, Secret Court of Directors, 7th July, 1830.

[3] In March, 1813, and again in April, 1824, when similar protests had been made, the President of the Board had withdrawn the offending secret dispatch, which was then brought forward as a public dispatch by the Chairman. Home Misc., 719, 5th March, 1813. Secret Committee Minutes, 4, 7th April, 1824. Court to Board, 10, f. 225. Register, Secret Committee Correspondence, 15th September, 1830.

[4] Ellenborough, op. cit., ii, 297.

secret orders to India. He did not like the Company or its rule. If he could not abolish the India House, at least he would humiliate it. We can understand why, when given the opportunity some fourteen years later, the Directors had no hesitation in recalling him from India.

No other succeeding President treated the Secret Committee and Directors in so cavalier a fashion, but the Secret Committee never recovered anything like the influence it had wielded previous to 1829. Although the Charter Act of 1833, like that of 1813,[1] simply re-enacted the provisions of former Acts respecting the Secret Committee, the idea was then put forward that direct crown government was the desirable and inevitable end. During the following twenty years this idea gained ground, a fact which of itself tended to make the President of the Board more assertive of his powers. Hobhouse, Fitzgerald, and Ellenborough (whether he was acting as Governor-General or President) did not hesitate to treat the Secret Committee as a mere sham. The Chairmen, Marjoribanks and Wigram, elected in April, 1833, resigned in October of that year rather than submit to the indignity of acting as a mouthpiece for the Board; and Tucker, who became Chairman in 1834, himself later confessed to Wellington [2]:—

> "In all our foreign relations and political concerns the Board can act independently of the Court through the Secret Committee; and here we have no voice whatever, nor are we even cognisant of the Board's proceedings."

Nevertheless, Ellenborough's unconcealed contempt for the Directors, revealed especially in his acts as Governor-General, fully roused the Secret Committee and the Court. They had old scores to pay off, and in 1844, afforded the excuse by Ellenborough's many irregularities and disregard of their orders, they took pleasure in recalling him. Ellenborough himself thought that Ripon, then President of the Board, had not kept the Secret Committee sufficiently under control, and indeed it is unlikely that the Secret Committee and the Court would have gone so far in their criticism of the Governor-General without some encouragement from the President.[3]

[1] In 1813 (53 George III, cap. 155, sec. 74), an addition was made to the Secret Committee oath, prohibiting the disclosure of all dispatches received *from* India addressed to the Secret Committee without authority from the Board. On the whole secrecy was kept; for an exception in 1815 see Add. MSS. 29189, f. 197.

[2] Kaye, *Tucker*, 484.

[3] Law, *India under Ellenborough*, 103. Colchester, *Indian Administration of Ellenborough*, 308, 318, 364. Since writing the above I have seen Professor Imlah's *Ellenborough*, which confirms the view that the Directors received encouragement

The Secret Committee at this time evidently enjoyed only such power as the President of the day was prepared to grant. In Government circles differences of opinion existed regarding the general functions of the Secret Committee and the intent of its organization. Ripon's successor, Hobhouse, for example, went so far as to insist that the Secret Committee members had no power even to record dissents or protests against the Board's orders; that such protests could only be received as "private hints", not as public documents.[1] Tucker, one of the more forceful of the senior Directors and ever a careful guardian of the Directors' interests, felt very strongly on this subject. As Chairman in 1834 and again in 1847 he never ceased to contend with Hobhouse that the Directors, both in their general administrative capacity and as represented in the Secret Committee, ought to have the right of publicly recording their protests against the acts of the Board of Control. He told Hobhouse [2]:—

> "I never could persuade myself that the legislature intended to constitute the Secret Committee mere unreflecting automata, commissioned to attest dispatches, for this office could have been equally well performed by a secretary or a seal. A member of the Committee cannot alter a dispatch prepared by the Board; but surely he can relieve himself from responsibility by recording his opinion when it appears to him to be liable to objections on public grounds."

But Hobhouse remained unconvinced, and Tucker, who was nothing if not persistent, therefore favoured him with a long memorandum on the constitution and function of the Secret Committee, from which it is well worth our while to quote at length [3]:—

> "The 36th section of the last Charter Act (3rd and 4th Will. IV., cap. 85) provides that any dispatches, etc., treating of war or peace, or of negotiations with native princes or other states, which 'shall be *of a nature to require secrecy*', shall be transmitted through the Secret Committee.
>
> "Now, from these premises I deduce—1st. That the Secret Committee, being appointed by the Court of Directors, is responsible to the Court; that, as a delegated body, it cannot exercise functions

from Ripon. The latter, for example, "when the final ticklish and difficult negotiations with the Chairs relative to Ellenborough's recall came on, took to his bed amid lamentations, leaving Peel, harassed as he was by other duties, to manage them." Ripon also saw to it that Ellenborough's carefully written defence of his Governor-Generalship was not included in the official records. See the above volume, pp. 219–228.

[1] Kaye, *Tucker*, 551.

[2] Tucker, *Memorials of Indian Government*, 36, f.n.

[3] Ibid., 43–6.

with which it has not been expressly charged; and that it cannot usurp the powers properly appertaining to the body which delegates.

"2ndly. That the Secret Committee, in becoming the organ of the Board for the transmission of dispatches relating to war or peace, or political negotiations 'of a nature to require secrecy', are responsible to the Court, if it shall afterwards appear that such dispatches are illegal or unconstitutional, or that they have trenched upon some right or privilege, vested in the Court, and that they were *not* 'of a nature to require secrecy'.

"3rdly. That it is competent to the Secret Committee, in all such cases, to place on record, either collectively or individually, a dissent or protest, setting forth their objections to the particular dispatch, in order to relieve themselves from the responsibility attaching to it; and that it is incumbent upon the Board, in all such cases, to receive and to record any such dissent or protest upon their proceedings. . . .

"The Board, 'in all matters of a nature to require secrecy' (and no other, I presume), are empowered to send out orders to the Governments of India through the Secret Committee; and the particular cases in which the necessity for resorting to this channel is contemplated, are specially referred to. But does it follow that this Committee was to be used as a mere passive instrument for attesting dispatches? This manual office could be equally well performed by a secretary.

"Is it not more reasonable to assume that the Legislature intended to assign a *function* to the Committee? that it was intended that the Secret Committee, chosen from the most experienced of the Directors, should act as *assessors* to the Board—should aid with their advice, and incur a responsibility? Can it be supposed that a committee so appointed was intended only to perform a mere *mechanical* part in the most important branch of Indian administration?

"If my notions of the powers and functions of the Secret Committee be correct, it will follow that their authority does not extend to cases *not requiring secrecy*, such as are involved in the administration of public justice—in the management of the public revenue—and in the conduct of the public servants; for in these cases secrecy is manifestly impracticable.

"And if these premises be sound, and be candidly admitted, it will appear, I apprehend, that the Board, through the Secret Committee, have transgressed their authority in very many instances, in regulating the internal administration of Scinde in matters which did not require, and which did not admit of secrecy.

"I would then ask, in what manner should a member of the Committee proceed who dissents from the orders of the Board on the ground that they transcend the legitimate authority of that body? Is he not at liberty to record his opinions, and to *protest?* Is he not responsible to the Court and to the Country, if he neglect to protest?

"And if he decline to sign what he believes to be an illegal order, does he incur any penalty? what process can be used against him to enforce his signature? and what means has he of protecting himself, placed, as he may be, in the dilemma of either committing what he believes to be an illegal act, or of refusing obedience to a constituted authority?"

It was undoubtedly degrading for the Secret Committee members continually to be forced to sign what they disapproved of. Clearly they should have enjoyed at least the legal right (possessed by the members of Council in India) of recording their dissent; the President of the Board, representing the Cabinet, properly retaining the full power of overruling them. Fortunately, Tucker's endeavours were not wasted, and down to the Company's abolition in 1858 the Secret Committee members continued to record dissents to the Board's orders whenever they thought proper. Otherwise the Committee remained merely a channel of communication between the Board and the Indian Governments, as the letters of Sir Charles Wood and Lord Dalhousie, contemporary President and Governor-General respectively, and the evidence given before the Select Committees of 1853 only too clearly reveal.[1]

The Mutiny of 1857 gave the death-blow to the system of double government (or system of "checks", as the Directors preferred to call it), with its division of powers and responsibilities. In February, 1858, Lord Palmerston introduced a bill into Parliament for transferring the Government of India to the Crown. He proposed that the home government should be conducted by a President with the assistance of a Council of eight, and went on to say that, "Whereas we transfer to this President of the Council the functions of the Court of Directors and Board of Control, both of which will be abolished, the functions and powers of the Secret Committee, which govern matters involving great discretion and temporary secrecy, should be vested in the President as representative of the responsible Minister of the Crown."[2] Shortly afterwards Lord Palmerston was turned out of office on the Conspiracy to Murder Bill, being succeeded by Lord Derby, whose Government ultimately carried a Bill based on resolutions of the House. This Act declared that India was to be governed directly by

[1] Dalhousie wrote (*Private Letters*, ed. Baird, 292), "You are mistaken in supposing that the dispatch from the Court does all (and more) than the Secret Committee dispatch does. The Court's letter gives the opinion of the Court. But the Secret Committee dispatch is emphatically the opinion of His Majesty's Government, by whose officer it is always written at the Board of Control and *sent for signature* to the Committee at the India House, without consulting them or allowing them to say a word on the subject."

Wood was positive in observing in the debates of 1853 that the responsibility for Indian foreign policy lay exclusively with the President of the Board and through him with the cabinet. *Parl. Hist., 3rd Series*, cxxix, 764. Cf. *Minutes of Evidence*, Select Committee, H. of C., Nos. 3966–9, 4013–17, 4110–12, 5183.

[2] *Parl. Hist.*, cxlviii, 1287, 12th February, 1858.

and in the name of the Crown, acting through a Secretary of State, to whom were to be transferred the powers formerly exercised either by the Court of Directors or by the Board of Control. He was to be assisted by a Council of fifteen members, of whom eight were to be appointed by the Crown and seven elected by the Directors of the Company,[1] but he need not communicate to them orders which would formerly have passed through the Secret Committee.[2] Lord Derby explained to the Lords, "I do not mean to say that this power has not been too extensively employed; but I am sure you will agree with me that with regard to the two cases to which alone it is properly applicable—namely, the carrying on of war or of diplomatic arrangements with the Native States, it is absolutely necessary the Secretary of State should possess the right of preserving entire secrecy even from the members of Council." [3] At long last the power and responsibility of issuing secret orders to the Indian Governments were united in the same hands.

In conclusion, I repeat, first, that prior to 1784 the extent of the powers exercised by the Secret Committee justifies reference to it as "the Cabinet Council of the Company"; secondly, that for nearly fifty years after the passing of Pitt's India Act the Secret Committee exerted an influence on the home government's external policy out of all proportion to its legal powers; thirdly, that it was not reduced to the status of a mere ministerial instrument, the position marked out for it by statute in 1784 and again in 1793 and 1813, until 1829, and that even after that year it was not a body to be disregarded or flouted, as Ellenborough found to his cost.

[1] 21 and 22 Vict., c. 106, s. 1–26.

[2] Unless they were orders for which a majority of votes of the Council was required. See secs. 23, 27, 28, 31, 32, 80, 89, 90, 94, 95. There were similar provisions as to dispatches from India. Ilbert (*Government of India*, 178), states that "secret" orders were usually communicated by the Secretary of State to the "Political and Secret Committee" of the Council.

[3] Section 41 of the Act gave the Council the power of financial supervision, hence of imposing constitutional restraint on the power of the Secretary of State with respect to expenditure. Yet this restraint could not be effectively asserted in all cases, especially in the making of war (which involves expenditure), for which the decision would have been taken by the cabinet. See *Parl. Hist.*, cli, 1469; cxcv, 1821–1846.

on Burmese music called *Naralekha* [1] (နရလေခ), in which were included the thirty-seven ritual songs. Later, in the reign of Bodawpaya (A.D. 1782–1819), this treatise was revised and enlarged by Myawadi-wungyi U Sa. It was known to be printed in the royal press within the city in Mandalay. Apart from this no other Burmese work on Burmese music has been known to exist for all the fifty years and more after the British annexation (A.D. 1885).

"Because of this paucity of printed record, it was thought that music existed only in western countries and not in Burma. Not so! There is evidence in Buddhist literature that music has flourished in this country for a long time. Unfortunately, the theory and practice of music have not been put into writing. Instead, they were handed down from father to son by word of mouth and by hand-on-hand instruction, so that human memory was the only repository of Burmese music. . . .

"Appendix, *vide* Abhidhāna Nissaya: The music which Pañca-sikha (the wearer of five top-knots) made on his three-quarter-*yojanā* long celestial harp Bheluva is composed of seven *svaras* (ground tones), three *grāmas*, twenty-one *mūrchanas*, and forty-nine *tānas*, the total effect of which is known as *sramaṇḍala*.

"Bulls produce the Usabha tone; horses, the Dhevata; peacocks, the Chajja; goats, Gandhāra; cranes, Majjhima; cuckoo, Pañcama; and elephants, Nisāda.

"*Grāmas* are three: Chajja, Majjhima, and Sādhāraṇa. . . ."

Therefore the above scale of seven tones played in three different positions, raised, lowered, or natural, produces the twenty-one varieties of sounds, which according to U Ba Cho in အသံစဉ် (၇) ပါးအကြောင်း is the reason why twenty-one is the number of drums in a drum-circle (ဆိုင်းဝိုင်း), gongs in a gong-circle (ကြေးနောင်ဝိုင်း), and pieces of bamboo or iron in the ပတ္တလား *pattalā*, the Burmese relative of the xylophone or glockenspiel.

[1] None of the works on music mentioned is available nowadays. U San Win has seen *Naralekha* (နရလေခ) in parabaik form and informed me that he would try to trace the whereabouts of the present owner in response to my suggestion that this valuable document should find its final resting-place in the University Library. In an article on the seven tones, အသံစဉ် (၇) ပါးအကြောင်း, in စပါးဆိုတော်, vol. i, No. 3, 1936, U Ba Cho mentioned two more works, *Nāṭyaśāstra* နာဋ္ဌကသတ္ထ and *Māghaṭīkā* မာဃဋိကာ, of which only the former, a Sanskrit classic attributed to Bharata, is mentioned in the list of Sanskrit works on music in Fox Strangways' *Music of Hindostan*.

The above classical terms are explained authoritatively by Fox Strangways [1] :—

" GRĀMA (ဂါမ) . . . the name has been applied specifically only to three scales—the Sa-grāma, our major with a sharpened Sixth ; Ma-grāma, *our major C-c, but intended presumably to be used as an F-f scale* [2] with a sharpened Sixth ; and the Ga-grāma, possibly intermediate between the two, long obsolete."

" MŪRCHAṆA (မုစ္ဆနာ) . . . means primarily the ' swelling of sound ' and seems to have been applied originally to high and low pitch and to have meant the rise and fall of the voice in song. Then it came to have the technical sense of (1) a rise and fall from and to a particular note of a specific scale, and in this sense is accurately translated by ' mode '. . . . But since the note on which they started was the most important and was generally ornamented with a grace note, *murchhana* has come to mean (2) grace note as applied to a particular Rāg. . . . In the old sense of the word the ' mode ' consisted of seven notes, i.e. two tetrachords, so that *mūrchhana* may (3) be held also to translate the Greek harmoniā (heptachord)."

" RĀGA (ရာဂ) . . . means ' colour ' ; hence colour of mind, i.e. emotion. Its European analogue will therefore be whatever gives colour to a piece of music ; and since this may be according to circumstances melody, harmony, counterpoint, or instrumentation, but most of all harmony, we have no real equivalent to a word which applies technically only to melody. . . . Its usual translation is ' melody-type ' or ' melody-mould ', or even ' tune '. If it must be translated, perhaps ' Mood ' would convey as much as is compressible into one word."

" SAPTAKA (သတ္တက), a ' set of seven ', takes the place of our word ' octave ' ; the *saptaka* contains seven *svaras*, i.e. not notes, but intervals between them ; and all Indian notations assume three *saptakas*, a higher (*tāra* တာရ), middle (*madhya* မဇ္ဈ) and lower (*mandra* မန္ဒ)."

" SVARA [3] (သရ) . . . is also a degree of the scale, or a diatonic note. It may be natural (*śuddha* သုဒ္ဓ) or chromatic (*vikṛta* ဝိကတ).

[1] *Music of Hindostan*, pp. 106 *et seq.* It should be noted, however, that these terms, in spite of their Burmese annexation, apply, so far as Fox Strangways is concerned, to the music of Hindostan.

[2] The italics are mine. This statement seems to apply to the Burmese scale of *Hnyinlon* ညှင်းလုံး C-c, which has puzzled me a long time because that class of songs ကြိုးဆွဲ့ဆီချင်းခံ *Kyo, Bwè, Thachingan,* which I am sure have F as their tonic, are said to be played in the C-c scale. These words made me feel less puzzled. However, there are more puzzles to come concerning the Burmese scale.

[3] See comparative table of seven classical tones.

'Natural' means not a 'white' note, but 'proper to the scale', whatever the scale may be. *Vikṛta* (ဝိကတ) notes are sharp (*tīvra* တောရ) or flat (*komala* ကောမလ), very sharp (*atitīvra*) or very flat (*atikomala*)."

"ŚRUTI (သုတိ) . . . is the (smallest) 'audible sound'. Like the *svara* it names both the interval and the note. The twenty-two *śrutis* have special names, and specific attributions of divine qualities lie no doubt concealed in these. . . . In assigning the *śrutis* thus, for *Sa-grāma*,

Sa	Ri	Ga	Ma	Pa	Dha	Ni
4	3	2	4	4	3	2

Indian theory is indicating the relative sizes of the major Tone (4), minor Tone (3), and Semitone (2) with accuracy sufficient for its purpose. . . . The *Ma-grāma* is formed from this by the interchange of the *śruti*-values of Pa and Dha; 'Dha takes one *śruti* from Pa' —thus [1] :—

Sa	Ri	Ga	Ma	Pa	Dha	Ni
4	3	2	4	3	4	2."

"VĀDĪ, SAṀVĀDĪ, ANUVĀDĪ, and VIVĀDĪ (translated 'sonant', 'consonant', 'assonant', 'dissonant') (ဝါဒီ။သံဝါဒီ။အနုဝါဒီ။ဝိဝါဒီ) are survivals of a theory of consonance (*saṁvāditva* သံဝါဒိတ) now forgotten. *Samvādī* definitely means the consonance of Fourth or Fifth, as we should say 'Perfect consonance' *Vādī* is the note to which it is so related. *Vivādī* is applied by Bharata to the semitone. He speaks (verse 24) of notes being *vivādī* to one another when they are at the distance of twenty *śrutis*. This is the same thing as two *śrutis* (22-20), which reading actually appears in another manuscript. *Anuvādī* is the name for 'all other relations which are not *vādī*, *saṁvādī*, or *vivādī*.' These three relations belong to the tetrachord, and presumably *anuvādī* does too. Current tradition makes *anuvādī* the major Third. But Bharata says 'all other' (*śesha*), as if more than one relationship was *anuvādī*. If it is possible to suppose that in the term *anuvādī* he included the major and minor Tone (which together make up the major Third) all the determining elements of Bharata's scale would be accounted for."

Fox Strangways has a chapter on legend and history too. I shall quote the legends in which the same well-known names recur.

"Once upon a time the great anchorite Nārada thought within himself he had mastered the whole art and science of music. To curb his pride the all-knowing Vishnu took him to visit the abode of the gods. They entered a spacious building the inmates of which

[1] This agrees with U Ba Cho's table of the *śrutis* according to *Māghatīkā*.

were numerous men and women, who were all weeping over their broken limbs. Vishnu stopped short and inquired of them the reason for their lamentation. They answered that they were the Rāgs and Rāginis of music, created by Mahādeva ; but as one anchorite of the name of Nārada, ignorant of the true knowledge of music and unskilful in performance, had sung them recklessly, their features were distorted and their limbs broken, and that unless Mahādeva or some other discreet and skilful person would sing them properly, there was slender hope of their ever being restored to their former state of body. Nārada, ashamed, kneeled down before Vishnu and asked to be forgiven."

"With Nārada, the Ṛshi who first 'heard' the laws of music, are associated Tumburu, the first singer, and Bharata, the first to draw up rules for the drama, of which music formed a large part. Of Tumburu it is said that he increased the scale in which the *Sāmaveda* was chanted from five notes to six or seven. The treatise which purports to record the doctrine of Nārada, the *Nāradaśikshā* (နာရဒသိက္ခာ) is probably of late date (A.D. 1000 ?) and gives no clue whatever to the achievement of the Nārada of legend. The treatise which bears the name of Bharata, the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, is similarly an eponym. One or other of these three names appears probably in every book on music that has been written, and the existence of the authors is held, though in complete absence of any specific doctrine attributed to them, as a pious belief. . . ."

Among the Burmans the instrument of Guttila of the famous legend is a harp. Apparently it is a *vīṇā*, according to Fox Strangways ; "To the *vīṇā*, the national instrument, there are so many references both direct and allusive, that it is difficult to choose. Perhaps one story, from the Jātakas, will be enough :—

A feeble musician, Mūsila (ဗူသိလ) of Ujjain, whose music on the *vīṇā* was "like scratching on a mat", came to learn of Guttila (ဂုတ္တိလ) of Banāras (the Bodhisatta). Guttila's parents when they heard him said "Shoo ! Shoo ! the rats are gnawing the *vīṇā* to pieces". Guttila who, as Bodhisatta, was "skilled in discerning from the lineaments of the body" said, "Go, my son, this art is not for you." But Mūsila got his way ; and Guttila, the Bodhisatta who "did not stint his knowledge", at last pronounced his pupil perfect. Mūsila pressed to be taken into the king's service. This was done ; but the king awarded Guttila twice as much as his pupil. Mūsila protested, and forced matters to a contest, of which proclamation was made to tuck of drum. The Bodhisatta reflected that he was old, and that, "if he beats me, death in the wood is better than the shame which will be my portion." So to the woods he went ; but "kept returning through

fear of death, and going back to the wood for fear of shame", so that "the grass died as he walked and his feet wore away a path". In his trouble Sakka, the king of gods, appeared. Guttila was to break, in the contest, one string after another, beginning at the "beestring", and the music should be as good as before. "Then you shall go on playing with nothing but the body; and from the ends of the broken strings the sound shall go forth and fill all the land of Banāras for the space of twelve leagues." All happened as was foretold, and the scholar, beaten out of the field, was stoned and torn in pieces by the populace. . . ."

So far the classics. Yet it appears that in the music itself there is as much evidence (if not more) of Chinese and Siamese influence as there is of ancient Indian influence in literature. I hope these influences will receive the attention of researchers in Burmese history.

As far as I am aware, the Chinese influence seems to be the oldest. An unspoilt Burmese ear will catch Chinese cadences in any extemporization on the black keys of the piano in the truly old Burmese style. But that is no evidence. I quote J. Kunst.[1]

". . . This being granted, Professor von Hornbostel has made a very important discovery, that the scales of very different civilizations and peoples are derived from this ancient Chinese cycle of blown fifths. All these scales are composed of a series of notes, ordinarily five or seven, which follow each other in the cycle in some kind of regular fashion. On learning this remarkable fact, one will feel no doubt inclined to say: 'Quite so, but since the cycle is formed in a logical fashion by the application of the phenomenon of harmonics, is it not possible that the construction might also have been discovered elsewhere than in China, quite independently; in other words is it not possible that it may have a multiple origin?

"No doubt that would not be impossible in itself. But what is hardly believable is that not only should the structure of these scales be founded everywhere on the cycle of the blown fifths, but that all should start from the same fundamental note, that of the *houang tchong* of 732 vibrations; which brings us back to the same conclusion that, not only the relative structure of the scale, but also the absolute pitch of the notes is the same in all cases considered. This circumstance eliminates the hypothesis of a series of coincidences: One is certainly dealing here with intercourse between people and people. For all we know, this intercourse may apply to the musical scales of prehistoric China, of Siam, of Burma, of Cambodia, to those of the African xylophones, of the pan-pipes of the Incas, to those of certain Melanesian, Polynesian, and present-day Brazilian tribes.

[1] *De l'Origine des Échelles Musicales Javano-Balinaises:* Conférence faite le 7 Janvier 1928 à l'Institut Colonial d'Amsterdam, in *Journal of the Siam Society*, vol. xxiii, part 2, pp. 115–16. Translated by G.

And it is intercourse of the same kind which one must concede, by virtue of the same arguments, to explain the Javano-Balinese scales, as we believe we have demonstrated by means of a number of measurements of sounds *De Toonkunst van Bali*, ii, Figs. I–V and VII–XIX. It has been proved that the influence of the Chinese metrological basis, corresponding to the *houang tchong*—230 mm.—was used or is still used, everywhere independently of musical instruments and scales, in an enormous territory, stretching from Europe on the one side to South America on the other. Von Hornbostel, *Ueber einige Panpfeifen aus Nordwest-brasilien* (*in* Th-Koch. Grunberg, *Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern*), 1910; *id.*, *Ueber ein akustisches Kriterium für Kulturzusammenhänge* (in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1911, pp. 601 sqq.); *id.*, A brief summary of the theory of the blown fifths (in *Anthropos*, vol. xiv–xv, pp. 569–570), 1919–1920; *id.*, An article treating with the metrical norm in the *Pater Schmidt Festschrift*, which will very soon appear. Recently appeared under the title *Die Massnorm als Kulturgeschichtliches Forschungsmittel.*"

I hope those who are interested will be able to go further into the matter with the works mentioned. I feel personally very much inclined to believe that the Burmese scale, whatever it may be now, was at the beginning founded on a pentatonic basis not very much different from the *kung, shang, cho, tze, yui* of the ancient Chinese musicologists.

Siamese influence is of course much more recent. There were two conquests of Ayudhya (ယိုးဒယား *Yodaya*); the first by Bayinnaung (A.D. 1551–1581) and the second by Hsinbyushin (A.D. 1763–1776). The latter was the more important because the conqueror not only brought back enormous numbers of prisoners of war but managed to hold Siam in subjection for a few years. Mr. Stewart, writing on the Burmese stage,[1] remarked, "Entertainers of all sorts were deported from the conquered country to Burma, and these included actors capable of performing dramas, of which the prime favourite in Siam was the Rāma play. . . ." He restricted himself to the stage only. What was true of the entertainers was true also of artists, craftsmen, musicians, sculptors, even games and confectionery. It was at that time that our cultural store-house was filled with Siamese loot. And at that time there lived a remarkable adaptor, creator, and preserver of music, in the person of Myawadi-wungyi U Sa (A.D. 1766–1853), whose incredibly long life was filled with literary, dramatic, and musical activity. There does not seem to be any kind of song which he had not written. Popular belief attributes to him no less than sixty-

[1] *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, vol. lxxxvii, No. 4516. The Burmese Stage.

seven *patpyos* (ပတ်ပျိုး) alone.[1] Our most famous *Htumachana thachingan* ထူးမခြားနားသီချင်းခံ is his. Our present harp with thirteen strings instead of seven was also his. Our *Yodaya* ယိုးဒယား songs owe their establishment as a principal section in our classical repertoire entirely to his tireless adaptation into Burmese of every kind of *Yodaya* song he could lay hands on. If the second conquest of Ayudhya was the single event, U Sa was the single person responsible for the energizing of the body of our music by a liberal infusion of Siamese blood. It is impossible to be certain. But it is highly probable that it was then that an advance from the pentatonic basis was achieved. For even as late as Bodawpaya (A.D. 1782–1819) according to the great harpist U Phu Gaung, U Sa himself was still playing on a harp with only seven strings, until his royal master asked him if he could not do better than that, when he fashioned the harp as we know it, with thirteen strings and a gamut of nearly three octaves.[2]

Under the circumstances mentioned above it is inevitable that the Siamese scale too came to Burma, to stay. The question is whether the Burmese adopted the Siamese scale or adapted it to their needs. The only clues that can lead to an answer to this question exist in the chart *La Planche—I.* appended to J. Kunst's article. The measurements of the Siamese scale were taken from Stumpf's *Tonsystem und Musik der Siamesen*, p. 137 ; and the measurements of the Burmese scale, presumably the only scientific measurements ever taken, were from Von Hornbostel's *Ueber ein akustisches Kriterium für Kulturzusammenhänge*, p. 613. The Siamese scale attracted also the attention of Professor F. Max Meyer of the Missouri University, who, in his article *Musician's Arithmetic* [3] seemed fully convinced that the Siamese equal tempered seven-tone scale and the Javanese equal tempered five-tone scale with the western chromatic scale were the only equal tempered scales in the world. Kunst, however, refuted that theory towards the end of his article in the *Journal of the Siam Society* :—

" Sometimes it seems as though they meant to create an equigraded scale (5 × 240 C.), but most of the scales measured had one degree greater than the others [Kunst's *De Toonkunst van Bali*, vol. ii, tables ii, iv, and v], in conformity with the hypothesis propounded above.

[1] In U Nu's သဘင်ဘန်မှတ်တမ်း *Sun Mag.*, July, 1939.

[2] Although there are only thirteen strings, the intermediate notes are obtained by " stopping " the open strings with the tip of the fore-finger of the left hand.

[3] *University of Missouri Studies*, vol. iv, 1929.

"Furthermore, the famous tonal plan of the *patet* is based—and the Sléndro too—on the particular position in the scale of intervals having different dimensions, in other words: an equigraded scale (of which one uses all the tones in one and the same composition, as always with the *Sléndro*), is, if I am not mistaken, incompatible with the pure nature of Javanese melody."

That disposed of the theory of the Javanese equal tempered five-tone scale. Unfortunately, Kunst did not deal with the Siamese scale at all beyond supplying the measurements. And of these measurements, those of the Burmese scale by Hornbostel certainly look as though it was an equal tempered seven-tone scale. There was no sign of the existing flat Seventh and the sharpened Fourth.

Diagrams of changes of key prescribed by the classics go right round the octave in a succession of underfifths without such means as the black keys of the piano. Indeed U Ba Cho mentioned, in his အသံစဉ် (၇)ပါးအကြောင်း one song (long forgotten), a *kyo* ဘုန်းတော်တေဇာ ဝေဖြာတိုးလှိ—အစချီ—၇—သံလည်ကြိုး which modulates (?) into all the seven keys. Even to-day there is a sort of overture played by Burmese bands (ဆိုင်း) called ၇—သံချီတီးနည်း *khunnathanchi* which might or might not mean modulation into the seven keys. It should be investigated by those who combine musicianship with scholarship.

If ever true modulation into all the seven keys were possible, it must have been at the time of U Sa, employing some such scale as Hornbostel's *échelle birmane*. Was the Burmese scale pentatonic in origin? Did it adapt itself to an equal tempered seven-tone scale from Siam towards the end of the eighteenth century? Did the intervals then become less and less equal until they nearly approximated to the Chinese scale of Mr. K. C. Hsiao, presently to be quoted, with an indeterminate Fourth and Seventh? How did this indeterminate Fourth and Seventh come about? These are questions to be settled by future more competent research. I shall, however, quote the very significant remarks of K. C. Hsiao on the present day Chinese scale.[1]

". . . The true cause seems to lie in the incorrect intonation of modern Chinese instruments, incorrect in the sense that the intonation has deviated from the theoretical intention of the scale construction.

"Let us take up the keyless flute and find out what sort of scale it produces. This flute is virtually the standard pitch pipe[2] of the

[1] *Chinese scale theories.* Appendix 6 to *The Musician's Arithmetic* by Professor Max Meyer in the *University of Missouri Studies*, vol. iv, 1929, pp 115–16.

[2] Like the Burmese *hnè*, နှဲ.

Chinese ensemble. . . . By careful experiment it has been found that the fourth and the seventh of the scale thereon are both 'neutral', that is, the fourth is neither a half-tone above the third as in the European diatonic major scale, nor a full tone above it as in the theoretical Chinese heptatonic scale, but is just about mid-way between the third and the fifth, and the seventh is similarly mid-way between the sixth and the octave. It becomes at once clear why Chinese instruments sound impersonal or neutral or out of tune. . . .

"The true reason for the incorrect intonation of the existing Chinese instruments cannot be stated with absolute certainty. The most probable reason is this: During the Yuan dynasty both the neutral and sharp F were used. . . . But the production of both these chromatic tones could not be done on the flute except with the assistance of special key devices unknown to the Chinese instrument makers or with boring the second and fifth holes, counting from the lower end, larger than the rest. It was possible at that time when both f and f-sharp were in use to bore the holes on the Chinese flute so as to enable the player to produce the notes when desired by a definite system of fingering such as now used by western fife players. But with the coming of the Ming dynasty, this whole system transgressing the pentatonic scale was officially abolished.

"Musicians then and therefore did not have to bother at all about producing f and f-sharp, and following the law of supply and demand, the flute makers undertook to makes flutes that could not produce either f or f-sharp accurately, *but had more uniformity and symmetry in their appearance by boring all the finger holes of the same size and with a minimum variation of distances from each other*. . . .[1] If a player who had bought the flute cared to produce all the tones on the instrument, what he got was naturally a scale with neutral fourth and seventh, agreeing neither with the European diatonic (with the perfect), nor the Chinese heptatonic scale (with the augmented fourth). The same thing was then applied to the playing of stringed instruments . . . to be in tune with the wind instruments.

". . . Nowadays, in certain localities of China, the performance of music has come to be looked down on as a menial and unscholarly vocation . . . although this aversion is not universal in China, music has been intellectually neglected for a long time. As a result music has become unmusical in China. And this in turn has increased the contempt in which it is held by the educated classes. It is a vicious circle. . . ."

I would not have allowed myself to be thus catapulted into the problem of the Burmese scale were it not so necessary to emphasize

[1] I am told that Burmese flute-makers do not use a pitch-pipe to tune the new flutes, but bore holes at distances found by folding a piece of string of the same length as the pipe over and over—to find equal distances. But this leaves unsolved the problems of the size of the holes. I give the measurements of the Burmese *palwe* for what they are worth. Table 3.

the very sharp line of demarcation between classical evidence and musical evidence. Too long have we taken shelter behind the façade of ancient Indian culture.

With regard to the most important real evidence of the written records, what have we to rely on ? Only one MS. in *parabaik* form—နရလေခ, *Naralekha.* U San Win himself pointed out that no other Burmese work on Burmese music had ever been known to exist. Until one has seen that *parabaik* one would be foolish to talk about the Burmese scale with any conviction. The best that can be done is to proceed from the known to the unknown and talk of clues rather than discoveries.

If it were possible, a scientific survey of the principal Burmese musical instruments should establish the one Burmese scale which is common to the whole country, or rather to which all the scales all over the country approximate. Everything about us is approximate. Our tunes, having no notation, are always at variance. Western people talk of our lack of method. Yet . . .

"The elements of tone and rhythm have been combined and recombined, and have left the theory a tangled mass of forgotten systems and the practice an ineradicable instinct. The veneration for the past because of its remoteness, the mental attitude which looks away from the categories of time and space and turns its attention upon the essence of the thing itself, the faith which links the present closely with the time when the gods walked the earth and still points to the visible imprints of their feet—all these have united to personify every element of their music, and piously to preserve names and attitudes which have long lost their meaning; so that much of the theory is clear only to those who can read myth. Nor on the practical side has extemporization, as it is there understood, been learned in a day, nor even in the lifetime of any individual. . . . But it is age-long practice rather than memory which has placed at the command of the best singers that inexhaustible wealth of variation with which they make a melody their own, that gift of improvisation which takes on an epic quality, as all crafts do that are handed down from father to son. To walk on the Old Trunk Road is, it has been said, to step into a chapter of Genesis; and in the same way we catch, in these immemorial cadences, the very spirit of the rhapsodists of Homer. Their music is old, but with an age like the eternal youth of Greece, not with a second childhood like the stereotyped formulas of the Troubadours." [1]

"It seems to us curious to draw a picture of a tune; but those who do so think not of a tune but of a mode. They conceive the tune

[1] Fox Strangways' Introduction to the *Music of Hindostan.*

as going in a general, not a particular direction. When a peasant sings a folk-song with six variations, he speaks of them as six 'ways' of singing it. And if you then sing him a seventh variation he accepts it, provided it is in the same mode. Notation, therefore, would only hamper the unlimited power to vary. It would also be useless, because the songs are handed down and valued as being 'so-and-so's' song, with, of course, all his idiosyncrasies and mannerisms, which could not possibly be noted.

"Grace, as a singer understands it, is the continuous flow of the voices round the graced note; and this is quite indefinable by notation which is confined to tones and semitones. Harmony, for which that notation is devised, abolishes mode; for, it in its prime, largely depended on minute differences in the 'size' of third, sixth, and other intervals. Mode depended also on certain points of rest, namely, on the pentatonic notes. Harmony can deal with these, certainly, and in doing so it takes on a colouring which has often a fascination; but it also defines what the singer left undefined; and thereby removes a certain wistfulness and charm. If there are any who doubt that charm, it is probably because they have not heard folk-song in its native haunts. Being itself a perfectly sincere thing, its charm does not survive publicity, nor the treatment of the song as something quaint, still less as something to be exploited. Folk-song is like a hedgerow flower, which when plucked, withers more quickly than one from a garden. If we were to get at its real beauty we must do with it what the singer himself has done—we must sing it all through and many times. Its merit comes from its having run the gauntlet of the best kind of criticism, that of the singers themselves. It has always been judged by results. If it did not move these singers, they either altered it or dropped it. It is, and can only be, the work of time." [1]

Time is endless in thy hands, my lord.
There is none to count thy minutes.
Days and nights pass and ages bloom and fade like flowers.
Thou knowest how to wait.
Thy centuries follow each other perfecting a small wild flower . . .

It is the most distant course that comes nearest to thyself, and that training is the most intricate which leads to the utter simplicity of a tune.

Gītāñjali, 82 and 12.

[1] Fox Strangways in the introductory volume to the *Oxford History of Music*, chap. vii.

In the meantime Professor West and his staff in the Physics Department of University College have kindly measured the *pattala* and the *palwe* in their laboratory. The accompanying table is made possible by their measurement of the frequencies and their calculation of the intervals in cents.[1]

The figures 0 and 1,200 in the comparative table might lead one to believe that the Burmese octave at least is perfect. It is not. The slight error of 14·7 cents had to be distributed among the seven tones (like the Pythagorean comma in the tempered chromatic scale) to make the figures comparable at all. How all the notes of the Burmese gamut behave will be seen by the table of actual figures. For the time being I must let the figures speak for themselves, making only one comment, that F[2] is indubitably sharper than F-natural, B flatter than B-natural, and G most nearly correct. It should be remembered of course that my *pattala* may be anything but a perfect specimen.

Now comes the time to discuss the technical remarks of Paul Edmonds and P. A. Mariano mentioned at the beginning of this article. In Chapter VII of his *Peacocks and Pagodas* (Routledge, 1924), Paul Edmonds says :—

Hla Tin having fixed up his mandolin proceeded to play me a tune. The tune, he said, was the introduction to the "baw lè", and the "baw lè" is the tune to which all songs of a sad and plaintive character are commonly sung—though there is nothing about the tune that sounds sad to the western ears.[3] The short introduction was in two parts, the lower being a kind of rough counterpoint.[4] It is played

[1] Formula : To find the interval in cents between, e.g., frequencies 423 and 385

$$3986 \cdot 314 \ (\log 423 - \log 385)$$

2·6263	$\bar{3}$·6006	
2·5855	$\bar{2}$·6107	
0·0408	2·2113	Antilog 162·7

[2] Here, and elsewhere unless otherwise indicated by the context, the names of notes merely show their relative positions in the scale, and have no reference to absolute pitch. Thus F here = *fah*.

[3] No wonder. Hla Tin has spoilt the plaintive part of the tune with a variation (*see* Example 7), the last beat of the third bar leading down to the tonic in the beginning of the bar following. These five notes are what makes the *bawlè* tune plaintive. They look very much like the first inversion of the chord of the relative minor with added seventh.

[4] P. E. apparently here refers to Hla Tin's thumb-work. When playing the mandolin a Burman does not use the plectrum. Forefinger and thumb are employed, the latter to strike an occasional lower octave or the Fourth or the Fifth, or to help the forefinger along with the melody. The result perhaps often sounds like rough counterpoint. But the tune was certainly not in two parts. The division is of labour, not thematic.

TABLE 1

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF SEVEN CLASSICAL TONES

	Sanskrit	Burmese	Animals Attributed to	Terminology of the Burmese Harp စောင်း	Terminology of the Burmese Band ဆိုင်း	
C	Shaḍja	ဆဇ	Peacock	ဒူရက Dūraka	ခြောက်ပေါက်အောက်ပြန် Chaukpauk aukpyan	A
D	Ṛshabha	ဥသဘ	Bull	ပြည်တော်ပြန် Pyédawbyan	သံလတ်အောက်ပြန် Thanlat aukpyan	G
E	Gāndhāra	ဂန္ဓာရ	Goat	မြင်စိုင်း Myinsaing	ငါးပေါက်သံထီး Ngapauk thanhti	E
F	Madhyama	မဇ္ဈိမ	Crane	ပုလဲ Pulè	သံဖျားတျော။ ဆစ်ကြီး Thanphyatayaw *or* Hsitkyi	B
G	Pañcama	ပဉ္စမ	Cuckoo	အောက်ပြန် Aukpyan	ဆစ်ကြီးအောက်ပြန်။ လေးပေါက် Hsitkyi aukpyan *or* Lepauk	F
A	Dhaivata	ဓေဝတ	Horse	ခြောက်သွယ်ညှဉ် Chaukthwènyun	သံချဝ Thangyat	D
B	Nishāda	နိသာဒ	Elephant	ညှင်းလုံ Hnyinlon	သံရိုး။ ဂ–သံ Thanyo *or* Khunnathan	C

As identified by Fox Strangways on page 108, *Music of Hindostan.*

As identified by U San Win on addendum to page 11, *Burmese Music Notes*, Book I.

TABLE 2

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF INTERVALS IN CENTS

	Frequency Ratios	Just Intonation	Meantone		Equal Temperament		Hornbostel's *échelle birmane*		West's measurements of Burmese *Pattala*		
		Intervals Cents	Intervals Cents	Errors Cents	Intervals Cents	Errors Cents	Intervals Cents	Errors Cents	Intervals Cents	Errors Cents	
C	1	0	0.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	C
D	9 : 8	204	193	11	200	4	173	31	245·1	41·1	D
E	5 : 4	386	386	0	400	14	355·6	30·4	405·3	19·3	E
F	4 : 3	498	503	5	500	2	526·6	28·6	584·5	86·5	F
G	3 : 2	702	697	5	700	2	704	2	697·6	4·4	G
A	5 : 3	884	890	6	900	16	867·5	16·5	870·5	13·5	A
B	15 : 8	1,088	1,083	5	1,100	12	1,031	57	1,030·7	57·3	B
C	2 : 1	1,200	1,200	0	1,200	0	1,200	0	1,200	0	C

Comparative Intervals between each note		Siamese Scale
Hornbostel	West	Stumpf
Cents	Cents	Cents
173·0	247·2	162·7
182·6	162·3	182·6
171·0	181·3	161·4
177·4	115·2	178·6
163·5	175	164·6
163·5	162·3	177·4
169	171·4	172·6

Table 3

Frequencies of Notes on Burmese Instruments
(a) Frequencies (b) Intervals in Cents

Note	Pattala (Rangoon) (a)	(b)	Palwe (Rangoon) (a)	(b)	Pattala [1] (Cambridge) (a)
c c′	1195				
b	1086	165·4			
a	977	183			
g	884	173			
f	808	155·9			
e	724	190·1			
d	665	147·1			
c	605	163·5			
B	548	171·4			
A	499	162·3			
G	451	175			
F	422	115·2	435·7		946·9
E	380	181·3	393·7	175·4	870·2
D	346	162·3	354·2	183·4	787·5
C	300	247·2	310	230·4	710·9
B*	259	254·3	283	157·9	647·4
A	245	96·07	260·6	142·6	589·1
G	230	109·6	241·2	134	532·0
F	205	198·9	215·9	192·2	478·6
E	190	131·5			433·5
D	173	162·7			393·9
C	147	281·8			354·2

Palwe

Burmese Bamboo Pipe.
Measurements in inches.

Total length	$9\frac{1}{2}$
Mouth end to languette	$2\frac{1}{2}$
Mouth end to tone-hole	$3\frac{3}{4}$
Mouth end to thumb-hole	5
Mouth end to top-hole (Upper A)	$4\frac{1}{4}$
Distance between each of the seven holes	$\frac{3}{4}$
Diameter of the pipe	$\frac{9}{16}$
Diameter of the smallest top hole	$\frac{3}{16}$
From which the holes gradually increase in diameter to the largest bottom hole (Lower A)	$\frac{5}{16}$

[1] [With the permission of the author, the frequencies for the lowest eleven notes on a *pattala* belonging to Mr. J. S. Furnivall have been inserted. For comparison with the other frequencies in the table, the figures should be divided by 2. The measurements were kindly made by Dr A. Wood of the Cavendish Laboratory.]

* Pattala (Rangoon) D is out of tune.

at the beginning, between every verse, and at the end. I wrote it down on paper in western notation after several repetitions [*see* Example 4], and upon examining the upper part, or tune, was interested to find that it was apparently in the pentatonic scale. I then successfully transcribed the "baw lè" tune proper [*see* Example 6], but this was, I found, approximately in our ordinary major scale, and it was difficult to say for certain whether or not the tune had originally been pentatonic.[1]

TABLE 4

TENTATIVE IDENTIFICATION OF BURMESE KEYS

Key	Aṃça	Class of Songs	Harp Terms
C	F	ကြိုး၊ဘွဲ၊သီချင်းခံ၊ *Kyo, Bwè,* Thachingan	*Hnyinlon* ညှင်းလုံး
	G	ပတ်ဖျိုး၊လောကနတ်သံ၊လေးတွေသံကပ်၊ *Patpyo, etc.*	*Aukpyan* အောံပြန်
	E	သစ္စထား၊ကရင်ညြသံ၊ Troth-plighting, *Cadenza*	
	?	တလိုင်းသံ၊ယိုးဒယား၊ရှေးသံဆန်း၊ *Yodaya, etc.*	ပုလဲး *Pulè*
with	F♯	ဘောလယ်၊သဖြန့်ဘောလယ်၊ *baw-lè*	
F	with	B♭ တေးထပ်၊ရှစ်ဆယ်ပေါ်၊ *Tedat* (sonnet-like song)	မြင်စိုင်း
	,,	B♯ ဆယ်ဆယ်ရောင်ဖြာဒိန်းသံ	

Paul Edmonds also examined the xylophone (*pattala*), the drum-circle (*saingwaing*), and the gong-circle (*kyi-waing*), and said :—

The pattala, which seemed to be in the key of C, had an eight-note scale ; but at first I was puzzled to classify it, since in the upper octave the note B was nearer to B-flat than to B-natural, whereas in the lower octave it was the other way about. How to account for an approximate B-flat in one octave and an approximate B-natural in the octave in the same instrument was a problem.[2] The note F in both octaves was indeterminate. It seemed to be about midway between F and F-sharp.[3] This first suggested to me what I now

[1] It could not be. *Bawlè* is a very much later invention attributed to Hlaing-Hteik-Khaung-Tin (A.D. 1833–1875), an excellent summary of whose life, translated by Nyi Nyi from the excellent series of short biographies အမျိုးသမီးစါဆိုတော်များ by Ma Ma Gyi, appeared in the *World of Books*, Nos. 136–7.

[2] I would blame its maker. My *pattala* reveals just the opposite.

[3] It is still there.

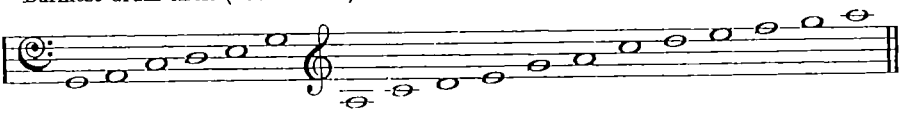
believe to be the true explanation, which is that the pentatonic scale is the foundation and that notes have been roughly inserted in the two gaps between E and G and between A and C in order to make the scale approximate to the Western major scale. I was not sure of this at that time, but subsequent investigations confirmed it.

I wish Paul Edmonds had left a full account of his investigations. It would be a real service not only to future research but also to Burmese music. While heartily agreeing with him that the pentatonic scale was the foundation of the Burmese scale, I hesitate to believe that the two notes he mentioned had been inserted in the way he mentioned. Hornbostel's *échelle birmane* stands in the way. Much more seems to have happened to the Burmese scale than the insertion mentioned by Paul Edmonds. To continue :—

The tuning of the gongs, as I rather anticipated, was similar to the tuning of the pattala. . . . The drum-circle, however, was tuned, I was excited to find, in the pentatonic scale ; there was no F and no B, with the exception of an F in the top octave of all. [*See* Examples 1, 2, 3.] My discovery of the pentatonic tuning of the

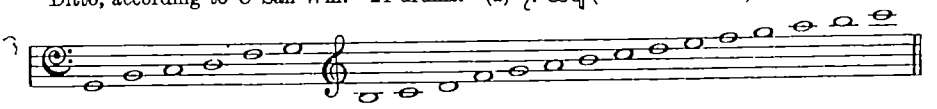
Example 1.

Burmese drum-circle (P. Edmonds). 18 drums.



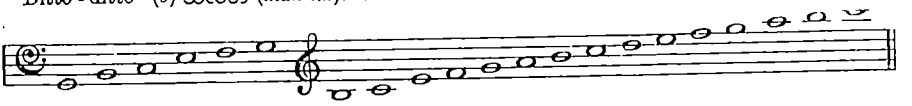
Example 2.

Ditto, according to U San Win. 21 drums. (*a*) ၇. သံချီ (Khunnathanchī).



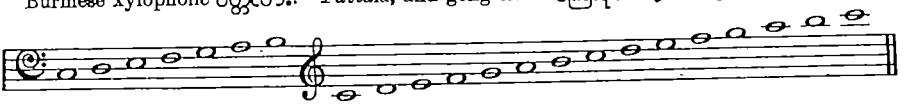
Example 3.

Ditto - ditto - (*b*) သံလတ် (*than lat*). 4th and 9th drums from the bottom are raised one degree.



Example 3a.

Burmese xylophone ပတ္တလား. Pattala, and gong-circle ကြေးဝိုင်း *Kyiwaing.*

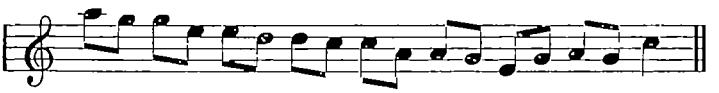


drum-circle fairly convinced me that the pentatonic scale is, as I had already begun to suspect, the foundation of Burmese music. And when I came to re-examine the two tunes which I had thought showed no signs of pentatonic origin, I found one significant point which I had previously overlooked—all the cadences were pentatonic, and there was no cadence in which the leading-note B appeared as the penultimate note.

Examples 1, 2, and 3 will show that Paul Edmonds' tuning of the drum-circle does not agree with U San Win's. But that will be because the modern drum-circle has had added to it three more drums. And perhaps it has also become sophisticated, as Oriental ears have unconsciously become with the Western diatonic major scale. In the beginning the drum-circle was not even a circle. It was a semi-circle, called လခြမ်းဆိုင်း (*la-chan-saing*) half-moon-band, the tuning of which could not be but pentatonic, to supply the ground notes of the tunes. The real cock of the walk among Burmese musical instruments is the နှဲ *hnè*, Burmese oboe, whose limitless flexibility of tone has now been overwhelmed by the blustering gusto of the completed drum-circle.

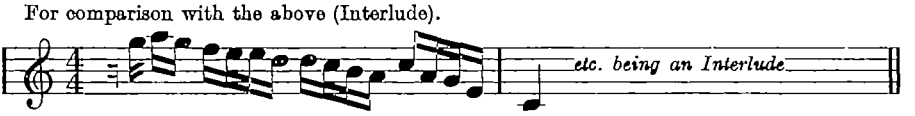
Example 4.

Edmonds' notation of Introduction (*sic*) to *bawlè* ဘောလယ်.



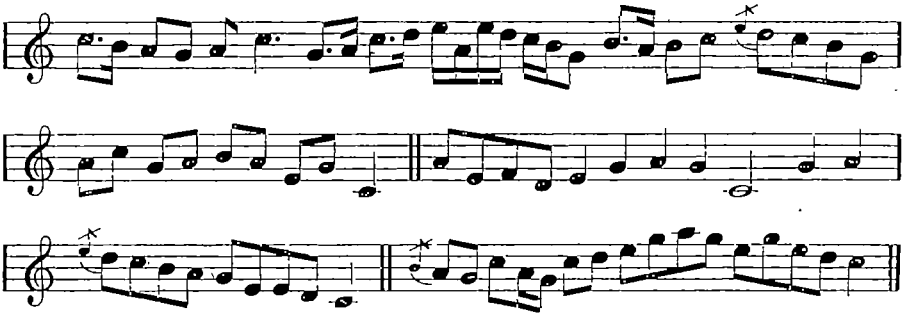
Example 5.

For comparison with the above (Interlude).



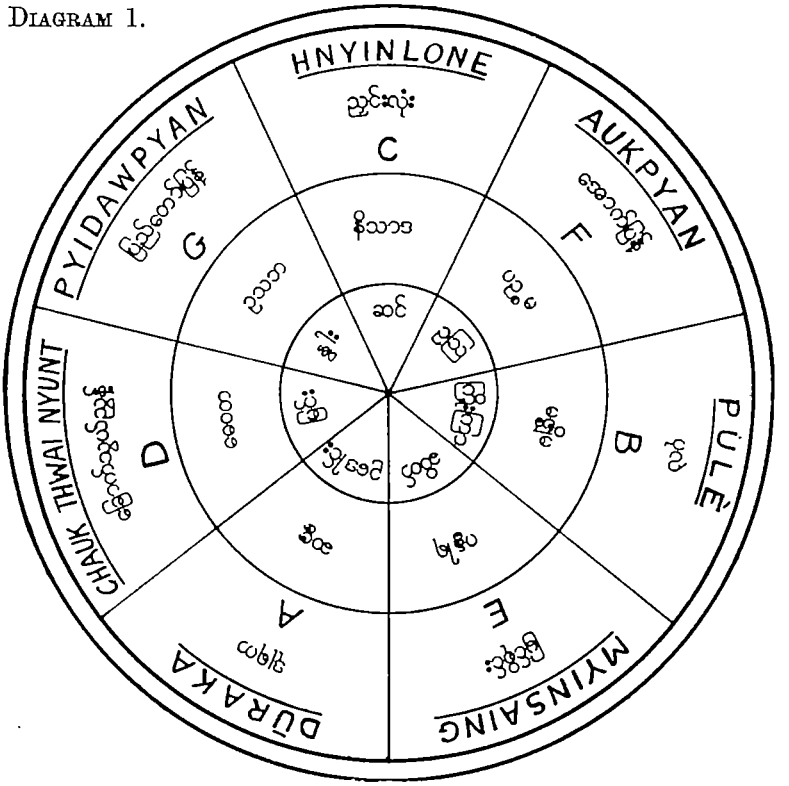
Example 6.

Edmonds' *bawlè* tune.



The *bawlè* Paul Edmonds heard might not have had any cadence which was not pentatonic. Nowadays it has too many things. Worse offenders than Hla Tin have with their variations, *fioritura* and *bravura* twisted its characteristic minor cadence out of all recognition. But there certainly are any amount of pentatonic cadences in Burmese music. In fact, an improvisation strictly on the black keys of the piano sounds more Burmese than many a Burmese song.

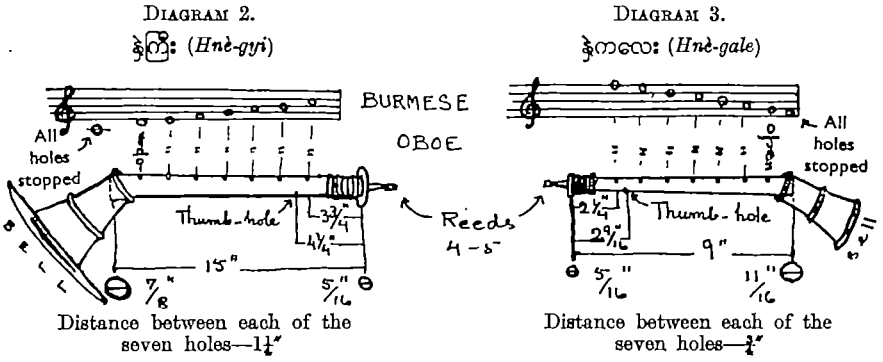
DIAGRAM 1.



Note.—Read from sector G, counter-clockwise, the Burmese words nearest the centre = bull, horse, peacock, goat, crane, cuckoo, elephant. For *chauk thwai nyunt* read *chauk thwè nyun*, and for *hnyin lone, hnyin lon.*—J. A. S.

His statement that the Burmese band, owing to the fixed scale of the gong-circle, always played in one key, C major—approximately—is very significant, though the reason, as will be seen later, may be other than "the fixed scale of the gong-circle". The absence of semitones or accidentals convinced him that modulation into other keys was impossible. On the other hand Mariano decided that there *was* modulation into other keys. If the original scale was not an

approximate affair, and the keys into which modulation occurred were also not approximate, then of course no modulation would be possible without semitones or accidentals or equi-distant intervals. It is now Mr. Mariano's turn. I draw attention at this point to the classical diagram of modulation (?), change of key (?), choice of pitch (?), and to the examples of the tuning of some Burmese musical instruments, with acknowledgments both to U Ba Cho and U San Win. [*See* Diagrams 1, 2, 3, 4.]



The bell of thin brass is hung loosely by means of cords. It is of no acoustic value and is often dispensed with. *Hnè-gyi* is used for grand style songs in the sub-dominant mode; and *Hnè-gale* for songs in the ordinary key of the approximate diatonic major scale. All the holes in both instruments are of the same size.

In Appendix C to *Burma* by Max and Bertha Ferrars (Low, Marston, 1900), Mr. Mariano says :—

The fundamental pitch-note of Burmese music corresponds to our A-natural. Three kinds of scales are used. The first is the Doric scale consisting of the first, second, fifth, sixth, and eighth intervals of the diatonic scale . . .

In Example 7, I have drawn attention to the last beat of the third bar, which, with the first note in the bar following, formed the C – E – G – A – C cadence so familiar to our ears. Unless Mr. Mariano meant the third instead of the second interval mentioned above, I am ignorant of the Doric scale he spoke of. In fact I have floundered among the Greek scales and the ecclesiastical modes of Europe in the hope of finding a short-cut to an explanation of the unchromatic Burmese scale. I fight shy of comparing the Burmese scale with the old modes of the West.

| Notes atop these thick lines are raised one degree

| Notes atop these wavy lines are lowered one degree

The key-signatures in the DIAGRAM OF TUNING THE BURMESE HARP shown below must not be taken too seriously. They only denote change of mode.

The bowl is made of *padauk* wood (*Pterocarpus indicus*). Its hollow top is covered with deer hide, on which the ridge, with holes for the strings, is attached, turning it into a sound-box. The curved stick is of *sha* (*Acacia catechu*); round this are tied cords with dangling tassels, one for each string, whose other end is held cunningly looped in the cord, which is pushed up and down and round the stick in small twitches to tune the string. The strings are of silk.

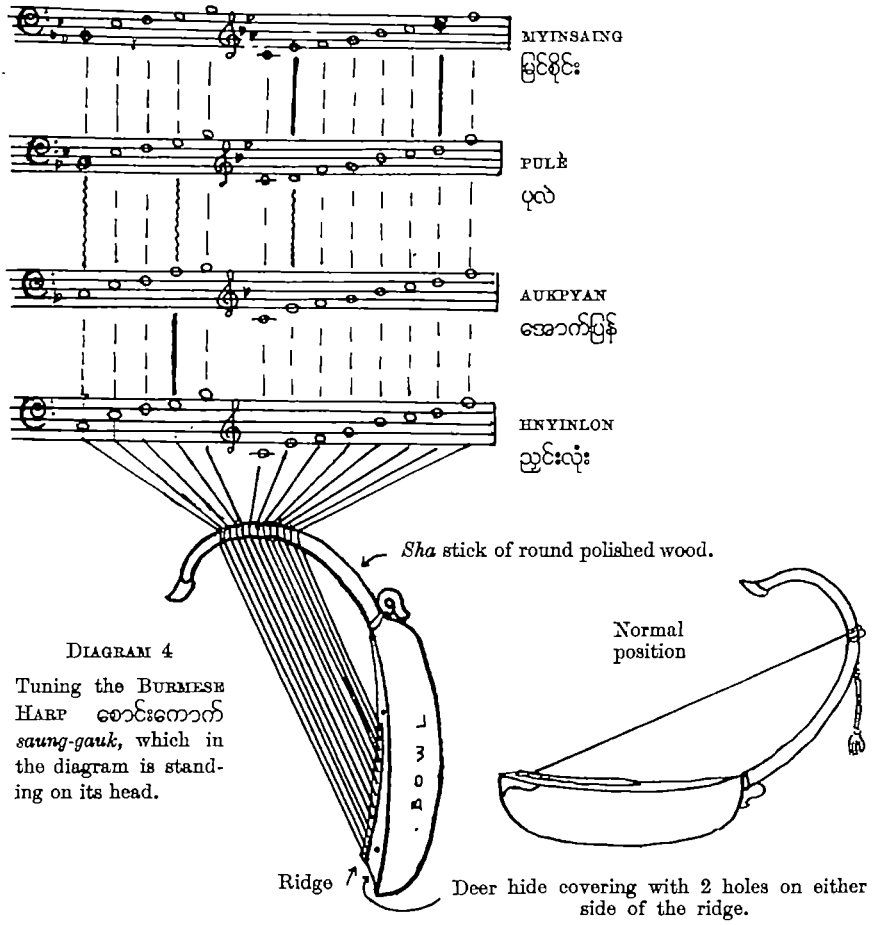


DIAGRAM 4

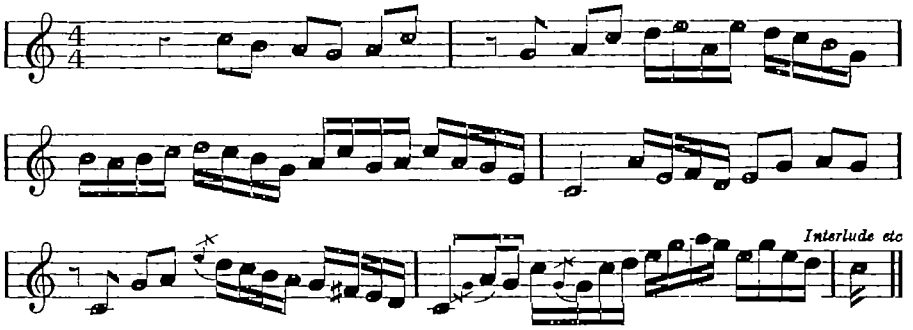
Tuning the BURMESE HARP *saung-gauk*, which in the diagram is standing on its head.

Mariano :—

The second is the Burmese diatonic scale, in which, however, the Seventh is tuned flat by about a quarter tone. There are no flats or sharps in the Burmese gamut. Nevertheless changes of keys are not infrequent in their melodies. These invariably proceed from the tonic to the sub-dominant but without the introduction of the seventh flat, as there is no regular system of counterpoint. Here the advantage of tuning the Seventh somewhat flat is apparent, for it does duty as the Fourth interval of the new key. A change from the tonic to the dominant also sometimes takes place. . . .

Example 7.

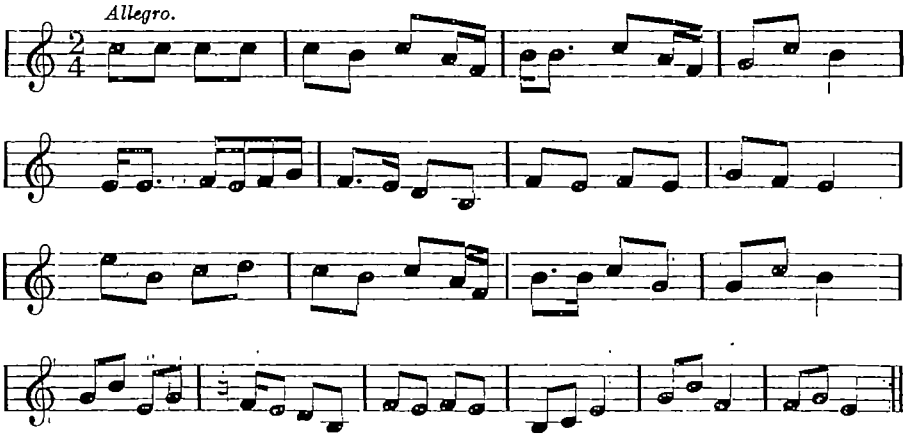
For comparison with Example 6. For the proper version see Example 11.



Time is marked by clapper (x) and bell (o) thus | x o o | x o o | throughout.

Example 8.

E-Mode (*i.e.* of the Mediant).



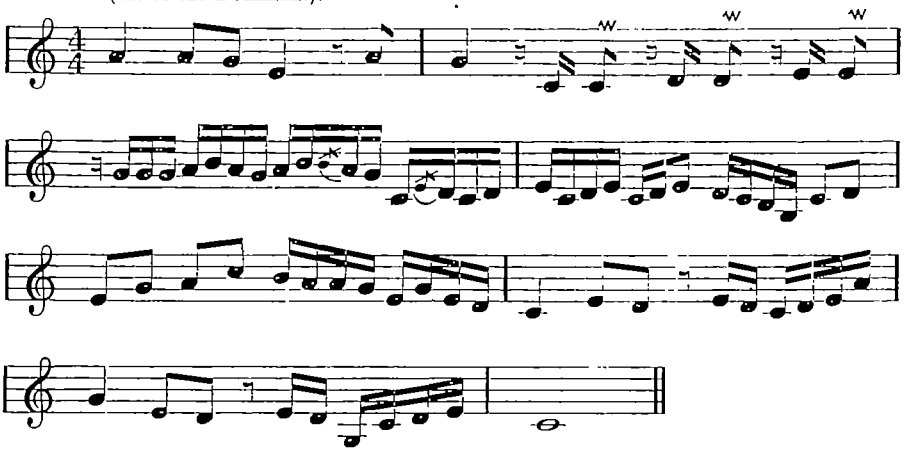
Mr. Mariano does not mention if it does so without the fourth sharp. Yet so it does by the help of the half-sharp Fourth which does duty as the Seventh of the new key. Mariano :—

The third scale is a kind of minor ; it consists of the same notes as the major diatonic scale but it begins and ends with the third interval. . . .

This scale is strictly speaking only a mode, the mode of the mediant (*see* Example 8). There seems to be also the modes of the dominant and the sub-dominant (*see* Examples 9 and 10). They require investigation. Oddly enough the E-mode, which Mr. Mariano describes as a

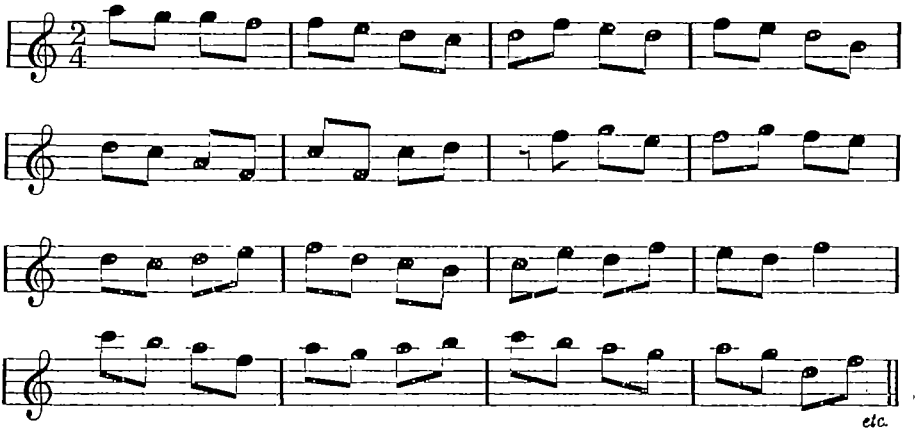
Example 9.

G-Mode (*i.e.* of the Dominant).



Example 10.

F-Mode (*i.e.* of the Sub-Dominant).



kind of minor, is commonly used in the happy love-making scenes နှစ်ပါးသွား *hnitpathwa*[1] in *pwès* where the Prince and the Princess dance and sing in this E-mode till, after about two hours, troth has been plighted and, in the final bar of the last song, the voice without stopping at the temporary keynote E holds it for a moment and then slides *via* D down to the real old tonic C; this descent being the signal that the scene has ended. Mr. Stewart describes the scene better[2] :—

The real hero and heroine—again a Prince and Princess—then come on, and with the aid of clowns in attendance on them, go through a stock scene which is known as "the plighting of the troth". In this a few words may be said about the plot, but it is soon forgotten and the scene consists of alternate or simultaneous singing or dancing, the Prince ardent, the Princess coy or perhaps provoking a pretty quarrel, with frequent interjections by the clowns designed to vary the entertainment and to give the Prince and Princess time to recover their wind. During this scene all the performers have been addressing each other by their real names, stimulating the orchestra to greater efforts, and occasionally making speeches to the audience. About two o'clock, after two hours of really hard work, somebody remembers that they had started with the intention of acting a play, and, with a few words as to the plot, the scene closes.

I doubt if a discussion on the Burmese key, changes of key, and modulation can ever be closed. My notes on the quotations from Mr. Mariano leave only one *bona fide* key, the peculiar diatonic major key with indeterminate Fourth and Seventh, both of which made it possible to change into an approximate key of F and an approximate key of G. In the classical diagram of the circle of keys is set out the prescribed circular succession of keys in under-fifths which (on the diagram) are identified with C → F → B → E → A → D → G → C, but which, according to Western musical theory, can only be C → F → B-flat → E-flat → A-flat → D-flat → G-flat → C-flat, which is not by any means a circle.

Moreover, both U San Win and U Ba Cho state that nowadays only four keys are in use :—

C : ညင်းလုံး *Hnyinlon* for the oldest and grandest class of songs. ကြီး။ခွဲ။သီချင်းခံ။

[1] "The Greek mode beginning with E was supposed to have manly and vigorous qualities."—R. T. White in *Music and its Story*.

[2] "The Burmese Stage," in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, vol. lxxxvii, No. 4516.

F* : အောက်ပြန် *Aukpyan* for songs not so old and grand, and ritual songs ပတ်ပျိုး။လောကနတ်သံ။လေးထွေသံကပ်။, etc.

B* : ပုလဲ *Pulè* for Siamese, Talaing, *Bawlè*, and modern songs. ယိုးဒယား။တလိုင်း။ဘောလယ်။ရှေးသံဆန်းများ

E* : မြင်စိုင်း *Myinsaing* for *Tedat* (sonnet-like songs) and Deinthan တေးထပ်။ရှစ်ဆယ်ပေါ်။ဒိန်းသံ.

It is hard indeed to settle out of hand such questions of fundamental importance as keys and modes and modulation, especially when a Western language and terminology have been found to be inadequate to represent the musical phenomena of the East. (*See* Fox Strangways on the translation of *rāga* towards the beginning of the article.) One does not make pronouncements on one's own responsibility knowing very well that the proper thing to be done is a thorough examination of the whole question by a conclave of experts who combine a knowledge of Burmese music with a knowledge of Western musical theory. The matter is now extremely urgent. Burmese music seems to be dying out. Perhaps I may be permitted to leave about some threads which will lead future more competent research to their final unravelling. I only hope that the urgency will be recognized and early efforts made to begin a proper study of the music of the country.

I have reduced Mr. Mariano's three kinds of scales into one *bona fide* key—the peculiar major diatonic scale with indeterminate Fourth and Seventh within which there are changes—of key ? of mode ? I shall not say at present.

With the classical circle of keys I shall deal later.

The four keys still extant, as set out by U-Ba Cho and U San Win, are presumably the keys of C, F, B, E, in which different prescribed classes of Burmese songs must be played or sung, and in the prescribed order. It would not do to play a *yodaya* ယိုးဒယား or a *bawlè* ဘောလယ် in immediate succession to a *kyo* ကြိုး. A song from the *patpyo* ပတ်ပျိုး, class must be the next to follow. Otherwise the new song will jar on the ear. All this is perfectly true. The puzzle is this : When discussing the laws of Burmese music does the word " key " in its strictly technical sense apply ? I have met with many difficulties because I have so far been using this word with its strict musical denotations to represent

* Presumably.

a musical phenomenon which may be, so far as I know, represented by either one or all of the following three :—

1. Actual change of key.
2. Change of mode.
3. Change of " tessitura ".

Again, " tessitura " is not quite right for the Sanskrit word *aṃśa*. Hearken to Fox Strangways, " What gives its peculiar flavour to a melody . . . is the position of the *aṃśa*. Round it, and round its consonant or correlative (*samvādī*)—a note at the distance of a Fourth or a Fifth from it [1]—are grouped the phrases of the song. They derive their meaning, their point, from their relation to it. It is easy to see that the character of a phrase would completely alter according as the *aṃśa*, the salient note of the scale, were made the salient note of the phrase, or not. The *aṃśa* may be at any place in the scale, not excluding the keynote or drone-note. The first section of the tune (*astai*) usually circles round the *aṃśa* and the second (*antara*) round its consonant. The æsthetic effect of a high or a low *aṃśa* is quite different, and in this respect the *aṃśa* and all that it implies may be compared with what we know as *tessitura*, though that is rather a ' range of notes ', whereas the *aṃśa* is a single note. Over against the *aṃśa* stands the drone note, or keynote (*kharaj*). These two notes divide between them the functions of our tonic." [2]

I shall leave it at that. The last sentence is significant not only because it may lead to a solution of our whole problem, but because it reminds me repeatedly of what my Burmese *saya* said to me once about the playing of the *patpyo* ပတ်ပျိုး. In these songs the tune seems to circle continually round the dominant and almost ends with the dominant, but the main song must be followed by a post-lude သဖြန် (*thaphyan*) in free time, which is the means of effecting a return to the tonic. I asked him if the *patpyo* ပတ်ပျိုး was not in the key of G, and why was I not using F-sharp instead of F-natural ? He said that it was not in the key of G ; the tune only kept hovering round G ; and it had to come back to the keynote C. သံမှန်နဲ့ပြန်ပေါင်းရတယ်။ပေါင်းလို့ရမှအဆုံးမှန်တယ်. That was why a *thaphyan* post-lude must invariably follow a *patpyo* ပတ်ပျိုး. That was also why the Prince, at the end of the plighting of the troth scene, did not end the last song with the mediant but held it for a moment in order to return to the old tonic C.

[1] In Burmese music, more often a Fourth than a Fifth.
[2] *Music of Hindostan*, chap. xii.

Now, were the dominant and tonic of the *patpyo*, and the mediant and tonic of the troth-plighting songs "dividing between themselves the function of the tonic ?" Was a similar thing happening when the *Hnyinlon* ညှင်းလုံး class of songs were being played ? The key was C-c, but the sub-dominant F often seemed to be the tonic. Were C and F also dividing between themselves the function of the tonic ? Can it be that in reality the key is only one in every case, approximately C major ; only the *tessitura*, mode, what you please, changes ; and the terms *Hnyinlon* ညှင်းလုံး, *Aukpyan* အောက်ပြန်, *Pulè* ပုလဲ, *Myinsaing* မြင်စိုင်း apply not to four different keys but to the four different methods of tuning the Burmese harp for the sake of convenience in playing the four different classes of songs, and therefore are not to be identified with C, F, B, E, but rather with the four classes, *viz. kyo*, *patpyo*, *yodaya*, *tedat* ကြိုးပတ်ပျိုးယိုးဒယားတေးထပ် ?

I will leave these questions to be answered more authoritatively. I did carry out one experiment.

Burmese pianists who do not want to be bothered with the black keys of the piano have their piano tuned, as they say, "in the Burmese way," *i.e.* with B flattened and F sharpened by about a quarter tone. Then they play all their songs with C as the keynote (drone-note ?), but always in obedience to the prescribed order of the classes of songs. I used to think that it was because that method of tuning enabled them to modulate from C to G or F and back again without using F-sharp or B-flat. That was only partly true. They tuned their pianos in their own way not only for the sake of modulation but to make their own songs still sound Burmese in their ears. Everybody, including Fox Strangways, realizes that Western keyed instruments spell disaster to Oriental music. The tuning of the piano in "the Burmese way" seems to be a desperate effort on the part of Burmese pianists to preserve the tonality peculiar to their songs.

The experiment was to watch a Burmese pianist playing on my piano (which is not tuned in the Burmese way) a representative song from each class of songs in the prescribed order of succession, to see whether she does or does not play all the four songs in one and the same key, *i.e.* of the approximate C major. She did. I asked her if she always played all Burmese songs with C as the tonic on her piano ? Yes, on any piano. On mine, certain notes sounded odd. In Table 4 are tentative identifications of the keys used.

There is no doubt whatever that something like modulation occurs

frequently not only in changing from one class of songs to another but in one and the same song also. The question is : *is* it change of key ? The peculiar nature of our scale, the fact that it is no longer equal tempered, and our lack of a chromatic scale, forbids us the use of that word in its strictly technical sense. Then, shall we call it change of *aṃśa* ? That is a Sanskrit word. Perhaps there is a Burmese word for it in the နရလေခ *Naralekha.*

As for the classical cycle of keys, diagrams of which appeared both in U Ba Cho's article and U San Win's book 2, both U Ba Cho and U San Win quote authoritative verses from classical literature (*Nāṭakaratanakosa* နာဋကရတနကောသကျမ်း) but regret that not all the keys mentioned are in use in this decadent age. With due reverence for the classics, I shall assign these verses, like Ruskin's works on art and Pater's, to literature. It is becoming increasingly difficult to fit classical theory with the actual music. Whereas our classical literature came *en masse* from ancient India along with Buddhism many hundred years ago, our music seems to have come from the east. Indeed one class of songs (*yodaya* ယိုးဒယား) came *en masse* from Siam less than two centuries ago. Music is the last thing that could have come with Buddhism. It seems to have developed quite independently of classical literature. In fact Burmese poetry (*lingā* လင်္ဂ *alaṅkāra*) is quite distinct from Burmese song (*thăchin* သချင်း) ; and remote from both stands the massive Buddhist literature of the *Tripiṭaka* in the Pali language.

What seems to have happened is that while the elegant royalty and courtesans in the palace were delighting in the intricacies of Burmese versification with liberal infusion of both the Pali language and the Buddhist philosophy, music in its robust form was having its origins in the village when somebody was giving alms and in the paddy-fields when the transplanting of the seedlings was in progress. For the former we have *Byaw* [1] (ဗျော), stick-struck drum songs, and for the latter we have *Bônshe* (ပုံရှည်), long-drum, or *kauksaik* (ကောက်စိုက်), transplanting songs. *Kyo* (ကြိုး), that most ancient class of Burmese

[1] ကခေါ်အစားဌာပနပျော်ပွဲနှင့်ပျော်ထဲက " A dancer's life (or dancing ?) begins with a tray of banana offerings (or *pwè* marked by a central fire-bowl stand of plantain-trunk ?) in a *byaw* music party". Till A.D. 1698, when the eighth king of the Nyaungyan dynasty, ဝဇနမင်း *Sane Min,* came to the throne there existed only intoned poems ပျိုးမော်ကွန်း, but no real Burmese music. သဘာဝနန္ဒတ်တမ်း by U Nu, *Sun Magazine,* 1938.

songs, also must have been in the beginning a labour-chant for concerted action that germinated in ancient row-boats, grew into a boat-song, and then developed for royal ears into its present high order of melodic and literary grandeur (*vide* the royal barge-songs: ဘောင်ဆိုက်ကြိုး when the barge makes port, ဘောင်ငင်ကြိုး when the barge is being towed out by rowers in open boats, ဘောင်လားကြို when the barge is under way).[1] The cadences of these still recall the rhythmic flash of wet oars in the sun. Thus Burmese music had as its sponsor the rustic festivals and the occupation of the hewers of wood and drawers of water, and not the Church as in Europe. Indeed the Buddhist religion so frowns upon music that it was practised rather shamefacedly, and its devotees are often called *Phet-khwet-sā* (Eaters out of leaves), i.e. vagabonds. Even so recently as last year a learned old Burmese gentleman loth to depart this life without imparting all of his Burmese learning concluded a series of Burmese articles on Burmese music and dancing with an apology for having at all indulged in such frivolities.

Music found in the irrepressible gaiety of the Burmese people a fertile soil, and it let its roots deep into the soil, and soon from occupational songs music developed into an art-form which finally invaded the towns, the capital, and the royal palace. There it received fresh impetus from a system of competitive patronage in which the king himself joined with his own band. There also, apparently, it received its classical nomenclature. Names which sound imposing enough—သရ။မုစ္ဆနာ။ဂါမ။သုတိ။, etc. *Svara*, *Mūrchchhanā*, *Grāma*, *Śruti*, etc.—but meant for quite different things, must have been borrowed in their entirety for the sake of their classical origin, so that the names were not in accordance with what they stood for, even as the Greek names, by which the Western ecclesiastical modes were distinguished, were not in accordance with those of the ancient Greek octave system from which the names were taken. Thus it seems Burmese musical theory in the classical manner is a grafted dignity which dignifies but does not apply. Indeed it seems yet to be written.

However, to go on with Mariano: "Pure Burmese melodies are beautiful in themselves. But on account of the preponderance of grace-notes (mordente, occaciatura, appoggiatura) Europeans find it difficult to catch Burmese tunes." This is very true, but not true

[1] U Ba Cho told me that this was not true. This class of songs used to be played as exercises in learning the Burmese harp, when the pupil begins to pluck simultaneously certain strings (ကြိုး *kyo*).

enough. Ornament in Burmese music does something more than preponderate. They themselves are an inherent part of the tunes. That is why when a Burmese song is taken down by a Western musician and reproduced, the ornaments having been unappreciated and eschewed, the "tune" that remains no longer sounds Burmese. Fox Strangways explains succinctly: "We think of grace-notes as something which may but need not be added to the note, not as something actually inherent in it. If cultivated for their own sake or used at all in excess they are regarded by us as meretricious . . . Indian 'grace' is different in kind. There never is the least suggestion of anything having been 'added' to the note which is graced. The note with the grace makes one utterance. The object of grace is, of course, to add importance to the particular note, but there are such varying degrees in which this may be done that the whole system of *gamak*, the general term for the thing, becomes an elaborate vehicle of light and shade. It brings the notes of a melody, as surely as the various light and shade of a picture brings the contours of the face, from the flat into the round; which again is precisely what harmony does for them, by assigning to the successive notes varying degrees of consonance. There is an obvious reason for grace-notes wherever there is no harmony. For a melody is a sentence with important 'words' and unimportant, and grace-notes and harmonic texture are the only two things that can always be applied to enhance this importance. For stress and quantity, which serve this purpose in verse, are not so well adapted to music. Stress, which is additional volume, is difficult to achieve with low notes; and quantity, which is additional duration, alters the melody itself, imposing on it from without something which should come from within."

Although Burmese grace may not be so elaborate or systematized as the Indian *gamak*, much of the above quotation equally applies to Burmese music. Much will have to be pointed out in notation when I deal with the problem of the "writing" of Burmese music. Mr. Mariano concludes: "It is a matter for great regret that the beautiful music which the Burmans unquestionably possess is being forgotten. The modern tendency is to imitate European and Indian themes, and the time is not distant when genuine Burmese music will be a thing of the past."

He wrote that forty years ago. Nowadays, the gramophone record business has encouraged wholesale filching of jazz tunes, first divested of harmony and then re-dressed in an imitation of it, with Burmese

words making ungainly efforts to step along side by side with the wholly unsuitable Western tunes.

It is a matter for rejoicing that a state school of fine arts has come into being. How much more rejoicing there would be in the hearts of lovers of true Burmese music if the Government, instead of merely opening a class for teaching how to play certain musical instruments, had seized upon the means of saving real Burmese music from oblivion. The implacability of business so far as gramophone records are concerned, the rapid deterioration of public taste pandered to by radio and gramophone, the invasion of Western instruments and instrumentation, the ephemeral catchiness of jazz tunes—who but the Government can save Burmese music from the combined assault of these powerful forces ? The enterprise of U San Win and his circle of devotees to Burmese classical music in Mandalay takes on the heroism of Leonidas and his band holding the Persian hosts at Thermopylæ.

True Burmese music nowadays resides only in the memory of such Burmese musicians. And they are now old men mostly. Their music should be recorded. They should be organized into a state orchestra and paid to broadcast selections from the classics at least twice a week. Their instruments should be measured ; a standard pitch and a standard scale should be fixed ; and one complete set of Burmese musical instruments should be maintained and kept correctly in tune for purposes of research. The notation of the authentic ground patterns of Burmese classical songs should be undertaken. As an urgent preliminary measure U San Win should be subsidized to carry out his notation of the classics in his own style, so that no important classical tune shall be lost for ever.

There remains the question of Burmese musical time. Both Mr. Mariano and Paul Edmonds wrote with enthusiasm on the strictness with which Burmese musicians kept time. Very few among Burmans do not know how to keep the tiny bell (*si* စည်း) and clapper (*wa* ဝါး) going correctly when music is playing. A foot or a hand of listeners and players alike may often be seen beating time. That may be partly because we as a race find it impossible to hear music with stolid immobility. Partly, however, it is because our language is not accentual but tonal.

Rhythm in a language such as English is largely dependent upon

differences of emphasis or accent upon the syllables in a word and the words in a sentence. Differences of emphasis or accent do occur in Burmese, but not to the same extent; consequently emphasis or accent is not used very much, if at all, in the composition of Burmese verse.

Burmese verse depends rather upon the schematic arrangement of words with certain sounds recurring at fixed points. That is, Burmese verse has rhyme, but it has little or no accentual rhythm. On the other hand, timing, especially such as depends upon the number of syllables pronounced in a given period, and cæsuras that mark the period are of greater importance in Burmese than in English. In Burmese singing the cæsuras are even more important than the sets of syllables or words in each measure. See the rests on the first beat of measures one to eight (Example 11. Voice). The singer keeps time with a pair of tiny bells (*si*) and a small clapper (*wa*) in his hand. The "clap" coincides with each of the rests mentioned till the final note of the section, when it coincides with the tonic.

Simple duple or simple quadruple is the usual time. In the duple the bell (O) and the clapper (X) go alternately. In the quadruple there is a rest (–) on one or the other of the middle beats. Thus :—

X – O O or X O O –

No great importance is attached to the variation. In one and the same piece of music the quadruple may sometimes change into the duple, or become faster or slower in accordance with the needs of the particular piece of music. But never must a musician get out of rhythmic time.[1]

So far as I am aware, compound time does not seem to be used at all in music, though I detect signs of it in the congregational chanting of certain quasi-religious verses which used to be the rage among young Burmese ladies when Myawadi Phongyi was at the height of his singular career about eighteen years ago.[2]

[1] He is not *dead* in time like jazz players. He is in time because he feels in time. There is much give and take in his conception of time. One thinks of Tempo Rubato but for its implications of virtuosity.

[2] A Burmese novel by Thein Pe called *Tet Phongyi* တတ်ဘုန်းကြီး describes the career of a choir-leader-cum-preacher phongyi not meant to be Myawadi, I hope.

BAW LE

စိန်ခြူး ကြာညောင် (အစချီ) ဘောလယ် လှိုင်ထိပ်ခေါင်တင်

Example 11.

Adagio. (♩ = 42)

Voice

Instr.

စိန် ခြူး ကြာ ညောင် ကြာ ညောင် လ ရောင် လင်း ပါ လို

မှန့် ရွှေ ပြူ တင်း ရယ် က မယ် ခု မျှော်

သုံး ချက် စည် တော် စည် တော် အော် သုံး ချက် စည် တော် စည် တော်

sotto voce

ရိုက် ဆေါ် ကာ ညွှင်း တယ် လေး . . . . . လင်း ပြန့် ခု

rit.

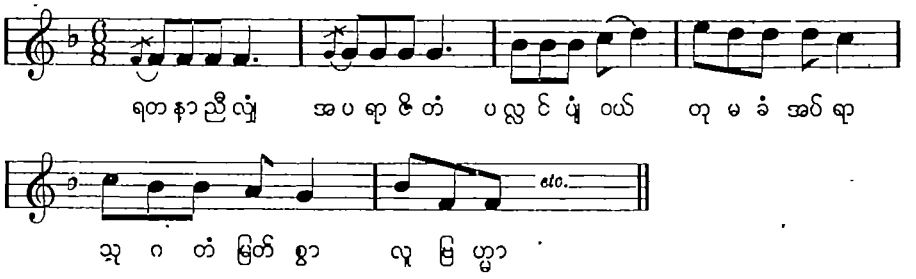
နော်

etc.

I give in Example 12 what I can remember of the verses I used to chant as the only boy among a sort of choir of young ladies. This particular verse pays homage to Buddha. But young ladies used to pay homage to his reverence too, kneeling down and singing his praise and wishing him long life, etc., in his own verses under his reverence's nose.

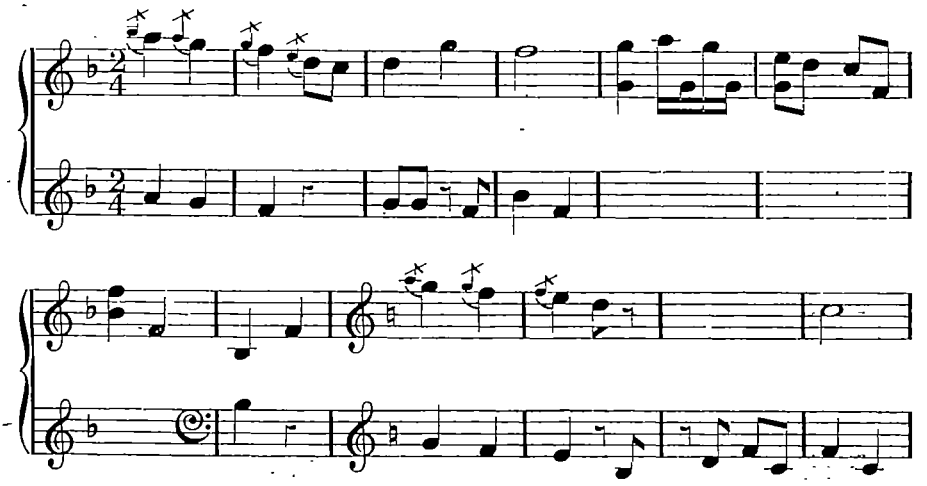
An article on Burmese music would not be complete without a notated specimen of a Burmese song. Example 11 is what I consider to be the most expedient way of writing Burmese music in Western notation. Having no regular system of harmony or counterpoint, the instrumental accompaniment to Burmese songs means something

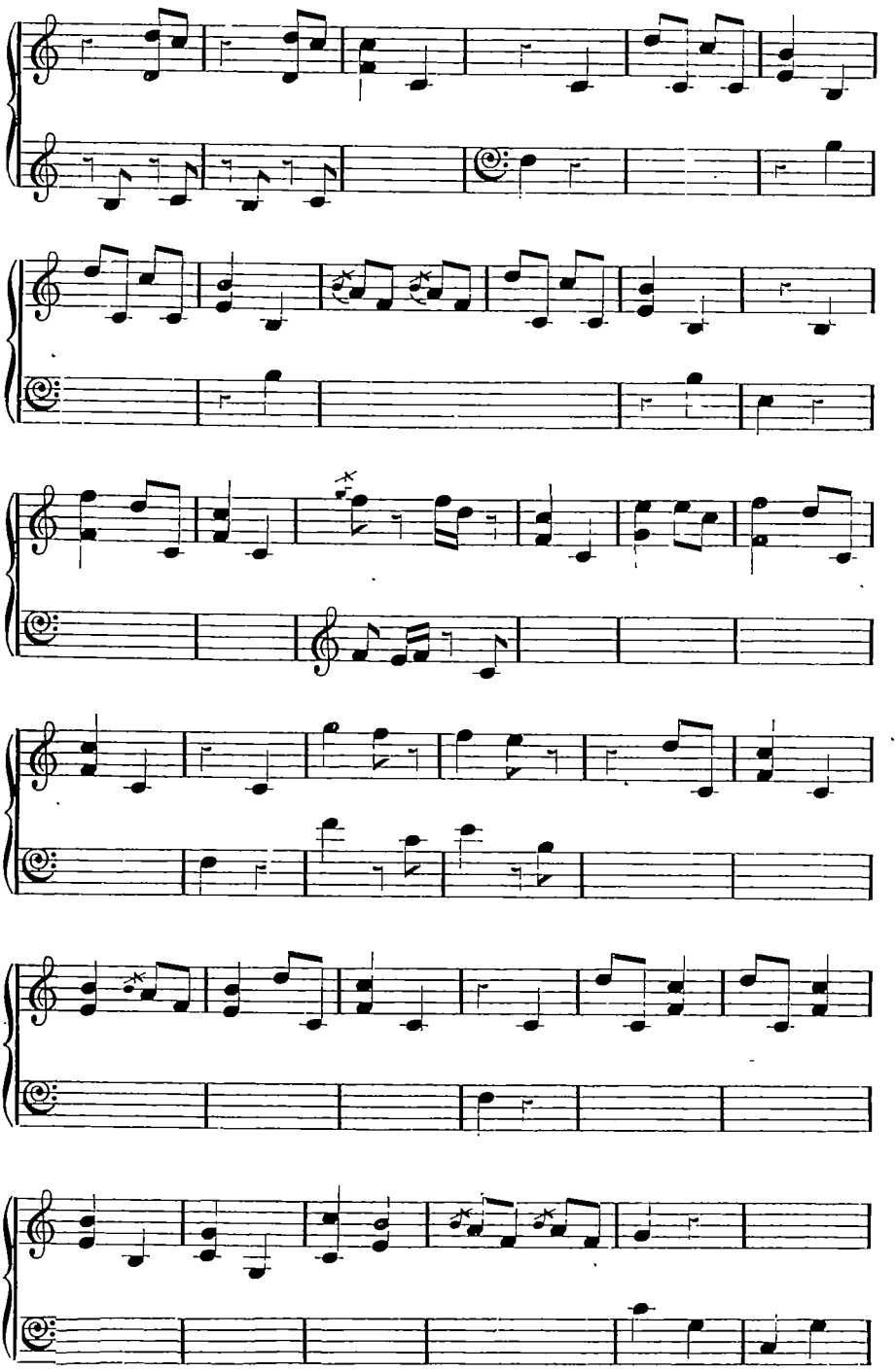
Example 12.



Example 13.

Specimen *kyo* ဝေဘာဂီရိ notated for *Pattala* or Piano (transcribed from U San Win; Burmese music notes).





entirely different from what it means in the west. The instrument accompanies the voice with variations of the same tune liberally embellished. After each section the instrument plays a bar of interlude (*ataw* အတော) either to emphasize the close by repetition or link it with the next section. In Example 11, so far as the voice is concerned, the section ends with its last note (the tonic in bar nine). But the instrument postpones this final tonic for yet another bar, playing the interlude which ends with that tonic just the same.

The "instrument" may be any instrument. A monophonic instrument will serve the purpose of notation better; for it will need only a single stave and thus provide a clearer and parallel reading. Anyway, a bass clef and treble clef for Burmese instruments requiring two-handed playing will only mislead the reader (*see* Example 13). As I have pointed out, the division into left-hand and right-hand is only of labour, not of melody and bass. A Western notation of Burmese music will therefore be read horizontally, not from bottom to top.

Lastly it will be noticed that although the key is C-major, the Fourth (F) is generally sharp in this tune. It may be thought that F-sharp is used in order to approximate this note to the half-sharp F of the Burmese musical instruments. Not so. When playing other Burmese songs in C-major it is not found so often imperative that F-sharp be used instead of F-natural. If there *is* a second Burmese scale, such a scale as Mr. Mariano suspects to be a sort of minor, I believe this scale with the sharpened Fourth to be it. In the key of C with F-sharp the *bawlè* ဘောလယ် is played. In the key of F with B-natural the *dein-than* ဒိန်းသံ is played. It remains to be discovered what other tunes are played in this interesting scale.

I call attention to the quaver rest in bar eight of Example 11, vocal part. This rest is of supreme importance in the *bawlè*. Without this rest there can be no intake of the singer's breath; without that intake there can be no sighing-out of the last notes of each section; without such sighing-out the *bawlè*, which after all is a tuneful plaint, will be plaintive no longer, *bawlè* no longer.

Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī on Finance

By M. Minovi and V. Minorsky [1]

PART I

A. Foreword

THE text of this tract is based on two MSS., which I call *O* (old) and *M* (modern). The first, written in a "Tarassul" [2] hand of the ninth (fifteenth) century, is defective at both ends and lacks one folio between fols. 1 and 2; the second, in a modern hand, was copied from a copy made by Muḥammad Ḥusain-i Garakānī (Shams al-'Ulamā), who claims to have transcribed it, with corrections, "from a MS. of mixed contents written in a *ta'līq* hand in the ninth century A.H." This reference probably belongs to *O*, for, after I had acquired *M*, I bought the original fragment of five leaves among the books which had belonged to the late Shams al-'Ulamā. The page before fol. 1 and the one after fol. 5 of the fragment must have remained in the original collection, but what happened to the missing folio I cannot say. Instead of the titles and divisions written in the original in red ink, a more adequate system of paragraphs has been introduced into the text.

I dedicate this "edition" to my friend Professor Jan Rypka, of Prague, as a token of respect and sympathy. I had offered both my copies to him and requested him to edit the text himself, but he sent them back to London in June, 1939.

M. M.

March, 1940.

B. Persian Text

[3]بسم الله الرّحمن الرّحيم

§1 پادشاه جهان، مادّهٔ امن و امان، از مولانا اعظم، استاد البشر، افضل المتقدّمين والمتأخّرين، نصير الحقّ والدّين، حجّة الإسلام والمسلمين، محمّد بن محمّد الطّوسى، قدّس اللّه روحه

[1] In the present article M. Minovi is responsible for Part I and V. Minorsky for Part II.

[2] This is a popular term to designate the *ta'līq* script of Persian calligraphers.

[3] This part between the square brackets is based on M only.

العزیز، درخواست کرده‌است که آنچه راه‌و رسم پادشاهان قدیم بوده دران ولایتها که عالم آبادان داشته‌اند و لشکر و رعیّت‌را آسوده برجای[1] بنویس‌و بر ما عرضه دار، بحکم اشارت نافذ این فصل تقریر فرمود،

§ 2 بسبب آنکه پادشاهان ختای چون[2] ملکهای قدیم داشته‌اند، از هزار سال‌و کم‌و بیش، و ولایتهای بزرگی‌را داشته‌اند[3]، رسم‌و آیین ایشان یکی بوده‌است، وهمیشه برقرار مانده، امّا ولایتهای عجم چون پادشاهان زودبزود مبدّل میشوند وشده، و ولایتهای خُرد میداشته اند، رسمهای ایشان دیگرگون میشده، و هرولایتی‌را قاعده‌ای بوده،

§ 3 فصل، امّا آنچه پادشاهان قدیم‌و دانایان ولایتها گفته‌اند، [1r. و رسم ایشان بوده، اینست که نوشته میشود، گفته‌اند که بنیاد پادشاهی بر دو چیز است، یکی شمشیر و دیگر قلم، و شمشیر در دست سپاهیان باشد، و قلم در دست نویسندگان، و مردم سپاهی‌را چهار شرط باشد، اوّل آنکه بایکدیگر متّفق باشند، دوم با پادشاه یکدل، سوم آنکه جز بفرمان پادشاه کار نکنند، چهارم آنکه مردان کار باشند، وادب سلاح آموخته، وهرکس که درُو این چهار

[1] Probably برجاي.

[2] The word is either superfluous, or mis-written for وختن.

[3] M داشته‌که.

شرط نبُوَد لشکررا نشاید، و اگر در میان لشکر درآید لشکررا بفساد آورد، و پادشاه باید که با لشکر چهار شرط رعایت کند، اوّل آنکه ایشانرا بعلوفه‌و جامه‌و سلاح‌و چهارپای بازماندگی نباشد، دوم آنکه بزرگانرا بجای بزرگ، و خُردانرا بجای [خُرد] بداند[1]، سوم آنکه بهادرانرا که خدمت بهتر کنند بزندگانی بهتر دارد، و پس ازمُردنْ فرزندانِ ایشان [را] غمخوارگی نماید[2]، چهارم غنیمت که از یاغی باغی گیرند براستی 1 v. بایشان دهند، چنانکه بعدازین گفته شود، و فایدهٔ لشکر چهار چیزاست، اوّل قوّت‌و هیبت‌و شکوه پادشاه، دوم دفع یاغیان، سوم امن داشتن رعایا، چهارم پاک داشتن راهها از دزدان، و علفخوارها از جانوران درنده[3]، وچون پادشاهی‌را یاغی باشد باید که رعایت چهار چیز کند، اوّل آنکه اگر قوّت جنگ ندارد صلح کند، وطلبِ صلح أولی، دوم آنکه اگر جنگ کند تدبیرحرب‌و مردمان‌و جای‌و وقتُ موافقِ[4] تعبیهٔ نیکو کند، سوم آنکه اندیشهٔ بد نکند تانیک پیش آید، و اگر یاغی غلبه کند اندیشهٔ تدارک آن کرده باشد، و احتیاط[5] زن‌و فرزند خود و لشکر، و خزانه‌و بُنه‌و رعیّت بجا آورده باشد، چهارم آنکه[6] بر یاغی غلبه کند مغرور نشود، وتعجیل نکند، و از سر

[1] One would expect بدارد. [2] O. نمایند. [3] O. درنده.
[4] Both MSS. موافق‌و. [5] O. wrongly اختیار. [6] M adds اگر.

احتیاط و عقل و عدل و فکر و رویّت کارها تمام کند، و اگر پادشاهی‌را یاغی نباشد چهار چیز نگاه دارد، اوّل آنکه لشکررا همچنان ساخته میدارد که هنگام جنگ، [[1] دوم آنکه از پدید آمدن یاغی ناگاه غافل نباشد، سوم آنکه دشمن خُرد را خُرد ندارد، چهارم آنکه اطراف مُلک‌را از مرد و سلاح خالی نگذارد، این همه سخنها تعلّق بشمشیر دارد، 4 § وامّا قلم دردست چهار قوم باشد اوّل اهل دین، دوم اهل علمهای باریك، چون حکمت و نجوم و طبّ، سوم کسانی که کارهای بزرگ میسازند، چون وزیران و یارغوچیان [2] و نویسندگان که سخن پادشاه بایل و یاغی رسانند و نویسند، چهارم کسانی که حاصل دخل و خرج نگاه دارند، و فایدهٔ قلم چهار است، اوّل راه خدای تعالی در میان خلق نگاه دارد تا دیگرگون نشود، دوم خبرهای پوشیده را آشکارا کند، سوم سخنهایی‌را یاد دهد تا فراموش نشود، چهارم آنکه راستی در میان مردم نگاه دارد،

5 § ودخل پادشاه از چهار موضع بُوَد اوّل از میراث گذشتگان، دوم از مال رعیّت، سوم از کفایت خود، چهارم از عطای خدای تبارك و تعالی، ومال پادشاه دونوع بُوَد اوّل خاصّهٔ او، دوم مال مصالح پادشاهی، امّا آنچه از گذشتگان بُوَد،

[1] Based on M only. [2] MS. یاغورچیان.

مثل پدران و برادران، که باو رسد، خاصّهٔ پادشاه بُوَد، وامّا آنچه از رعیّت ستاند ازچهار قوم باشد، اهل زراعت، واهل تجارت، وچهار پای داران، و از طیّارات، وآنچه از مملکت پادشاهان یابد مال پادشاه بُوَد، 6 § وامّا آنچه از رعیّت ستاند اگر اهل زراعت بُوَد، یا توانگر باشد یا درویش، وآنجا که کشت کنند یا باغ باشد، یا آب وزمین نیکو بُوَد، باید که اگر توانگر وجای نیك باشد از ده یکی بدهد، وآنرا عُشر گویند، واگرجای بد بُوَد ومرد درویش از بیست یکی، و نصف عُشر گویند، و درویشانرا علوفه وخرج از سر بنهند، آنچه بر سر آمد ازده یکی، یا از[1] بیست یکی بدهند، و اگر بر سر نیاید هیچ ندهند، و رسم قدیم آن بوده است، بعد ازان چون ولایتها بسیار شده است قسمت دشوار شده، و باید رعیّت‌را آنچه بوده است تا ده‌یك بیرون نکنند تصرّف نتوانند کرد، پادشاهان عادل منصف فرموده‌اند تا دخل زمینها و باغهارا حساب برگرفته 2 r. اند، درسالی بهتر ودر سالی میانه و در سالی بد، که چند باشد، و ده یك یا بیست [یك] چه رسد، وبهای آن نه گران ونه ارزان چند حصّه هر سال باز کرده اند[2] براستی معیّن، و بدان زمینها وباغها نوشته اند[3] وازان[4] خراج خواهند[5]، و اگر زمین هرسال

[1] MS. یکی باز. [2] = افتتاح. [3] O. نوشته‌بی. [4] O. وارآ — M وآنرا.
[5] O. خواهندبی.

نکارند، و باغ هرسال میوه ندهد، خراج آن نستانند، و بحکم
لیسَ عَلی الخرابِ خراجٌ عمل نمایند، و بهرچند سال زمینها و
باغها باز بینند، اگر آبادان خراب شده باشد خراج بیفگنند[1]،
و اگر خراب معمور[2] باشد بردو قسم است، خراب قدیم، که
یك قرن که عبارت از سی سال باشد، سه سال مرفوع القلم
دانند، و چیزی نستانند، و بعدازان نصفی خراج تا ده سال مقرّر
دانند[3]، تا درآبادانی مستمّر باشند[4]، و برغبت مردم باشد، واگر
دران نزدیک خراب بوده باشد و عمارت کنند ملاحظه در
واجب خراج او کنند، واگر زمین باغ شود، و باغ زمین،
بقدرآن طلبند براستی، نه کم ونه بیش، § 7 و زمینهاو باغها که
پادشاهان قدیم خراج ننهاده اند[5] بسببی از اسباب، 2 v. آنرا حُرّ[6]
خوانند، وبهای آن زمین گرانتر بود، و کسانی باشند[7] که خراج
ایشان بیفگنده باشند، وآنرا بعضی بلاد اسقاط خوانند و بعضی
موضوع، [8] و کسانی باشند که زری معیّن ایشان[را] ادرار کرده
باشند[9]، و در وجه خراج ایشان رانند، یا جهت معیشت بایشان دهند،
واین هرسه، یعنی حُرّ و اسقاطو ادرار، بمیراث برفته باشند،
وبیکدیگر فروخته باشند، و ازحساب مال و دستگاه مردم باشد،

[1] O. نیفکنند. [2] M adds شده. [3] One would expect دارند, as in M.
[4] O. باشبه. [5] O. ننهاده‌ی. [6] O. حز. [7] O. باشد.
[8] The sentence وکسانی . . . : اسقاط خوانند is here repeated in O.
[9] O. repeats که زری معیّن آنست ادرار کرده باشند.

آن‌را بهیچ وقت باطل نکنند، و یاسای بزرگ چنگیزخان همچنانست که آن‌را مقرّر دانند، تا مال مردم کم نشود، 8§ و خراج ولایتهارا قانونها باشد در هر ولایتی، که بدان کار کنند، و بهر موضع نوعی باشد که لایق آن ولایت باشد، و این مال جهت مصالح پادشاهی شناسند، 9§ وامّا اهل مال و تجارت در بیشتر اوقات ازیشان چیزی نخواسته‌اند[1]، الاّ آنکه گفته‌اند از اصل مال 3 r چیزی بپادشاه بدهند، چنانکه از دویست و چهل دینار یک دینار گرفته‌اند، وآن‌را مال طمغا مقرّر کرده‌اند[2]، و بعداز زمان چنگیزخان بتمغا مشهور شده، 10§ وامّا از چهارپای، و ازان هم در قدیم چیزی نگرفته‌اند، بعد ازان هر چهارپایی که زاینده بُوَد [و] بصحرا چرانند ازصد یکی گرفته اند[3]، و از آنچه کمتر بود زر گرفته‌اند[4] بهمان نسبت، وآنرا مراعی خوانند، و بعدازان ازپنجاه یکی گرفته‌اند[5]، و بهر موضعی و جایی نوعی دیگر گرفته‌اند همهٔ جهات مال پادشاهی را، 11§ وامّا طیّارات[6] چهار قسم [است]، اوّل مالی که اورا هیچ میراث خوار نبود، دوم کسی که مال پادشاه خورده باشد، سوم بلارغو و چیزهای گم شده، چهارم غایبانهٔ کسی که مرگ و زیست آن شخص معلوم نباشد و اورا وارث نبود، وآن هردو چون خداوند مال بازآید عوض مال او باز دهند،

[1] O. نخواسته‌بی. [2] O. کرده‌بی. [3] O. کرفته‌بی. [4] O. کرفته‌تا. [5] O. کرفته‌نی. [6] O. طیّارا.

و این همه مصالح پادشاهی باشد ، 12 § و امّا آنچه از یاغیان و دشمنان مُلك باشد دو نوع باشد ، نوع اوّل آنك لشکر گرد کند از اسیرو چهارپای و سلاح ومال ، از آنچه بهادران .v 3 ببهادری گرفته باشند بایشان دهند ، از باقی پنج یك ازان پادشاه جهان حاجت بردارد ، باقی بلشکر قسمت کند ، سواررا دو دهد و پیاده[1] رایکی ، دوم آنچه لشکر یافته باشد مانند آب و زمین و چهارپای و مال که در ولایت باشد ، وآن از حساب مال پادشاهی بود ، 13 § وامّا آنچه [از] کفایت حاصل کند چهارنوع باشد ، اوّل از آبادان کردن جایها بود که آبادان نبوده باشد ، یا آنچه خراب شده بعد از آنکه حقّ مالکان بدهند ، دوم آنچه از کانهاي زرو سیم و مروارید و آهن و دیگرکانها برآید ، سوم آنچه از کارخانها واوران(؟) و ارتاقان و ملکهای زرخریده حاصل شود ، چهارم آنچه از صید دریا و بیابان بپادشاه رسیده باشد ، این جمله خاصّهٔ پادشاه باشد ، واین جمله رسم پادشاهان گذشته است ، 14 § و درین روزگار نزدیك بعضی مالهای دیگر افزوده بودند ، وآن هم چهار قسمست ، قسم اوّل فرعهایی که از مالهای ده یازده و ده دوازده میستده اند از جهت مرسوم کارکنان ، .r 4 قسم دوم مالی که از اوزان یا از خراباتها میستدند ، قسم سوم مالی که از قباله دادن بعضی حرفتها

[1] O. باد .

زیادت میکردند، قسم چهارم مالی که از میراث کسانی که خویشان
دور داشته میگرفتند، و آن معنی پادشاه جهان چنگیز خان و ازوغ
او پسندیده نداشته‌اند[1]، § 15 و پادشاهان بزرگ از چهار مال
ننگ داشته‌اند[2] اوّل از گرفتن باج و بدرقهٔ راهها و کشتیها، دوم
آنچه از تباه کردن زرو سیم حاصل کنند، سوم خریدن آنچه
مردم بدان محتاج باشند و باز فروخت کردن، چهارم آنکه[3] مالی
که بسبب گناهها از مردم ستانند، چون کشتن و زدن و خمرخوردن،
§ 16 و از مردم بر سرهای ایشان چیزی نگرفتندی،
و این در مسلمانی گرفته‌اند و در پیش ازان نگرفته‌اند[4]، وآن
قوبجور که اکنون بحکم یاسای بزرگ میستانند نستدندی، و اکنون
هم بحکم یاسق از پنج کس[5] نمیگیرند، اوّل از مردم طرخان
که پادشاه ایشانرا طرخان کرده باشد چون دانشمند[ان]
و ارکاون[6]، دوم از پیران، سوم v. 4 از رنجوران و معلولان،
چهارم از درویشان، پنجم از کودکان، و در قدیم مردمانی که[7]
برزیگری و بازرگانی و اوانی(؟) و کار دیگر نکردندی چون
جلد و جوان[8] بودندی بی کار نگذاشتندی، § 17 وامّا آن مال
که از بخت و روزی یابند چهار بُوَد، اوّل آنچه اوّل[9] رسیده است

[1] O. نداشته‌ی. [2] O. داشته‌ی. [3] Probably spurious.
[4] O. نگرفته‌ی. [5] O. هیچکس. [6] Spelt: اکارون.
[7] MSS. مردمان که. [8] O. خلد وخوان. [9] Probably spurious.

از کسانی که مال خویش بپادشاه بخشیده باشند، دوم گنجهایی باشد که ناگاه یابند، سوم پیشکش و تحفه وهدیّه باشد که بخدمتی آورند، چهارم آنچه پادشاهی دیگر فرستد،

§ 18 سخن درخرج پادشاه، پادشاه‌را از دو گونه خرج باشد، اوّل خرج خاصّهٔ خود، وآن از مال خاصّهٔ خود کند که آن‌را جدا دارد، و بامال پادشاهی در نیامیزد، و آن میراث پدران باشد، وپنج یك[1] غنیمتها، وآنچه بکفایت بدست آید، یا ببخت و روزی باو رسد، یا بنوعی دیگر خاصّ باو، و آن درچهار وجه صرف کند، اوّل خرج خاصّهٔ خودو فرزندان، دوم عطا و بخشش کسانی که اورا خدمتی کنند، سوم ساختن تجمّلها و زینتها، چهارم عمارتها که ضرورت بُوَد از آرزوهایی که دل او[2]، § 19 وامّا مصالح پادشاهی در [چهار] وجه صرف کنند، اوّل خرج لشکر و کسانی که کار پادشاه کنند، چون نویسندگان و یارغوچیان و نائبان، تا در مال پادشاه تصرّف نکنند، و رشوت نستانند، و روی ذلّ نبینند، و از مردم چیزی نخواهند، وبر مال پادشاه بشفقت باشند، دوم خرج ایلچیان و آیندگان و شوندگان، سوم خرج بازماندگان و درویشان و کودکان بی پدر و زنان بی شوهر و مصلحت شهرها و ولایتها، چهارم نهادن یام، ودرقدیم برید[3]

[1] O. هیچ یك . [2] A verb is necessary, such as خواهد, or should be اوراست .

[3] O. بریده .

بوده است در راهها برهرچهار فرسنگ ایستاده تا کیسه برزمین ننهند[1]، شب‌را و روزرا بکوبند[2] تا بجایگاه برسانند، ومردم بسیار که از جایی بجایی شدندی تا بحضرت پادشاهی v. 5 بر چهار پایان از مال پادشاهی [شدندی]، که بهرشهر و محلّه آماده بودی، ورعیّت را زحمت الاغ نبودی، § 20 وپادشاه در چهار مال تصرّف نکردی، اوّل معیشتهاء اهل خیر که دیگر پادشاهان داده بودندی، دوم مال یتیمان، سوم مال یاغیان[3] که امید مراجعت ایشان باشد، و امانتهای مردم، چهارم مال وقف، و وقف جهت خیرات کرده‌اند، پادشاهان آن را بفال نیك نداشتندی وفرمودندی تا ازان معتمدی برخبر باشد تا چنانچه[4] وقف کرده‌اند دران خیرات صرف کنند، و بموجب شرط واقف بمصرف استحقاق رسانند، و آنچه مصرف باطل یا کم شده بودی، وبآن رسانیدن ممکن نه، در وجه درویشان و باز ماندگان یاچیزهای[5] دیگر، مثل پول و رباط وعلاج رنجوران ودیگر مصلحتها، صرف کنند، ونگذاشتندی که هرکس بی راه تصرّف کند، تاثواب آن ایشان را مدّخر باشد، اینست خرجها[6]، وشرح هریك بتطویل می انجامد، اگر فرمان شود آن شرح نیز نموده گردد،

[1] O. ننهد. [2] O. نکوبند.
[3] Thus in MSS., but probably غایبان must be read. [4] Stands for چنانکه.
[5] O. تاخیرهای. [6] O. سرحها.

§ 21 وپیش ازین پادشاهان برین قاعده میرفته‌اند، لاجرم [1]مردم ایشان از رعیّت و لشکر مرفّه و معمور بوده است، ونام نیکو از ایشان مانده، وخرج از دخل کمتر مقرّر میکرده‌اند، وخزانهای پُر مال وگنجها جهت ذخیرهٔ روزگار و دفع دشمن مینهادند، ایزد تعالی ایّام سلطنت پادشاه بردوام دارد، وبندگان در ظلّ او مرفّه گرداند، بحقّ محمّد وآله اجمعین، الخ .

PART II

I. Introduction
II. Translation
III. The system of taxation
IV. Some technical terms

I. Introduction

In the opening paragraph of the document discovered by M. Minovi its authorship is attributed to the famous astronomer and philosopher Naṣīr al-Dīn of Tūs (b. 11 Jamādī i 597/18th February, 1201,[2] d. 18 Dhul-Ḥijja 672/26th June, 1274). The author's name is accompanied by epithets which would have been excessive on the author's own tongue. Such formulas were introduced by editors and scribes, and in themselves cannot invalidate the authenticity of the document.[3] The formula following Naṣīr al-Dīn's name clearly shows that the original copy of the Memorandum was prepared only after his death. There are other indirect considerations to support the attribution.

[1] This latter portion is based on M only.

[2] Strothman, Die *Zwölfer-Schī'iten*, 1926, p. 17.

[3] The *Naurūz-nāma*, ed. Minovi, 1933, is attributed to 'Omar Khayyām in a similar grandiloquent formula, while there are considerable doubts concerning this attribution, cf. Minorsky, *'Omar Khaiyām* in *EI.* (English edition), and F. Gabrieli in *Annali d. Istituto Orientale di Napoli*, viii, Giugno, 1939; on the other hand the *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk*, ed. J. Humā'ī, 1317, in spite of such an introduction, seems to belong to Ghazālī, for only one century after the latter's death the book was recognized by the translator into Arabic as Ghazālī's work.

The language of the document is characteristic of the Mongol epoch,[1] and contains numerous Turkish and Mongolian terms (*ūzān, b.lārghū, ārkāvūn*) which do not occur in later times. The concise form of the Memorandum tallies with Naṣīr al-Dīn's style in his other works.[2]

This brings us to the question of the identity of the "Universal Sovereign" to whom the memorandum was presented. The non-Islamic *pādshāh-i jahān* seems to echo some Mongolian title, probably *Dālāy-khān* "the Oceanic, i.e. Universal khan", although it could be used only as a term of politeness with regard to the īl-khān of Western lands who was under the suzerainty of the Great Qā'ān of Mongolia.[3] The Memorandum was destined to throw some light on the administration of "the Iranian provinces (*vilāyāt-i 'Ajam*)", and it would have been useful to Hūlāgū, coming as he was straight from Mongolia. On the other hand, Abāqā, too, on his accession to the throne, A.D. 1265, may have wished to possess a brief statement on the financial organization of his dominions. Very curious is the particular stress which the author lays on the appointment of a trusted person for the supervision of the vaqfs. It may specially point to the time of Abāqā Khān, during whose reign the versatile astronomer was appointed inspector of the pious endowments and died on an inspection tour in 'Irāq.

Naṣīr al-Dīn wrote on Islamic law (*fiqh*), dogmatics, philosophy, mysticism, mathematics, physics, astronomy, medicine, mineralogy, and auguries, but finance is not represented among the fifty-seven works which still go by his name.[4] It is probable that our document is one of the occasional reports *de omni re scibili* which the court sage had to supply at the beckoning of the king's finger. This explains the hurried style of the Memorandum and its abrupt, though natural, ending. Naṣīr al-Dīn reports on matters which needed no special

[1] See Naṣīr al-Dīn's record of the capture of Baghdād printed in the Appendix of Juvayni's *Jahān-gushā*, iii, 280–292: the title given to Hūlāgū, p. 280 (*pādshāh-i jahān, mādda-yi amn-u-amān*), is identical to that found in our document; p. 281, the use of the verbal particle *ba*: *tartīb bāyad kard va bi-firistād* can be compared with our *bi-rafta bāshand* and then *furūkhta bāshand*. The title of the Memorandum *Faṣl* is a favourite term with Naṣīr al-Dīn: one of his works is called *Fuṣūl*, and his *Auṣāf al-ashrāf*, ed. Tehran, 1306, is also subdivided into *faṣls*.

[2] M. Bāqir Majlisi, *Biḥār al-anwār*, xxv, i, p. 4, praises Nāṣir al-Dīn's *Fuṣūl*, which contains everything a student needs, "in spite of its unusual conciseness, reaching the limits of the permissible," quoted in Strothmann, op. cit., p. 57.

[3] Juvayni calls Möngke: *pādshāh-i jahān farmān* (i, 3), or *pādshāh-i jahān* (iii, 2).

[4] Brockelmann, *GAL.*, i, 508–9, Supplement, i, 925. But the historical memorandum on the capture of Baghdad is also missing in this list. A general characteristic of Naṣīr al-Dīn's theological and mystic works is found in Strothmann's book on the "Twelver Shī'a", pp. 51–81.

research; but some of his references to earlier times seem to reflect a knowledge of the *Tārīkh-i Jahān-gushā*, which was completed by 'Aṭā Malik Juvayni about 658/1260, and which contains important passages on the financial reforms of Möngke Khan.[1]

Naṣīr al-Dīn's Memorandum on Finance is a responsible and independent outline compiled by a shrewd contemporary. Even though the "mathematical" arrangement in which the taxes are presented in groups of four is artificial, the desire to systematize the facts is praiseworthy. The author lived at a time when the established foundations of Islamic civilization were revolutionized by the intrusion of entirely distinct principles and habits hailing from the Farther East. For obvious reasons, Naṣīr al-Dīn could not overtly take sides in the conflict of the two cultures, but his personal feelings, filtering as they do through his classification, form a particularly interesting feature of his survey. In any case the Memorandum is a welcome supplement to the sources on the economic conditions of Iran under Mongol dominion.[2] The subject has already been treated in several special works,[3] and for a general revision of the system of taxes one must wait for the publication of the remaining portion of Rashīd al-Dīn's work,[4] of Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh's *Dastūr al-kātib* and of the sources discovered in Turkish libraries by Professor A. Z. Validi. For the present it will suffice to translate and interpret Naṣīr al-Dīn's work.

[1] Both Naṣīr al-Dīn's and 'Aṭā Malik Juvayni were in Hūlāgū's suite in 655/1257, see Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, 264. Naṣīr al-Dīn dedicated his *Auṣāf al-ashrāf* to Juvayni's brother Shams al-Dīn. Cf. also a story reported by Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, ii, 187, quoted in the Preface to Juvayni, i, p. QKD.

[2] Juvayni, *Jahān-gushā*, ii, 256, 261, on qopchur; iii, 75–9 (= Rashīd al-Dīn, ii, 308–317, 340), on Möngke's institutions; Rashīd al-Dīn, iii (ed. Jahn), 263–8, etc., on Ghazan's reforms; Rashīd al-Dīn on *chao*, see Jahn, *Das iranische Papiergeld*, in *Archiv Orientální*, x (1938), Nos. 1–2; Vaṣṣāf, who was himself a financial agent, frequently speaks of taxation, ed. Bombay, 161, 405, 435, 441–5, etc.; Ḥamdullāh Mustaufi, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, gives passim very valuable data on assessment (analysed by Barthold, A. Z. Validi and Petrushevsky).

[3] Barthold, *Persidskaya nadpis na stene aniyskoy mecheti Manuche*, 1911, has analysed the terminology of a decree of īlkhān Abū Sa'īd. In his important article *Moğollar devrinde Anadolu'nun iktisadî vaziyeti*, Istanbul, 1930, 42 pp., A. Z. Validi has surveyed the sources on Mongol taxation. I. P. Petrushevsky's *Ḥamdallāh Qazvīnī kak istochnik . . . Vostochnago Zakavkazya, Izv.Ak.NaukSSSR.*, 1937, pp. 873–890, is a remarkable study of the economic structure of Āzarbāyjān and Transcaucasia in the fourteenth century. The new book by B. Spuler, *Die Mongolem in Iran*, 1939, according to the prospectus, contains a special chapter on taxation ("Steuerwesen", pp. 306–331).

[4] K. Jahn intends to publish this portion comprising the period of A.D. 1265–1291.

In order to facilitate the study of the Memorandum we have divided it into the following paragraphs :—

A. *Introduction.* § 1. The origin of the treatise. § 2. Causes of the variety of administration in western lands. General principles of administration, as referring to : § 3. Men of the Sword, and § 4. Men of the Pen.

B. *Royal Revenue.* § 5. Its sources. Private and state revenue. Various taxes : § 6. Taxes on land and their rates. Survey of lands. Evaluation of taxes in cash. Lands lying fallow. § 7. Immunities. § 8. Provincial cadastre (*qānūn*). § 9. Taxes on capitalists and merchants. § 10. Taxes on animals. § 11. Casual revenue. § 12. Booty. § 13. Revenue from *kafāyat*. § 14. Additional levies. § 15. Illicit levies. § 16. Novelties : poll-tax, qopchur. § 17. Revenue from good luck.

C. *Royal Expenditure.* § 18. From the khāṣṣa. § 19. For the needs of the kingdom.

D. *Conclusion.* § 20. Exemptions. Vaqfs. § 21. Principles of economy.

II. Translation

A. *Introduction*

In the name of God, Clement and Merciful.

§ 1. The Universal Sovereign, the Mainstay of tranquillity and security, requested the Exalted Maulānā, Master of mankind, the most learned among the ancient and the modern, Naṣīr al-ḥaqq wal-dīn, the Proof ("paragon") of Islām and the Muslims, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī, may God hallow his beloved spirit—saying : "Put down in writing and submit to us the ways and regulations of the ancient kings in those provinces,[1] which (regulations) maintained the world in a flourishing state, and the army and the subjects in contentment and (good) order." In obedience to the puissant instruction (Naṣīr al-Dīn) drew up the following memorandum (*faṣl*).

§ 2. As the sovereigns of Khitāy [2] possessed ancient kingdoms (*mulk*) dating back a thousand years, more or less, and vast provinces (*vilāyat*), their habits and laws were one, and always remained in vigour. Meanwhile, in the Iranian provinces (*vilāyat-hā-yi 'Ajam*) the sovereigns

[1] Evidently in the western, non-Mongol provinces, which are referred to in the following paragraph.

[2] M. M. restores : "of Khitāy and Khotan" ? After all, *chūn* may be expletive, but should a restoration be necessary, one would suggest : "of Khitāy and China (*Chīn* instead of *chūn*)." Khitāy stands for Northern China, and Chīn (*Mahā-Chīn* > *Māchīn*) would refer to the southern territories of the Sung kingdom, usually called in Persian sources Manzī.

often changed—as is still the case now—and as they had small provinces, their customs used to undergo alterations, and each province had a special rule.

§ 3. Memorandum (*faṣl*).[1] What the ancient sovereigns and the sages of the provinces said [f. 1r.][2] and what their customs were, is as follows. They said that the foundations of the kingship depend on two things, viz. the Sword and the Pen, of which the former is in the hand of the military, and the latter in the hand of the scribes.

Four qualifications are necessary for the military: (*a*) they should be in agreement with one another; and (*b*) of one heart with the king; (*c*) they should act only on the king's orders; (*d*) they should be warlike (*mardān-i kār*), and taught the wielding of arms (**ādāb-i silāḥ*). He who does not possess these four qualifications (*sharṭ*) is not suitable for the army; if he enters the army, he will disgrace it.

With regard to the army the king must observe four rules: (*a*) the military should not suffer from a deficiency in keep, equipment, arms, and (riding) animals; (*b*) the king should place the great in great places and the small in small places; (*c*) he should secure a better living to *bahādurs* ("knights") who render greater services, and after their death, show his sympathy to their children; (*d*) the booty taken from the enemy should be equitably [f. 1v.] assigned to them, as will be said hereafter (§ 12).

The utility of the army is fourfold: (*a*) for the King's might, majesty, and pomp; (*b*) the repelling of enemies; (*c*) the security of his subjects; (*d*) protection of roads from thieves, and of pastures from wild animals.

If the king has enemies, he must observe four points: (*a*) if he has no strength for war, he must make peace, and to sue for peace is preferable; (*b*) if he makes war, he must make dispositions for military operations, men, the place, and the time, in conformity with an appropriate plan; (*c*) he must not be apprehensive, so that things turn out well; should the enemy overpower him, he should have taken (necessary) measures and the (required) precautions for his wives and children, as well as for the army, treasury, baggage, and his subjects; (*d*) should he overpower the enemy, he must not be (too) elated and must not be precipitate, but complete the affair with caution, cleverness, justice, reasoning, and consideration (*raviyyat*).

[1] This division does not mean that the introductory § 2 does not belong to Naṣīr al-Dīn's memorandum.

[2] Here begins the extant part of the older copy.

Even though the king has no foe, he must observe four points: (*a*) he must keep the army as fit as in time of war; (*b*) he must not ignore (the possibility) of a sudden appearance of the foe; (*c*) he must not under-estimate a small foe; (*c*) he must not leave the marches of his kingdom bare of men and arms.

These words refer to the Sword.

§ 4. The Pen is in the hand of four classes of people: (*a*) divines; (*b*) scholars in such subtle sciences as philosophy, astronomy, and medicine; (*c*) men who perform important duties, such as vazirs, yārghūchis ("investigators, prosecutors"), scribes who transmit or commit to writing the words which the king addresses to friends [1] and enemies; (*d*) persons who keep the accounts (*ḥāṣil*) of income and expenditure.

The utility of the Pen is fourfold: (*a*) it maintains the path of the Almighty among the people, lest it suffer an alteration; (*b*) it renders covert news manifest; (*c*) it records (*yād-dihad*) words lest they be forgotten; (*d*) it maintains truthfulness among men.

[B. *Discourse on the Revenue of the King*]

§ 5. The Sovereign's revenue (*dakhl*) is from four sources: (A) from the heritage of those who have passed away; (B) from the taxes (*māl*) of the subjects (§§ 6, 9, 10, and 11); (C) from his own *kafāyat* ("lawful exertions") (§ 13); (D) from what is granted by the Almighty (§ 17).

The king's property (*māl*) is of two categories: (*a*) his personal property (*khāṣṣa*), and (*b*) the property destined for the needs of the kingdom (*māl-i maṣāliḥ-i pādshāhī*).

(A) What the kings receive from those who have passed away, such as their fathers and brothers, becomes their *khāṣṣa*.

(B) The levies collected from the subjects are of four classes [2] (coming as they are from): (*a*) agriculturists (§ 6); (*b*) merchants (§ 9); (*c*) cattle-breeders (§ 10); and (*d*) casual sources (*ṭayyārāt*) (§ 11). What the king conquers (*yābad*) from the kingdoms of (other) kings (*mamlakat-i pādshāhān*) becomes his property (*māl*).[3]

§ 6. (*a*) What the king levies from the subjects (*ra'iyyat*), in consideration of the people engaged in agriculture, (may apply) either to the wealthy (*tavāngar*) or to the poor (*darvīsh*), and, in consideration

[1] *Il*: "those with whom there is peace."

[2] *Qaum* means "people", but this meaning does not cover *ṭayyārāt*.

[3] This sentence seems to announce § 12, but it is badly formulated.

of the sown—either to a garden, or good irrigated land.[1] Should the (man) be wealthy and the soil good, he must give a tithe, called *'ushr*; should the soil be bad and the man poor, (the tax) is one-twentieth, which they call a half-tithe. Moreover (from the produce of) the poor, fodder (*'ulūfa*) and expenditure (*kharj*) should be deducted (*az sar bi-nihand*); from the surplus (*ān-chi az sar āmad*) they must pay $\frac{1}{10}$ or $\frac{1}{20}$; should there be no surplus, they must not pay anything. Such was the ancient custom; but when the number of provinces increased, the partition (of crops ?) (*qismat*) became difficult.[2] Moreover, the subjects cannot take possession (*taṣarruf*) of what they have (produced) before the tithe has been deducted from it.[3]

The just and equitable kings have ordained that income (*dakhl*) from lands and gardens should be estimated (*ḥisāb bar-girifta*) [f. 2r] in a good, middling, or bad year, and the amount of the tithe or half-tithe (for each of them fixed). In the beginning of each year, the average price (*baḥā*) [4] (of the produce from the tithes) was fixed in all exactness and (divided into) several instalments (*ḥiṣṣa*). [These sums] were fixed to the said lands and gardens, and (in this way) the *kharāj* is collected from them. If the land is not sown annually, and if the garden does not bring fruit annually, the *kharāj* is not levied and the procedure follows the principle "there is no kharāj on what is not cultivated (*kharāb*)". Every few years the lands and gardens are surveyed, and, if eventually cultivation has been replaced by non-cultivation, the *kharāj* is written off. If the fallow (*kharāb*) [5] (lands) have come under cultivation, the case is twofold: (*a*) if the abandonment of cultivation is ancient, dating from a *qarn*, i.e. a period of thirty years, the land is exempted [6] for three years, after which, for (another) ten years, the *kharāj* is fixed at half-rate, in order that the land should continue in cultivation (*ābādānī*), and that there should be an incentive for men. If the abandonment of cultivation has been of recent date (and then the land) has become cultivated,

[1] Literally: "either a garden, or good water-and-land."

[2] Meaning by this probably that the individual assessment had to be replaced by a pre-arranged system of survey. *Vide infra*, line 14.

[3] This circumstance is meant to indicate a further complication under the older system.

[4] i.e. the money equivalent ?

[5] *Vide infra* § 13, *kharāb*, "lying fallow," is distinguished from what from the beginning was *not* "cultivated" (*ābādān*).

[6] Lit.: "the pen is withdrawn from it." Cf. Minorsky, *Asoyūrghāl*, *BSOS.*, IX, 4, p. 933.

the sum due from it as *kharāj* shall be considered. If a piece of land (*zamīn*) has been converted into a garden, or vice versa, the request will be made in true proportion, without excess or diminution.

§ 7. The lands and gardens which for some reasons the ancient (previous) sovereigns had not assessed with *kharāj* [f. 2v] are called "free" (*ḥurr*), and their price (*bahā*) [1] is more elevated. There are also some people exempted from *kharāj*; this is called at some places *isqāṭ* and at some others *mauḍū'*. There are also some people to whom a definite sum of money (*zarī*) has been fixed as a stipend (*idrār*); (either) it is counted in payment of their *kharāj*, or some subsidy (*jihat-i ma'yishat*) is given to them. These three (privileges), i.e. ḥurr, isqāṭ, and idrār, are transmitted by heritage,[2] or (may be) ceded to others by sale; they are considered as a part of the man's property and establishment (*māl va dastgāh*) and are never abrogated (*bāṭil*). The Great Yasa of Chengiz Khān (requests) that this be maintained in order that the property (*māl*) of men should not decrease.[3]

§ 8. For the provincial *kharāj*, special registers (*qānūn*) are kept in each province, and in accordance with them action is taken. At each place (the *qānūn*) is such as to suit (the local conditions of) the province. These taxes (*māl*) are considered (as destined) for the needs of the kingdom (*jihat-i maṣāliḥ-i pādshāhī*).

§ 9. (*b*) As regards the capitalists (*ahl-i māl*) and merchants, for most of the time, nothing was demanded from them, except for what they were told to give to the king [f. 3r] from the capital itself (*aṣl-i māl*), so that 1 dinar out of 240 dinars used to be collected and this was called the ṭamghā levy (*māl-i ṭamghā*), and after Chengiz Khān's time it became known as *tamghā*.

§ 10. (*c*) In old times also nothing was collected from the animals (cf. § 16), but later from each (class of) animal capable of reproduction and grazing in the open (*ṣaḥrā*) [4] one out of one hundred was levied, while from smaller numbers money (*zar*) was collected in the same

[1] Here apparently "the sale price" is meant.

[2] Curious construction with verbal particle *ba-*: *ba-mirāth bi-rafta bāshand*. The translation is meant to express the probable distinction in the forms *bi-rafta* and *furūkha* (without *bi-*).

[3] The meaning is not very clear, but possibly the author's intention is to invoke the authority of Mongol Yasa for the support of the existing privileges.

[4] *Zāyanda*. Does it mean "of female sex", or "with the exclusion of the mules, which are incapable of reproduction"? Rashīd al-Dīn, iii, 3, refers to the qopchur levied on "horses, sheep, and cows". The second condition may reflect the stipulation of the Islamic *zakāt*, according to which the animals on which the tax is to be imposed must be "freely grazing" (*sā'ima*); Juynboll, 101.

proportion. This (levy) is called *marā'ī*. (Still) later, one out of fifty was levied.

And at each place and locality, all the items [1] of taxes [destined for the needs] of the kingdom were levied differently.[2]

§ 11. (*d*) The *ṭayyārāt* ("casual revenue") are of 4 classes: (α) property (*māl*) to which there are no heirs ("escheat"); (β) men [3] who have appropriated the king's property; (γ) *b.lārghū* (*bularghu* ?) and lost things [4]; (δ) **ghāyibāna* ("property of the absent"), i.e. of the men of whom it is not known whether they are alive or dead, while they have no heirs. These two (last kinds of property) are restored to the owner when he comes back, in return for the tax (due from him) (*'avaḍ-i māl* ?).[5]

These all are (levies destined) for the needs of the kingdom (*maṣāliḥ-i pādshāhī*).

§ 12. (ε) Whatever is taken from enemies (*yāghī*) and foes (*dushman*) of the kingdom is of two classes :—

(*aa*) Of (the booty) which the army has brought together, viz. of captives, animals, arms, and (movable ?) property (*māl*): whatever the *bahādurs* have taken [f. 3v] by their (personal) valour (*bahādurī*) is given to them; from the rest, one-fifth is levied by the Universal Sovereign for his needs (*vide suprà*, § 5B),[6] and the remainder is divided among the army, the horsemen and foot-soldiers receiving respectively in the proportion of two to one.[7]

(*bb*) What the army has conquered (*yāfta*) of waters, lands, and animals, and property in the (conquered) provinces goes to the account of the revenue (destined) for the kingdom (*māl-i pādshāhī*).[8]

[1] I restore **jihāt* instead of *jahān*.

[2] This sentence would better come at the end of § 11.

[3] Probably not the men themselves but their confiscated property (*muṣādara*).

[4] The "revenue" evidently came in only in case the property was not claimed. It is possible that the author couples in this paragraph the Mongolian *b.lārghū* with the Islamic *luqaṭa*.

[5] An alternative interpretation that "the substitute, or equivalent of the property" was remitted to the owner would be less satisfactory as not applying to *b.larghu*. In fact M. b. Hindūshāh states that the owners of the lost property "must pay a definite tax, in exchange for which the property is returned to them", Hammer, *Gesch. der Goldenen Horde*, 476.

[6] Thus the *khums* is transferred to the īl-khān! Qor'ān, viii, 42: "Know that one-fifth of your booty belongs to Allāh, to the Prophet, to the Prophet's family, to the orphans, to the destitute, and to the wayfarers."

[7] So according to Abū-Ḥanīfa, while the other doctors attribute to the horsemen a threefold share, see *Ghanīma* in *EI*.

[8] This is the Islamic *fay'* the revenue from which belongs to the whole community, see *Fai'* in *EI*.

§ 13. (C) What (the king ?) obtains by way of *kafāyat* ("lawful exertions") is of four classes: (*a*) what accrues from the bringing to cultivation of the places which were (never) cultivated or were lying fallow—after the rights of the owners (*ḥaqq-i mālik*) have been redeemed [1]; (*b*) what is obtained from the mines of gold, silver, iron, etc., and the pearl-fisheries; (*c*) what accrues from factories, artisans,[2] merchants associate (*ortāqān*), and purchased estates; (*d*) what the king obtains from sea-fisheries and from hunting in the uninhabited places (*biyābān*).

These all belong to the king's *khāṣṣa*.

These together constitute the system (of taxation) of the former kings.

§ 14. In these later times some other taxes (*māl-hā*) have been added (to it), which are also fourfold: (*a*) the additions (*far'*) which have been levied in proportion (?) of eleven to ten or twelve to ten of (the amount of) the taxes [3] as the fee of the officials (*jihat-i marsūm-i kār-kunān*); [f. 4r] (*b*) the tax levied on weights [4] and on disreputable places (*kharābāt*); (*c*) the additional tax on the issue of licences (*qabāla*) of some crafts (*ḥurfat*); (*d*) the tax on the inheritance of the persons who had (only) remote relatives.[5] The Universal Sovereign Chengiz Khān and his family (*urūgh*) disliked such amplifications (*ān ma'nā*).

§ 15. The great kings abhorred four kinds of taxes (*māl*): (*a*) levying tolls (*bāj*) and convoy-money (*badraqa*) on roads and on ships [6];

[1] In the latter case.

[2] I read *ūzān* اوزان (instead of the dotless اوران). This word is found jointly with *ortaq* in Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, 306.

[3] More probably, each sum was augmented by one-tenth or two-tenths for the benefit of the officials. In Ghazan khan's time, the population was to pay the taxes "with (an additional) one-twentieth, and the treasury fees (*bā dah-o-nīm va ḥaqq-i khazāna*), Rashīd, iii, 253. A list of additional levies is found, *ibid.*, p. 255. On *nemeri* (spelt *n.mārī*), see Barthold, *Manuche*, 37.

[4] Arabic *auzān* "weights" is more suitable here than Turkish *ūzān*, for revenue from the latter is mentioned above as a legal levy. The words *auzān* and *ūzān*, both spelt in the same way, occur side by side in Rashīd al-Dīn, iii, 286, 336. Ghazan, *ibid.*, 334, ordered that the *sang al-vazn* (*sic*) should be suppressed at the treasury, and that the latter "should make expenditure by the same weight by which it purchases, namely by the legal *sang-i 'adl* bearing the seal". Naṣīr al-Dīn must have in view the abuses with the special *sang al-vazn*.

[5] Juvayni, 25, says that the Mongol treasury never appropriates heritages of private people, and that he himself had to suppress in the province of Baghdad the offices in charge of heritages (*shughl-i tarakāt*).

[6] This telescoped phrase apparently has in view tolls levied on roads and in ports, and money (*rāh-dārī*) levied by road-guards.

(*b*) what accrues from spoiling (*tabāh*) gold and silver [1]; (*c*) buying what people stand in need of and the re-selling of it (at a profit) [2]; (*d*) (fines) levied on such offences as murder, blows, and drinking.

§ 16. Nothing used to be levied as a poll-tax (*bar sar-hā-yi īshān*).[3] This was levied in the times of Islamic (domination) (*musalmānī*) but not before. Nor did they (previously) levy the *qopchur* which is now collected by virtue of the Great Yasa (cf. § 10). Even now, in view of the interdiction (*yāsaq*) (it) [4] is not collected from five categories of people: (*a*) from the *ṭarkhāns* raised to that state by the king, such as (Muslim) sages and Christian (clergy) [5]; (*b*) from old people; (*c*) from [f. 4v] the sick and ailing (*ma'lūl*); (*d*) from paupers (*darvīsh*), (*e*) from children.

In the old days those people who were not engaged in agriculture commerce, crafts (?),[6] and other (similar) pursuits, but who were smart (*jald*) and young were not left without employment (*kār*).[7]

§ 17. (D) The revenue (*māl*) which (the kings) have from good luck and good fortune is fourfold: (*a*) what was formerly received from the persons who presented their property to the kings; (*b*) treasure-trove (*ganj*) unexpectedly found [8]; (*c*) gifts, presents, and donations brought in accomplishment of a service; (*d*) what is sent from other kings.

C. *Discourse on the Expenditure of the King*

The King's expenditure is twofold:—

§ 18. The *khāṣṣa* expenditure, which he makes from his own *khāṣṣa*, the latter being kept separately and not confounded with the revenue (destined for) the kingdom (*māl-i pādshāhī*). This *khāṣṣa* consists of the following items: the inheritance from his ancestors (§ 5), the "fifth" of the booty (*ghanīmat*) (§ 12), what is received by

[1] Perhaps by debasing and snipping the coins.

[2] Such as making "corners" in cereals (*iḥtikār*).

[3] *Bar sar-hā* seems to be distinct from the expressions *az sar, bar sar āmad, vide supra*, § 6.

[4] i.e. the poll-talx, gradually comprised under qopchur, v.i. p. 783.

[5] Read: *ārkāvūn*.

[6] اوانی gives no meaning. I read اوزانی *ūzānī* "craftsmanship".

[7] This may suggest that formerly all the able-bodied persons, being employed by the king, were exempted from the payment of a poll-tax (?).

[8] Does the author mean that such finds became the king's property? In Islamic law the finder of a treasure (*rikāz*) pays only one-fifth of it, as *zakāt*, Juynboll, *Handbuch d. Islam. Gesetzes*, 1908–1910, p. 104. Even the attribution of this fifth to the King's *khāṣṣ* (§ 18) would be a complaisance.

the way of *kafāyat* (§ 13), or acquired through good luck and good fortune (§ 17) [f. 5r], or in (any) other way becomes his *khāṣṣ* (" personal property ").

The king spends it in four ways : (*a*) for his own household (*khāṣṣa*) and that of his children ; (*b*) for grants and gifts to the persons having rendered some services ; (*c*) for the making of ornaments and embellishments ; (*d*) for the construction of buildings, such as are necessary (or ? correspond) to his heart's desires.

§ 19. (The expenditure) for the needs of the kingdom (*maṣāliḥ-i pādshāhī*) is fourfold : (*a*) expenditure on the army and the persons doing the king's work, such as scribes, yārghūchīs and nā'ibs,[1] so that they should not trespass on the king's property or accept bribes, or suffer humiliations, or beg anything from (other) people, but should be kind towards the king's property ; (*b*) expenditure on ambassadors and travellers in-coming and out-going ; (*c*) expenditure on the destitute, paupers, fatherless children, husbandless women, and (the general) interests (*maṣlaḥat*) of the towns and provinces ; (*d*) (expenditure) on the establishment of *yām* (" relay service "). In olden days there existed the *barīd* (" post service "), placed on the roads at the interval of four farsangs,[2] so that (the couriers), without putting down their bags, could push on day and night until they reached the place (of destination). Numerous people travelling from one place to another down to the king's capital [f. 5v] (were using) animals belonging (*az māl*) to the king and kept in readiness at each town and place, and the subjects were not disturbed by the (obligation of) *olagh*.[3]

[D. *Conclusion*]

§ 20. The king did not encroach upon the property of four classes : (*a*) the subsistence (*ma'yishat*) of righteous people which had been granted by other kings ; (*b*) the property of orphans ; (*c*) the property of the absent of whose return there is still hope,[4] as well as people's deposits ; (*d*) the vaqf property. Vaqfs have been constituted for pious purposes, and the kings did not consider it auspicious (to despoil

[1] The term *nā'ib* is often found in the contemporary sources, see Rashīd al-Dīn, iii, 333 : *nā'ib-i vazīr* " a kind of registrar ".

[2] Juvayni, i, 24, says that each two tomans, i.e. 20,000 men, had to keep up a *yām*, while according to Rashīd al-Dīn, iii, 275, in Ghāzān's time there was a *yām* at each 3 farsakhs. Juvayni may have in view earlier conditions in Mongolia, or take a *yām* as being of several relays.

[3] Obligation to supply horses to travellers.

[4] Contrary to § 11 (*d*).

them ?). So they used to ordain that a trusted person should be aware (of their functioning); (namely), that (the revenue) should be spent on pious endowments in accordance with the constitution of the vaqf, and that it should be used for due purposes in conformity with the stipulations of the founder; and whenever (the requirements for) an expenditure ceased or diminished and it was impossible to use (the money) in that way, (the amount) should be spent on the poor and destitute or for other purposes, such as construction of bridges and rabāṭs, the healing of sick and other good deeds. (The kings) prevented anyone from interfering (with the vaqfs) in an inopportune way, in the hope that a recompense (in the next world) (*thavāb*) should accumulate for themselves.

These are the items of expenditure. The explanation of each one of them would be too lengthy, but, should it be so ordered, that explanation will be also presented.

§ 21. In former days the kings observed the above-mentioned rules, and necessarily (*lā-jaram*) their people, both the subjects and the army, were tranquil and prosperous, and a good name has survived them. They used to fix the expenditure at a lower amount than the income. They stocked their treasury full of money (*māl*) and precious objects (*ganj*), as a store (*dhakhīra*) for (the vicissitudes of) fortune and the repelling of enemies. Let the Almighty prolong the days of the sultanate of (our) Sovereign, and let Him secure tranquillity to (His) slaves under the shadow (of the Monarch), for the merits of Muḥammad and his family, all of them! Praises be to God, Master of the Worlds, and peace be on him who follows the right path.

[Colophon.] "Written by the sinful 'Alī Riḍa, 1331/1913. This copy has been written from a collection of texts (*majmū'a*) which was written in *ta'līq* hand in the ninth to fifteenth centuries and was full of errors and out of order. As much as possible, I have striven to check it (*taṣḥīḥ*). Tehran, 14 Ṣafar 1331/23rd January, 1913. Shams al-'Ulamā Muḥammad Ḥusayn Garakānī."

III. The System of Taxation

As already mentioned, the characteristic and praiseworthy trait of Naṣīr al-Dīn's Memorandum is the author's tendency to bring his facts into an orderly system. His habits of a mathematician make him even exaggerate the regularity of his divisions, based as they are on the number "four" throughout. The main classification of the king's revenue is given under four headings in § 5, but further it is

somewhat obscured by other details and paragraphs. The sources of revenue, as presented in the Memorandum, can be tabulated as follows :—

A. Heritage from ancestors
B. Levies from the subjects :
  (*a*) agriculturists : *Kharāj*
  (*b*) merchants : *tamgha*
  (*c*) cattle-breeders : *marā'ī*
  (*d*) casual revenue : *ṭayyārāt* of 4 + 1 kinds :
    (α) escheat (heirless property)
    (β) confiscations
    (γ) lost property
    (δ) property of the absent
    (ε) war booty : (*aa*) movables, (*bb*) immovables
C. Income from *kafāyat* :
  (*a*) bringing new lands under cultivation
  (*b*) mining industry
  (*c*) manufacturing industry
  (*d*) fisheries and hunting-grounds
D. Income from "good luck" (cf. Bd) :
  (*a*) offerings to the kings
  (*b*) treasure-trove
  (*c*) presents from service men
  (*d*) presents from other kings
E. Sundry [1] :
  (I) additional levies
    (*a*) collectors' fees
    (*b*) weights (?) and disreputable places
    (*c*) issue of licences
    (*d*) inheritance from remote relations
  (II) unlawful levies
    (*a*) tolls and customs
    (*b*) debasing of money
    (*c*) making "corners"
    (*d*) fines for offences
  (III) novelties
    (*a*) poll-tax
    (*b*) "qopchur"

Very systematic is the distinction between the king's own revenue (*khāṣṣa*) and that destined for the needs of the kingdom (*māl-i maṣāliḥ-i pādshāhī*). The Mongolian terms for these two classes were *injü* "special" (?) and *dālāy* "oceanic", i.e. "universal"; Rashīd al-Dīn, iii, 305 (ibid., *injü* and *dīvān*).

Most of the revenue was of the "public" class, the items belonging to the Private Purse (*khāṣṣa*) being the following :—

[1] Although in the text the three paragraphs of E come directly after C, they do not belong to *kafāyat* and represent something additional to the four lawful divisions enumerated in § 5. Therefore, we place them after D.

1. inheritance from ancestors (§ 5, A)
2. one-fifth of the movable booty (§ 12, Bd)
3. revenue from *kafāyat* (§ 13, C)
4. revenue from good luck (§ 17, D)

The twofold character of revenue is indicated under each item and then resumed in the chapter on Expenditure. §§ 18 and 19 contain important indications as to the use made of each class of revenue but it is doubtful whether in practice there was so much regularity. Rashīd al-Dīn's description, iii, 331–3, shows that the (King's ?) treasury was in utter disorder before Ghāzān Khān reorganized it by dividing it into two departments: *nirun* "thin, fine", for more rare objects, and *bidūn* "thick, coarse", for objects of constant use (*payvasta kharj kunand*).

The taxation of the Mongol period, which reflects the conflicting tendencies of the age, is characterized by an intensive amalgamation of two entirely different systems: of the Islamic imposts incorporating pre-Islamic customs, on one hand, and, on the other, of the entirely *non*-Islamic levies imported by the motley staff of Mongol administration. Some curious evolution and readaptation were taking place under the early Mongol rulers. The rights which in Islamic law belonged to the Imām were being transferred to an infidel conqueror. The wall between the dominant "faithful" and the subject "infidels" of various categories was crumbling away under the impact of the invaders, for whom "Mongol" and "non-Mongol" was the only distinction having importance. To some extent, Naṣīr al-Dīn's Memorandum bears traces of a desire to find a compromise. He is ready to put under the same roof the Yasa and the Sharī'at as regards the rights of the īl-khāns (§ 7), but he does not conceal his disapproval of the taxes which reduced the Muslims to a status which, in Islamic terms, could be described as that of *dhimmīs*.

Hiding himself behind the authority of "the great kings", Naṣīr al-Dīn disapproved of such imposts as tolls (*bāj*, § 15) which belonged to non-religious levies (*mukūs*) of Islamic states but became particularly obnoxious under the Mongols. With regard to the poll-tax (§ 16), now that it struck Muslims, he even gives a twist to historical facts while denying its existence before Islām. Another significant point is § 9, where some tendency is felt to safeguard the position of the capitalists and traders (mostly Muslims!) in spite of the obvious insufficiency of their liabilities. [Cf. p. 773, note 3.]

We shall now speak in some detail of the more important sources of revenue referred to in the Memorandum.

(*a*) *Kharāj*. The paragraph has a very abstract character in spite of the author's admission concerning numerous local varieties of taxes (§§ 2 and 10). Naṣīr al-Dīn records only two rates of the land-tax, amounting to one-tenth of the crops on the lands of higher category, and to one-twentieth on those of lower category. As the partition of crops in each individual case became difficult,[1] a survey was carried out and embodied in a *qānūn* (cadastre) fitted to the local conditions of each province. Moreover, a threefold scale of rates was fixed to suit the years of good, middling, and bad harvests. The reference to *bahā* ("the price") suggests that kharāj was collected not in kind but in money substitute, the rate of which was fixed yearly and divided into several instalments (*ḥiṣṣa*),[2] though it is hardly imaginable that this procedure had a general character.[3] There was no kharāj on lands lying fallow, and, by means of periodical surveys, the rates were adapted to the various transformations in the condition of lands.

The poor were treated exceptionally while they were assessed only on the excess of their produce over their *Existenz-minimum* as represented by fodder (*'ulūfa*) and personal expenditure (*kharj* ?).

Finally (§ 7) the author refers to the immunity from taxes of certain lands (*ḥurr*) and men (the Mongol term *tarkhān*, § 16), and to the assignment of salaries on local taxes (Mongol term *soyūrghāl*, in later times *ṭiyūl*).

(*b*) *Tamghā* is presented as a capital levy amounting to $\frac{1}{240}$ of the capital. Even if the levy was annual the rate was very low. Rashīd al-Dīn, iii, 312–323, has a long and interesting chapter on the formation of a powerful class of "nouveaux riches" under Abāqā Khān. Merchants, contractors, and speculators were exploiting the simplicity of the īl-khān, under the protection of the powerful dignitaries and ladies.[4] In ordinary parlance, tamghā referred to various kinds of town levies, such as octrois, etc. (cf. *E.*, ii*a*). Rashīd al-Dīn, iii, 245, refers to *tamghā-yi shahr* and at another place, iii, 273, speaks of tamghā appreciatively as "the most liquid (*naqdtarīn*) of the taxes in the realm". In later times (fifteenth century), the term *tamghāvāt*

[1] Similarly Juvayni, iii, 78, on *qismat* in connection with the poll-tax, *vide infra*, p. 784.

[2] Cf. Rashīd, iii, 264: a detailed list of the dates of payment.

[3] In Rashīd, iii, 263_{18}, 267_{12}, *vujūh al-'ayn* (money) is opposed to *irtifā'āt* (crops, levies in kind).

[4] *Vide infra*, p. 788, *ortaq*.

denoted all kinds of non-Qor'ānic levies considered as abuses; see *Tārīkh-i Amīnī*, MS. Bib. Nat., No. 101, f. 163r.

(*c*) *Marā'ī* is the non-Islamic "pasturage levy" collected per number of animals.[1] The Mongolian equivalent of the term was *qopchur*, as stated in Juvayni, iii, 79 (= Rashīd, ii, 314). According to Rashīd al-Dīn, iii, 300, "all the army had to pay yearly a qopchur of horses, sheep, cows, felts, furs,[2] etc., for (the benefit of) those parts of the *ordu* and the army which became impoverished." This seems to suggest that qopchur comprised also some products of pastoral life, unless the passage has in view only a limited group of members of the army. The same author, iii, 304, speaking of the old Mongolian army, uses the term of *qopchūr-i mavāshī* "q. of animals", evidently to distinguish the narrower connotation of *qopchur* in the conditions of nomad life from its more general and very different meaning which was ascertained by Quatremère in Rashīd, p. 256, and Barthold, *Manuche*, pp. 32–3, and which we record in the paragraph on the poll-tax.

(*d*) *Kafāyat*. The usual connotation of this Arabic term is "competence", as applied to ministers and other high officials, cf. Juvayni, iii, 74, with regard to Arghūn-āqā.[3] In our text, the revenue which the king draws *az kafāyat-i khud* definitely refers to his "lawful exertions and prosecutions", as specified in four points. In the *Tārīkh-i Amīnī* (*circa* A.D. 1410), Bib. Nat., anc. fonds persan, No. 101, fol. 162v, *abvāb-i kafāyat* stands for lawful Islamic sources of revenue (especially *kharāj*, *ibid.*, f. 163b) as opposed to *tamghāvāt* representing the novelties introduced after Chengiz Khān. In our text the line between the customs of the good "old king" and the additions and novelties of which Naṣīr al-Dīn clearly disapproves, is drawn immediately after § 13.

Several of the subdivisions of *kafāyat* belong to a class on which Muslims had to pay a zakāt destined for definite pious purposes.[4]

[1] In Islamic law, there is only an elaborate system of zakāt from camels, cows, and sheep, Juynboll, 100.

[2] The form فروت is strange. The expected Persian singular of Arabic فروة "a fur" (Juvayni, iii, 88, uses the plural *farviyāt*) would be فرو *farva*. One is tempted to restore the word as *قروت *qurūt*, "a common kind of cheese" in Turkish.

[3] *Ibid.*, ii, 260: Amīr Ḥusayn "was clever both in Mongolian language and in Uyghur writing, and at the present time these constitute learning and competence (*faḍl va-kafāyat*)".

[4] The zakāt which the Muslims paid on gold and silver extracted from mines was one-fifth (sometimes one-fortieth) of their value; on merchandise it was one-fortieth; Juynboll, pp. 102, 104. According to the Shī'a law the Imām or "the

Naṣīr al-Dīn hardly means that the king appropriated the sums of zakāt. More probably he refers to the direct exploitation of the sources of revenue by the king.

The liabilities of private holders of land had been defined under *kharāj* in § 6. At this place the author (*a*) speaks of the necessity (for the king ?) to redeem the rights of former owners of the lands lying fallow, and refers (*c*) to the estates purchased by the king.[1]

Paragraph (*c*) must further refer to the produce of the artisans who were employed by the king and were his slaves (*asīr*) (cf. Rashīd, iii, 337), as well as to the benefit obtained through the merchants to whom capital was lent and protection accorded (cf. Juvayni, iii, 79, etc.).[2] In this light, (*b*) and (*d*) must also envisage the profits of the king's direct exploitation.

(*e*) *Poll-tax.*—Naṣīr al-Dīn quotes no technical term for what he describes as a poll-tax. He is wrong in saying that the poll-tax was unknown before Islām. Ṭabari, i, 2, 920–3, explains the financial system (*abrāstār*), introduced under Khusrau Anūshirvān, in which, along with the *kharāj* (land-tax), figured the *jizya* (poll-tax), payable by men from twenty to fifty years of age, in proportion to their wealth, at the rate of 12, 8, 6, or 4 dirhams. The author does not explicitly identify the Islamic *jizya* with the Mongol *qopchur*, the latter being based on Chengiz Khān's Yasa. Nevertheless, by including them in the same category, he assimilates both. It is clear then that Naṣīr al-Dīn uses the term not as an equivalent of *marā'ī* (*vide supra*), but in a more general sense. A parallel connotation of *qopchur* is found in Juvayni, i, 256; but in the important passage on Möngke's reforms, iii, 77–9, he uses, in this sense, a more neutral *mu'an*, "contributions (to subsistence)".[3] That he means the same thing as Naṣīr al-Dīn by his *qopchur*, is plain from the similarity in the lists of exemptions from the levy. Naṣīr al-Dīn begins his enumeration with the tarkhāns, such as Muslim *dānishmandān* [4] and Christian *arka'ūn*, after which follow the other four categories (the old, children, the sick, and poor).

person replacing him" received one-fifth (*khums*) on all such revenue, Querry, *Droit musulman*, p. 175.

[1] The non-cultivated lands (*mawāt*) could be cultivated by anybody, but according to Abū Ḥanīfa the agreement of the authorities was necessary.

[2] This association with the merchants (*ortaq*) may be the reason for the very light levies imposed on them, *vide supra*, § 9.

[3] In the parallel passage Rashīd, ii, 313, substitutes: *takālīf* for *mu'an*.

[4] This is the usual appellation of Muslim divines in Mongol times. In Mongolian the word has taken the form of *dashman*, plur. *dashmad*, see Vladimirtsov, *Zap. Koll. Vost.*, i, 333 (as against Blochet in Rashīd al-Dīn, ii, 129).

On his part, Juvayni says that are "excused" (*mu'āf*) "among the Muslims: the great sayyids and the noble imāms; among the Christians, who are called *arka'ūn*: the monks (*rahābīn*) and clergy (*aḥbār*), and among the heathen: the priests (*kashīsh*) who are called *toyin*", as well as "those of the above-mentioned classes (?)[1] who have become old and incapable of work and earnings". Juvayni definitely says that Jews did not enjoy this privilege (see, however, the interpolation on p. 77, note 10), while Naṣīr al-Dīn is non-committal about the other classes of tarkhāns.

In general use *qopchur* was applied to various casual imposts levied on the spot chiefly to defray the expenses of messengers and officials on special missions (*īlchi*). There was a multitude of such "burdens, requests, and additional levies"; Rashīd al-Dīn, ii, 313. Nothing is more pathetic than what this historian says, iii, 243–256, on the exactions to which the population was exposed. The governors by personal assignments (*barāt*) collected *qopchur* from two to thirty times over again, *ibid.*, iii, 243. These irregular levies exhausted the population and prevented the collection of the government taxes (*ḥuqūq-i dīvānī*, *ibid.*, iii, 245).[2] The poet Pūr-i Bahā Jāmī dedicated to 'Alā al-Dīn Juvayni a long poem of forty-five verses in which he describes the sufferings caused by *qopchur*. It begins:—

"Again the qopchur is spreading evil and enmity in the world;
Both old and young are groaning under qopchur.
All the world is scattered and roving
On account of the incalculable qalān and endless qopchur," etc.[3]

The Mongol higher administration was trying to stop this lawlessness by introducing a unique poll-tax, on a strict basis leaving no room to arbitrariness on the spot. But even in this form, the rates of qopchur were constantly changing. In the chapter on Möngke's accession to the throne, Juvayni, iii, 78, states that in view of the impossibility "for each single functionary to make the distribution (*qismat*)" of qopchur,[4] an annual scheme (*sanavī muvāḍa'a*) was introduced

[1] Rashīd, ii, 313: "of all the classes."

[2] The latter term is not very clear: it may refer to the land-tax (*kharāj*), but Rashīd al-Dīn states, iii, 243, that there existed provinces in which the *ḥuqūq-i dīvānī* consisted of *qopchur* and *tamghā*.

[3] B.M., Or. 9213, f. 12*a*–13*b*.

[4] *Vide supra*, p. 781. When the historians protest against abuses, they concentrate on the *barāts* (assignments) which the governors indiscriminately drew on the population, and on the *qismat*, i.e. distributing of such levies among the population. Instead of *qismat*, Rashīd al-Dīn refers to the evils of *muqāsama*, iii, 163, 267, and surely 258 (instead of *maqālāt*).

about 650/1252), under which the tax varied: in Northern China (Khitāy) and in Transoxiana, between 11 dinārs and 1 dinār, and in Khorasan, between 10 dinārs and 1 dinār. When in the autumn of 651/1253 the famous administrator Arghūn Āqā arrived in Khorasan to apply the yasa of Möngke, the rate of *qopchur* (*sic*) was fixed at "70 dinārs (Ruknī) per ten men", Juvayni, i, 256.[1] Later, when Juvayni, i, 261, speaks of the reforms in Georgia (in 656/1258), he says that previously to the introduction of "qopchur" some people who participated in several companies[2] used to pay up to 500 and 1,000 dinārs. Then qopchur was applied at the rate of 10 dinārs, which, even if increased (*muḍā'if*), was no burden to the rich, but weighed heavily on the poor. Therefore, on Arghūn Āqā's advice, the new proportionate scheme extended from 500 dinārs to 1 dinār.

Some additional details on the taxes will be found in the footnotes; but, in conclusion, we should repeat that the main object of the present article is only to explain the text of Naṣīr al-Dīn's Memorandum.

IV. Some Technical Terms

1. arka'ūn	6. ortāq
2. bahādur	7. tarkhān
3. b.lārghū	8. urūq
4. kār-kunān	9. ūzān
5. māl	10. yārghūchī

1. *Arka'ūn* (i.e. *ārkā'ün*, in view of Mongolian *erke'iin*), "a Christian," as indicated by Juvayni, iii, 77: *naṣārā ki īshān-rā arka'ūn mī-khwānand*. On the other hand, Rashīd al-Dīn, ii, 313: *az naṣārā arkavūnān va qasīsan*, suggests for *arka'ūn* the narrower meaning of "Christian divines". The same hesitation is found in Chinese sources. Deveria, *Notes d'épigraphie mongolo-chinoise*, *JA.*, 1896, t. viii, 407: "*arkaon* [read: *Ye-li-k'o-uən*] est le nom d'une religion," but in the subsequent passages: "Christian priests." The usual derivation of the word is from Greek ἄρχων; see M. Qazvīnī's note in Juvayni, iii, 301, where Arabic parallels are also quoted: *urkūn* with the specific meaning of "head of a village" and *arkhūn* or *arkhūl*, "Christian notables."

An original hypothesis was proposed in N. Y. Marr's article *Ark'aun* in *Vizantiyskiy vremennik*, xii, 1906, pp. 1–68. He connects the term *ark'aun* found in Armenian sources of the Mongol period with Arm. *ark'ai* "king", which may have been used for rendering the Semitic term "Melkites". Marr points out that already in the eighth century there were Armenian Chalcedonites = Melkites in Central Asia, and

[1] In a parallel passage, Rashīd al-Dīn, ii, 341, speaks of a qalān of 7 dinārs for the rich, and of 1 dinār for the poor.

[2] Evidently as ortaqs; *vide infra*, p. 788.

that in the fourteenth century Armenians had a monastery on the banks of the Issik-kul; consequently they may have been responsible for the transmission of the term. However, Christianity was spread in Central Asia chiefly by Nestorians, and it is rather unexpected that the generic appellation of Christians should be due to an insignificant group of Armenian Melkites.

Mongolian scholars find no satisfactory etymology for *erke'ün*.[1] Vladimirtsov, *Zap. Koll. Vost.*, i, 1925, 334, still explains it (with a query!) by *ἄρχων*. The influence in the Far East of some Arabic renderings which have left no traces in the Middle East, is questionable, but a possibility of transmission of *ἄρχων* by Aramaic Christians or Manichæans cannot be disregarded. What is important, however, is the fact that the word belongs to the "soft" (palatal) series as confirmed by its transcription in Persian characters (with *k* and not with *q*).[2] The form *erke'ün* (and still more the archaic and probably artificial, *erkegün*) suggests a vocalic stem *erke-* followed by a suffix. In Mongolian *erke* (Turkish *ärk*) means "strength" (and even "a lot", *Muqaddimat al-adab*, p. 164); in Turkish *ärkä* is "a favourite", *ärgä-* "to be gathered". Thus there is no lack of possible indigenous derivations, especially as the term *erke'ün* may be a nickname with somewhat unexpected connections and allusions, as is the case of Persian *tarsā* ("a Christian", as a calque of Syriac *rahbān* but prima facie "a fearful man"), or of English "Quaker".

2. *Bahādur* (Mong. *baghatur*, Russian богатырь), "knight, distinguished warrior." From the fact that the *Mu'izz al-ansāb*, after each reign, gives a list of bahādurs, along with a list of other dignitaries, Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols*, p. 307, concluded that they formed "a class of high dignitaries". Vladimirtsov, *Obšč. stroy mongolov*, 74, quotes *baghatur* only as an honorary title of some of the *noyan*, i.e. leaders of the aristocratic houses.

3. *B.lārghū*, in our case "lost property". This meaning is absolutely certain; but the reading and the etymology of the word still present considerable difficulties, and its use in the sources is twofold.

(*a*) The interpretation "lost property" is fully supported by M. Polo, transl. A. C. Moule, i, 230: whenever someone finds a hunting-bird belonging to an unknown master, he carries it "to a baron who is called *bularguci*, which means to say in our tongue the Keeper of the things which find no master. For I tell you that if by chance one finds a horse or a sword or a bird or other thing that is lost or strayed and he does not find whose it is, then it is carried immediately to this baron and he has it taken and carefully kept till it is demanded by the owner. And he who finds it—anything which may be lost—is bound immediately to carry it to its owner, and if he does not do

[1] Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, xv, 1914, p. 637: "l'origine d'*ärkägün* est beaucoup plus obscure."

[2] The parallel form with an alif, namely *arkāvun*, is only a *scriptio plena*, as usual in Turkish and Mongolian words; it must be read *ärkāvün*, not *ärkāvun*.

this he is held for a thief if he does not carry it promptly to that baron. And those who have mislaid or lost the things go off to this baron and he, if he has it, has it given back to them quite immediately. And this baron always stays in the highest place of all the host (in quella chanpagnia) with his ensign aloft so that those who have lost or found the things may see him clearly at once where he is. And in this way no things can be lost which are not soon found and given back". In the Italian text of a grant of privileges issued by the Mongol īl-khān (on 12th December, 1320), the Venetians are requested to return the stray horses ("se algun cavalo *bolargo* forse trovato apresso de algun vostro veneciano, etc."). The collection of state documents prepared by Muḥammad b. Hindū-shāh Nakhchavānī in the second half of the fourteenth century A.D., contains a diploma issued to a *b.lārghūchī* of the royal camp. The duty of his subalterns was to find lost slaves and animals and bring them to the *b.lārghūchī*, by whom they were remitted to the owners against the payment of a definite tax. The interesting text is at present accessible only in Hammer's German translation, *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde*, 1840, 476.[1]

(*b*) In describing the customs of the Mongol court in China, Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, 479, refers to a nā'ib who was in charge of the gates of the palace: "as soon as a *b.lārghūy* (variant: *y.rghūy*) is taken (or received), it is carried to the Nā'ib, who makes an inquiry—and this is the divan called *lī-she*. When the inquiry has been completed, a report is drawn up and, jointly with the *b.lārghū* (variant: *y.rghū'ī*) sent to the divan called *lū-she*," and so on up to the highest instance called *shīng*. Here the meaning of *b.lārghū* is not at all clear. Had it stood for "lost property", even including slaves, there was no need for the latter to be sent up to the high instances. Moreover, it is said that at the *shīng*: "they interrogate those persons who are concerned (or 'in litigation', *dar sukhan bāshand*) and take their finger prints."

Already Klaproth, who commented on Rashīd al-Dīn's passage, *JA.*, xi, 1833, pp. 335–352 and 445–470, wrote (p. 350): "Je ne connais pas la signification du mot *belargoui*. Je suppose pourtant qu'il est mongol et dérivé de *balar* qui signifie ce qui n'est pas mis en ordre, chose embrouillée, brouillon." Cf. Kovalevsky, *Mongolskii slovar*, 1076: *balar* "dark, embroiled, nonsense, etc.", and Ramstedt, *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch*, p. 31: *balaṛxā* "undeutlich geschriebenes, gesudeltes, unleserliches" (literary Mongolian: *balarqai*). Blochet went still farther in explaining the term as "la minute d'un acte qui sera plus tard mise au net et recopiée", Rashīd al-Dīn, ii, 479. Mutatis mutandis, a similar explanation might apply even to case (*a*). Professor W. Kotwicz, whom I consulted on the latter, wrote to me (Lvov, 23rd June, 1939): "there is a series of Mongolian words from the

[1] B.M., Or. 3344, does not contain this *farmān*. Hammer's No. 8, fol. 295b, No. 13, fol. 301b, Nos. 9–12 being left out.

root *bala-* with the meaning 'indistinct, obscure', e.g. *balarkhay* "indistinct, effaced, smudged'. So the term *balarghu* might refer to the indistinct, unknown origin (of the found object)."

However, the positive testimony of the European sources cannot be disregarded. M. Polo has *bularguci* (only one fifteenth century MS. giving an aberrant *barlarguci*) and the Venetian charter *bolargo*. Taking these transcriptions as a starting point one may quote Radloff's Turkish dictionary, *Versuch*, iv, 1670, which connects the word *bōlarghuchi* (in Chaghatay dialect ?) with the verb *bōla-* " to report, to submit to a superior instance ". The verb *bōla* (< *bō-la* >) is attested in Eastern Turki and Taranchi, both strongly influenced by Chinese. If we take it that in the Peking palace *b.lārghū* was a petition (transmitted to higher instances), Radloff's meaning fits into Rashīd al-Dīn's passage quite well. Radloff's *ō* suits the form *bolargo*, but its non-Turkish length is suspect. Were we to accept the explanation of *b.lārghū* [1] in the case (*b*) through *bōla*, we might imagine that in the first case (*a*) " lost property " was considered as something " to be reported on " by the finder (?).

However, the identity of the two cases is not certain. A variant of بلارغوی is یرغوی **yarghū'ī* " a lawsuit ", and it is possible that بلارغوی in MS.B is a mis-spelling from the parallel form یارغو (in Rashīd al-Dīn, iii, 149 : *yārghū-nāma* and *yarghū* stand side by side). The meaning may be consequently restored as follows : " and when they begin a lawsuit (*va yārghū'ī rā nīz ki bigīrand*), they take it to the nā'ib . . . and when the inquiry has been completed (*pursīda bāshand*) the report, together with the *litigation (files), are sent to the *lū-she*. . . ." The Persian verb *pursīdan* is in harmony with *yārghū*, for the latter chiefly consisted of " interrogatory ".

The case (*b*) being thus eliminated, two explanations remain for (*a*). *Bōla-* does not give a very satisfactory meaning, and the length of *ō* probably would have been stressed in Arabic writing. If on the other hand we accept M. Polo's form, it is tempting to connect it with the Turkish verb *bul-* " to find ". Hammer translated **bularghuchi* first as " der Lagervogt ", and then as " der Auffinder ". Indeed, from a different point of view, " lost property " could be considered as " found property ".

4. *Kār-kunān* (§ 14) " officials, financial agents ", probably rendering Arabic *'ummāl*. Where Juvayni, iii, 78, writes *ṣāḥib-shughl*, Rashīd, iii, 267, uses *kār-kunān*.

5. *Māl* (1) " property " ; (2) " movable (?) property " (§ 12) ; (3) " a tax." In Mongolian *mal* (a loan-word ?) means " cattle ".

6. *Ortaq*, " a merchant associate." In Turkish the word means " common, together, a companion," Radloff, i, 1067. Rashīd al-Dīn says that when Abāqā and Qāydū established friendly relations, they called each other *ortaq* ; see Quatremère, 308. At present in the

[1] Regularly *u* or *o* in the first syllable would be marked in *scriptio plena* with *w*.

Soviet republic of Uzbekistan, *ortaq* serves to render the Communist "comrade". At the time of the īl-khāns the word had acquired a specialized meaning of "a merchant trading in association", i.e. borrowing capital from princes, princesses, or dignitaries of Mongol and Uyghur origin; Rashīd, iii, 318. Speculation, which grew rife under Abāqā, caused great losses to the treasury and affected all the economic structure of the state, until finally Ghāzān Khān forbade any lending of money, see Rashīd al-Dīn, iii, 312–323.

7. *Tarkhān*, "exempt from taxes." As pointed out by Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, 592, the title *tarqan* found in the Orkhon inscriptions must be Turkish. In Mongolian, *darkhan* means "a smith, a master, exempt from taxes". Laufer thinks that it is an independent word "subsequently amalgamated with *tarqan*". According to Vladimirtsov, *Obšč. stroy*, 1934, p. 117, *darkhan* means "a freedman, a manumitted slave"; as the manumission of a slave was usually due to the latter's merits, it could have been accompanied by the additional privilege of exemption from taxes (?). Whatever the origin of the word, its use in Persian follows the official Mongolian usage.

8. *Urūq*, "the family, members of the family" (Quatremère, op. cit., 7), as opposed to *yad* "strangers" (Vladimirtsov, op. cit., p. 59).

9. *Ūzān*, "an artisan, artisans." Some of the *ūzān* were Mongols. Ghāzān organized the *ūzāns* into guilds, see Rashīd, iii, 337. The reading is attested by numerous examples in Quatremère, op. cit., 306, 308–9, and in Rashīd al-Dīn, iii, 336–8. However, sometimes the word is transcribed *ūrān*. Ibn Muhannā in the Arabic-Mongolian dictionary *Ḥilyat al-insān* (ch. xxiii) explains *uran* as *al-ṣanʿa* ("a craft") and اورت (**ūzan* ?) as *al-ṣāniʿ* "an artisan", and Melioransky in his edition of the text, *Zap.V.O.*, xv, 1914, p. 124, confirms the fact that in Mongolian *uran* means "skilful, dexterous, an artist". This form has been adopted by Blochet, Rashīd al-Dīn, pp. 49, 135, cf. also M. Qazvīnī, *Jahān-gushā*, iii, 478, in spite of the clear reading *ūzān* in the MSS. Even though the original Mongolian form of the word is *uran*, the parallel form *uzan* is attested in Turkish; see Radloff, *Versuch*, i, 1759, *uzan-* "to work skilfully"; in Ottoman Turkish *uzan* means "a bard, a chatterer, swaggerer" (which seems to be a further development of the original meaning of "a skilful man"); cf. Radloff, i, 1742, *us-* "skill, craft". The fluctuation *r/z* is characteristic as between Mongolian and Turkish: Mong. *boru*, Turk. *boz* "gray", Mong. *ükür*, Turk. *öküz* "an ox". The Turkish form may have been specially used in Persian.

10. *Yārghūchī* "judge, prosecutor" (from Mongolian *yarghu* "litigation, law suit"); see Quatremère, op. cit., i, 122, note 4. In Rashīd al-Dīn, iii, 139, the function of the *y.* is that of "examining magistrate".

CAMBRIDGE,
12th August, 1940.

A Note : Qafar-Khafara

IN *BSOS.*, London, X, 1, pp. 179 ff., Mr. Bernard Lewis has published a paper : " A Jewish Source of Damascus just after the Ottoman Conquest." On p. 181, note 4, he says "קפ"ר. A Hebrew transcription of an Arabic word I have not been able to identify. . . . It is perhaps connected with the Arabic root *kafara*, to be an infidel."

The Arabic root is *khafara* خفر "to protect" ; *khafara* is the protection-duty, the escort-tax ; *khafîr* is the guard, escort, plur. *khufarâ'*, in modern Egyptian *ghafîr* ; hence *khifâra*, protection accorded to travellers, or to sedentary population, against plundering Bedouins, as well as the tax collected (see Quatremère, *Sultans Mamlouks*, i, *a*, p. 207, n. 91).

The word occurs under various forms in the relations of travellers : Thevenot, *Voyage*, 2e partie, ch. xxv, p. 311 : caffare ; Thenaud, *Voyage*, ed. Schefer, p. 28 : peage ou caffare ; Le Bruyn, *Voyage au Levant* . . ., ii, p. 114 : les caffir ; Monconys, *Journal des Voyages* . . . 1665, i, pp. 373 and 404 : les cafies, to be corrected to cafirs ; Affagart, *Relation de Terre-Sainte*, p. 225 : capharre ; Zuallart, *Voyage de Jerusalem*, Anvers, 1608, p. 70 : gaffare, caffare ; Stochove, *Voyage*, ed. Bruxelles, 1643, p. 476 : caffare ; La Boullaye le Gouz, *Voyages et observations* . . ., ed. Troyes, 1677, p. 362 : gaffar ; Thompson *Travels through Turkey* . . ., i, p. 136 : caphar, and his explanation of those duties which merchants and travellers were obliged to pay ; Scholz, *Travels*, London, 1822, pp. 97–100, with a full chapter on the question.

See also the important decree of the Mamluk Sultan Qânṣûh al-Ghaurî, published by Max Van Berchem, *Jerusalem*, i, No. 108, p. 378 ff. ; Proebster in *Islamica*, iv, pp. 395–6, 399, n. 4 ; de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes*, pp. 140–1.

ÉTIENNE COMBE.

ALEXANDRIA.
8th March, 1940.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

PRÉCIS DE NUMISMATIQUE GÉORGIENNE. By J. KARST. pp. 80, x plates. Paris, 1938. 60 francs.

The long numismatic history of Georgia has been excellently treated in the standard works of Barataief and Brosset; but these, like the handier Langlois, are now difficult to obtain. We welcome therefore Professor Karst's summary of our knowledge, to which he has made valuable additions from his study of the Code of King Vakhtang and other Georgian and Russian sources. He has reprinted Prince Barataief's plates and described the coins illustrated. The book brings to the student in the West in convenient form all that he requires and could previously only obtain with difficulty.

J. ALLAN.

ALALAKH AND CHRONOLOGY. By SIDNEY SMITH. 9½ × 6½, pp. iv, 52. London: Luzac and Co., 1940. 5*s*.

This short but very important work by the distinguished author of the *Early History of Assyria* puts forward a new scheme of early Babylonian chronology. Much of the book is taken up with criticism of a recent expression of opinion by Professor Albright, but in an "Addendum" Mr. Smith reveals that Professor Albright has since independently reached the same conclusion regarding his main contention, viz. the new low date for Hammurabi's reign, and there is little doubt that this view will now hold the field.

The evidence, though not unassailable, is varied and cumulative, coming principally from Alalakh (modern 'Atshanah), a site in north Syria excavated in 1938 and 1939. Documentary evidence shows that the palace excavated in Level VII was contemporary with Hammurabi of Babylon, and comparison of the pottery with that found at various Mesopotamian, Egyptian, Syrian, and Palestinian sites fixes the date of this level as probably not before 1800 B.C. Seal-impressions from Level VII indicate that Hammurabi of Babylon was a contemporary of the XIIth Dynasty of Egypt at some time after the death of Amenemhet III which occurred, Mr. Smith argues, *c.* 1790 B.C.—assuming, as Mr. Smith does, the correctness of the

view that the Egyptian calendar was not altered after that date. Hittite history becomes simplified if this lower dating for Hammurabi be adopted and the evidence of the Venus-tablets of King Ammizaduga suits the date 1646 as the accession-year of that king as well as did Fotheringham's date of 1921 B.C. In so far as the Venus-observations can be relied on, it is therefore possible now to reconstruct exactly the dates of the kings of the First Babylonian Dynasty and, within a small margin of error, those of the preceding Isin and Larsa dynasties.

The acceptance of this lower dating necessarily upsets the assumption found in the standard textbooks that the First Babylonian Dynasty was followed successively by the Sea-Land and the Kassite dynasties, but Mr. Smith shows that this assumption was unwarranted and gives grounds for supposing that the Kassite Dynasty probably began in or about the 8th year of Samsuiluna, so that it partly overlapped the First Babylonian Dynasty.

Finally, Mr. Smith shows in detail how, on the basis of the new dating, the archæological evidence from the various levels at Alalakh fits admirably into the general scheme of early Near Eastern history from the time of Hammurabi (*c.* 1780) to the beginning of the twelfth century. In a summary sketch of this period he advances several new and interesting suggestions arising from the Alalakh evidence. Discussing the date of Thutmose III of Egypt, he favours provisionally Ginzel's figures (1515–1461) and evaluates the evidence obtained from recorded risings of Sothis and of two new moons.

Three Tables appended show solutions of the Venus-observations for the periods 1920–1899 and 1645–1624 and the relation of 1st Nisan to the equinox during each of the regnal years of Ammizaduga.

No student of early Near Eastern history can afford to overlook this work.

CECIL J. MULLO WEIR.

EARLY IVORIES FROM SAMARIA. By J. W. CROWFOOT and GRACE M. CROWFOOT. With a Note by E. L. SUKENIK. (Samaria-Sebaste. Reports of the Work of the Joint Expedition in 1931–3 and of the British Expedition in 1935. No. 2.) 4, xvi, 62 pp. with 16 figs., 26 pls. London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1938. £1.

The finds treated of in this book are of particular interest. They consist of hundreds of fragments of carved ivories. The authors seem to be justified in connecting them with the "ivory house which

Ahab built" (1 Kings xxii, 39). They suggest that this reference is to a room having ivory inlaid in the panelling of the walls. The Samaria ivories are very similar to two other finds, those of Tell Nimrud (Layard, 1849) and of Arslan Tash in North Syria (Thureau-Dangin, 1938). The latter contains an inscription in which "our lord Hazael" is mentioned. A Nimrud inscription, on the other hand, in an inventory of the loot taken from Damascus by the Assyrian king Adad-narari (809–782), mentioning ivories from the royal palace, identifies the Hazael of the Arslan Tash inscription with the Damascus king of the Bible (middle of ninth century). The similarity in style between the Syrian and the Samaria ivories, together with the Biblical reference to Ahab's ivory house, seem to be sufficient grounds for ascribing the same date to the Palestinian as to the Syrian ivories, the middle of the ninth century, i.e. about Ahab's times. There is something more which seems to bear this out. A number of fragments have marks, mostly on the back, either as an aid to assembling or as a mark of origin. Some of these are letters. Professor Sukenik, in a palæographical examination, comes to the conclusion that they are of ninth century origin. His comparisons rest on ninth century, or younger inscriptions. This would not exclude the possibility of the ivories being older. It would therefore be useful to compare the characters also with inscriptions older than the ninth century, for which the Byblos inscriptions provide us with the necessary material. The forms of the Aleph, Yodh, and Nun appearing here are older than those on the ivories. Aleph: In the inscriptions the slanting strokes do not cross to the left side of the vertical (Ahiram), but they do on the ivories. Yodh: The top part of the Byblos letter is round, on the ivories it is angular. Nun: The form on the inscriptions is still somewhat curved, while on the ivories it is sharply angular. Hence, the letters on the ivories would appear to be somewhat younger than those of the Byblos inscriptions. The youngest of these, that of Elibaal, belongs to the end of the tenth century. The ivories may therefore be ascribed to the ninth century. The literary reference, the similarity to the Arslan Tash ivories and the palæographical examination together seem to be a strong argument in favour of the correctness of the date given by the authors.

The main part of the volume is devoted to a lucid description and careful discussion of the examples given in the plates. These show the infant Horus, Osiris, Hah, Isis, and Nephthys, winged figures in human form, winged sphinxes with human heads, battling animals,

lions, bulls, and deer, a throned figure, mythological fragments, lotus-chains, lilies, papyrus, palmettes, palms, etc. In technique and in subject—as will be apparent even from this list—the ivories are completely under Egyptian influence, without a trace of Assyria. This is a result of a movement beginning in the period of Sheshonk I and stretching over the period from Solomon to Ahab. The religious subjects of the ivories mentioned do not point to the adoption of the Egyptian cults: they "meant no more than the pseudo-classical draperies once thrown over Gospel characters in the West". This art, the authors stress in the final paragraph of their chapter "Conclusions", though "derivative, is none the less genuine . . . it was fluent and sophisticated but unexpectedly full of life and staying power. It contributed some motives to the nascent archaic art of the Greek islands: other motives, such as the palmette tree and the winged guardian angel, lasted on into the Christian era".

We owe to the skill of the excavators and to the scholarship of the authors an excellent and very interesting book. I might add that the publication is beautiful in finish.

S. Birnbaum.

The Rise of the North Arabic Script and its Ḳur'ānic Development, with a full Description of the Ḳur'ān Manuscripts in the Oriental Institute. By Nabia Abbott. (University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications, Volume L.) pp. xxii, 103, pls. 33. University of Chicago Press, 1939. $10.

Arabic writing, like the language, gives the impression of having come into being by spontaneous generation; at one moment it is not, at the next it is everywhere. The impression is false, but the evidence for the growth of the Arabic script is not satisfactory. The Arabs began by writing Aramaic in various scripts; the monuments of Sinai, Palmyra, and Nabatæa are examples of this. It is hardly right to say that the Nabatæan are older than the Palmyrene. Arabic words occur in both classes of inscriptions. Then come Nabatæan monuments in which the language approaches Arabic. That published by Jaussen and Savignac (1, 172) is important, though it is not noticed by Dr. Abbott. In form it is an ordinary funerary inscription, but several pure Arabic words are used instead of the normal Aramaic, and it is dated A.D. 268, earlier than any of the so-called Arabic inscriptions quoted in this book. In course of time the Nabatæan

writing changed, letters were simplified, and ligatures became more common, in fact some of the shorter words might be scribbled Arabic. It would seem that Arabic was eclectic, for some of its forms are nearer to the inscriptions of Sinai than to those on the mainland of Arabia. A history of Arabic writing should give a selection of inscriptions with transliteration and commentary, pointing out how the letters drew near to the Arabic forms. The problem is complicated because the oldest Arabic exists in two forms, *Kūfī* and *naskhī*, and sometimes one and sometimes the other is nearer to Aramaic. The discovery that *naskhī* is as old as *Kūfī* can hardly be called new. The scattered notes in Lidzbarski's *Handbuch* have not been superseded as an introduction to the history of the Arabic alphabet. One wants to know what is meant by the statement that the Arabs used the Phœnician alphabet (p. 2); it is inaccurate to call the Phœnician alphabet western and the Aramaic eastern. Probably there will always be two opinions about the diffusion of the art of writing in Arabia. The author quotes from Amin Rihani an account of the writing habits of the present government in Yemen and implies that it holds good for the time of Muḥammad. The opposite could be maintained by quoting *Bedouin Justice*. During a boom in camels an illiterate bedouin was reported to have made £30,000; he had the haziest idea of what a bank was, invested his gains in land or livestock, and kept the balance on his person. The chiefs, who formed the law courts, knew the price of grain in any given year and worked out sums with irritating fractions in their heads in addition to following the vagaries of a complicated currency. After reading this book it is easy to believe that nobody in Mecca could write in spite of its extensive trade.

The more one studies the Arab traditions about the origin of writing the less reliable they appear. Dr. Abbott does not pay enough attention to the difficulties of chronology. Bishr, a brother, and presumably a younger brother, of Ukaidir of Dūmat al-Jandal, could hardly have learnt to write from men who were teaching in A.D. 500. It must be noted that tradition points to the neighbourhood of Hira as the source of writing, while all epigraphic evidence points to Syria, in a wide sense. Indeed, the claim of tradition to know the first man to write is sufficient condemnation of it. One fact about the early alphabet can be learnt from theology. Mughīra b. Sa'īd (executed 119/737) taught that God's foot was represented by *alif* because it was curved. Still, the treatment of the developments inside Arabic is a careful piece of work, and, if the results are meagre, that is due

to lack of facts. The notes on the *mashḳ* style are convincing. Muslim authors give the names of many styles but do not differentiate them clearly. Here again, Dr. Abbott accepts their accounts at their face value, and has paid no attention to the criticisms of Moritz in the *EI*. It is unlikely that Mecca and Medina developed individual styles while Syria and Egypt did not. Scholars will be grateful for the correction of the date in plate 2 in the *EI*. Other sections of this book are useful summaries of existing knowledge. The notes on the manuscript Ḳur'āns in the Oriental Institute are models of what such things should be, and give all the help that is needed for the study of the plates. One must say that the plates can hardly be used for class-work; the MSS. are badly damaged, and the difference between letter and diacritic does not come out clearly in the photographs. The folding plate of alphabets is first class. There are some signs of book-making about this handsome volume; it is quite unnecessary to include references to the bibliography in the index, and Ethiopia and Ethiopic have nothing to do with the north Arabic script.

A. S. T.

CATALOGUE OF THE ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE INDIA OFFICE: Vol. II, iv. kalām. By REUBEN LEVY. pp. 337–440. Published by order of the Secretary of State for India at the India Office, London, 1940. 12*s*. 6*d*.

The entries in this section of the catalogue give all the information needed without waste of words or space. It looks as if the final revision had been hurried. In 2014 the author is called al-Kūrānī, but in 2016 he is al-Kūrānī al-Madanī, and the same thing is found in 1994 and 1996. The facts divided between the entries 2137 and 2138 should all have been stated in the first entry and the second reduced to "another copy of the same work". The note at the end of 1892 is silly; the editor should have found out if the book referred to by Ḥājjī Khalīfa is the one which goes by that title to-day. Most of the items belong either to Sunnī theology or to Shī'ī; the Sunnī section is not exciting, but the Shī'ī is rich and contains a number of books which have not been published.

A. S. T.

THE ORIGINS OF ISMĀ'ĪLISM. By BERNARD LEWIS. pp. ix, 114. Cambridge, 1940.

It was an ambitious project to choose for one's first venture into the field of scholarship the intricate maze of early Shi'ite sects. The signposts are few and fragmentary, the trail is confused by sectarian polemics and beset with pitfalls, and the charts plotted by the great Orientalists who have previously explored it in part often give contradictory indications. But Dr. Lewis's courage was rewarded by the discovery of two fresh sources which, added to the results of other recent researches, have enabled him to give a clear and intelligible picture of the main lines of development. He has wisely confined himself to the ascertainable facts, and where these have not sufficed to allow of definite assertions he has marshalled the evidence and left the solution to wait on further investigation. This applies more especially to the early history of the Carmathians of Baḥrain, but Dr. Lewis has succeeded so far as to demonstrate the error both of those who asserted that the Carmathians were the parents of the Ismā'īlī movement, and of those who deny any connection between them.

The main contribution made by this monograph to the general view of Islamic history lies in setting Maimūn al-Qaddāḥ and his descendants in their true relationship to the Ismā'īlī movement and the genuine 'Alids. More especially, he has found for the hotly disputed point of the genuineness of Fāṭimid claims to descent from the Imāms a solution which has the merit of simplicity and is supported by fairly satisfactory evidence—namely that though 'Ubaidallāh al-Mahdī was in fact a Qaddāḥid, his successor and reputed son al-Qā'im was a true Fāṭimid. It is interesting to observe that part of the evidence was published by De Sacy a hundred years ago, but that neither he nor any later scholar had hitherto appreciated its significance. The short concluding chapter on the social role of the Ismā'īlī movement is confessedly no more than an outline, and it is to be hoped that Dr. Lewis may at some future time develop this aspect of his subject more fully. Indeed, having gone so far into this field, it would be a pity if he should not take up and complete the task left unfinished by Friedländer and the other students of the Muslim heterodoxies.

H. A. R. G.

LA MADRASA NIZAMIYYA ET SON HISTOIRE. By ASAD TALAS. pp. xii, 125. Paris: Geuthner, 1939.

The book begins with a sketch of Muslim education in the first four centuries of Islam. The picture is perhaps highly coloured, for the schools seem to have been less official and more casual than they are made out to be. Then come seven pages about Niẓām al-Mulk himself; they have nothing to do with the Madrasa. The treatment of the Madrasa tries to be comprehensive, and the book ends with a list of teachers in the Madrasa and another list of distinguished pupils. The list of teachers is classified according to the subjects they taught, and is fuller than that given by Wuestenfeld (*Academien der Araber*). It is not made clear how many teachers worked in the Niẓāmiyya at one time. A sketch-map shows where, in the author's opinion, the Madrasa stood, and a plan of the Madrasa Marjāniyya shows what is thought to have been the arrangement of the Niẓāmiyya. There is an index, but the proofs have been read carelessly.

A. S. T.

IGHĀTHAT AL-UMMAT BIKASHF AL-GHUMMAT BY AL-MAKRĪZĪ. Edited by M. M. ZIYĀDA and G. M. AL-SHAYYĀL. pp. x, 92, pl. 1. Cairo, 1940.

The editors note that pamphlets like this are more human than the formal histories. A famine was the occasion of writing it, and the author uses a homely illustration to drive home to his readers his conviction that it was no worse than many earlier famines. The book begins with a history of the famines which had afflicted Egypt. The author passes lightly over those which happened before the Muslim conquest, Joseph is hardly mentioned, then he asks what are the causes of famines and finds three. (1) The sale of offices, which makes the holders extort money from the populace. (2) The increase in the price and rent of land. (3) Tampering with the currency. He shows that all history teaches that gold and silver are the only two metals to be used as currency. Now in Egypt the *fulūs*, coined from an alloy of silver and copper, are legal currency, and the result is disaster. The author gives a history of Muslim coinage in which fact is mixed with fiction; he knows that some dirhams were as heavy as the dinar. He records the ratios which at various times held between gold and silver and between gold and the *fulūs*. He has much to say about prices, so the pamphlet is valuable for social history. Incidentally he derives the name *nishsh* from *niṣf*. He describes the effect of the

debased coinage on the various classes of society. He mentions that the Fāṭimids were invited into Egypt as a result of economic unrest. Enough has been said to show that this little book is important. It is well edited and has an index.

A. S. T.

PARIASTÄMME IN ARABIEN. By JOSEF HENNINGER. Sankt Gabrieler Studien. pp. 39. Wien-Mödling: Missionsdruckerei St. Gabriel, 1939.

There are several tribes in Arabia which come out of a lower social drawer than the rest of the inhabitants. This pamphlet contains a summary of what is known about these tribes; often it is very little, especially about those in South Arabia. The author has used most sources of information, but he has not noted Lawrence, *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom*; the *Handbook of Arabia*; Bertram Thomas, *Among Some Unknown Tribes of South Arabia* and *Four Strange Tongues*. These would not add much to his information, but H. F. Jacob, *Perfumes of Araby*, would have given a few new details about the south. The argument that the nomad smiths must have learnt the art from a settled people is hardly convincing; there are nomad smiths in India who live in tents, and the itinerant tinker was a familiar figure in this land. The reader is left wondering why the classical authors never mentioned these tribes or whether they are new arrivals in the land.

A. S. T.

A WINTER IN ARABIA. By Miss FREYA STARK. pp. 328, maps 3, pl. 86 London: John Murray, 1940. 16*s*.

The scientific results of the expedition, of which Miss Stark formed a part, have been published elsewhere, so this book is a record of their day-to-day experiences and their contacts with the Arabs. The writer was hampered by ill health and could not make the most of her opportunities; still, after making allowances, the results are disappointing. The book is very readable, but much of the entertainment is not peculiar to Arabia. A woman was afraid to come near Miss Stark, who comments that it is not nice to feel a monster. Some of us have had the same sensation in hospital when doctors and nurses carefully washed after touching us; and English women in out-of-the-way parts of India have seen the natives flee from them in terror. The most striking thing in the book is the tale that a kind-

hearted Christian was taken to heaven and given the place belonging to a Muslim who lost it because his heart was hard. It seems that a simple Arab girl pulled Miss Stark's leg. One would like to know more about the government of Hureidha, which is a compromise between the Sunnite and Shi'ite positions; the *mansab* rules by virtue of his descent from the Prophet, but his decisions are "vetted" by the *ḳāḍī* to make sure that they are in accord with Muslim law. What is the political connection, if any, with the Sultan of Makalla? From what highlands do those mercenaries come whose livelihood is threatened by the formation of a local police? The book raises many questions which it does not answer. Life in Hadhramaut has much in common with Muslim life elsewhere. Spirits in the form of dogs which tell the dead saint what is going on in the world are not peculiar to any one place. The criticism, that a man could not be a good poet because he did not know the difficult words, betrays a weakness in Arabic literature which also is not peculiar. So with the tales of possession; as names of jinn, Sikin, and Barkin seem new. In other places a house is *maskūn*, inhabited by jinn, so Sikin probably means inhabitant, like the classical *'āmir*. In Morocco also a jinn gets inside a man and eats his food, so that the unwilling host is always hungry. The table of brass, which makes a noise once a year till it is stopped by a sacrifice, is probably not unique. The race in which one horse took part was a *ṭawāf*; one can be seen near Aden, the participants begin when they like, stop when they like, and ride what they like. What is the difference between a father-beehive and a son-beehive? It is an interesting comment on Muslim orthodoxy that the Sayyids have annulled one of the strict rules about marriage for their own convenience. "The fact is that the sayyids have made special arrangements among themselves so that they can marry cheaply and often—for there is very little else to do here." The use of *zīna* as a name for one day of the feast of sacrifice seems peculiar to Hadhramaut; it is hard to disentangle from the account to which day the name belongs. The index gives it also to the little feast. The few remarks about the language of women are tantalizing; the three words given should have been spelt more accurately. *Kaut*, "drifted sand," may be *kawwada*, "to heap up." The lines of stones and cairns (photo in *JRAS.*) recall something of the sort seen by Mr. Philby (Sheba's Daughters, 371). Are the spellings *siqaya* and *saqiya* intentional? It is curious that divination by arrows still survives.

A. T. S.

EVERYDAY ARABIC. By H. M. NAHMAD and C. RABIN. pp. xii, 99. London: Dent, 1940. 5*s*.

In composing a guide to an unwritten language the danger is that the result will be so local as not to be understood outside a small area. The authors of this book have avoided that danger by forming an amalgam language which is not spoken in any one place but has a fair chance of being understood over a wide area. There is no indication that the vocabulary in Arabic script sometimes gives literary Arabic, which is quite different from the vernacular. The authors claim that the language learnt from this book will be understood in many places; that may be, but the beginner will not understand the answers he receives.

A. S. T.

L'ARABO PARLATO A ṢAN'Â' (Grammatica-Testi-Lessico). By ETTORE ROSSI. pp. vi, 250. Rome: Istituto Per L'Oriente, 1939.

It has been a weakness of many books on colloquial Arabic that their authors have regarded them rather as intellectual exercises than as practical contributions to the study of a dialect. This was perhaps particularly noticeable in the case of the German scholars, whose interest in the Near East was in their day of a largely academic nature. Italy, however, who appears to be rapidly ousting the Germans in the sphere of Arabic scholarship, has more practical commitments, particularly in the Yemen, with which this recent publication is concerned.

In writing a book of this kind one may adopt one of three methods; one may either erect an independent theoretical structure of colloquial grammar, a method with obvious weaknesses; or one may classify the peculiarities of the dialect in relation to the literary language, a method useful for scholars, but of little value to students; or one may produce a progressive text-book for beginners. Dr. Rossi has hesitated between the last two methods; but he appears to have realized his difficulties, and after a somewhat hurried tying together of loose ends, finishes his grammatical section after less than fifty pages. His texts are well chosen; there is the usual collection of fables and poems (some political among the latter), and others, especially useful, describing Yemeni ceremonies and usages. Perhaps the most valuable portion of the book is the account of the political and social structure of the country, under the headings of government and administration, social and commercial organizations, and the

army. Further vocabularies are given under a large number of classified headings. Finally there is a good general vocabulary (Italian-Arabic ; it is a pity that an Arabic-Italian vocabulary is not included). This is a decidedly useful addition to Arabic colloquial literature.

L. P. ELWELL-SUTTON.

SPECIMENS OF ARABIC AND PERSIAN PALÆOGRAPHY. Selected and Annotated by A. J. ARBERRY. pp. viii, 48. London: India Office, 1939.

It would be interesting to know what Dr. Arberry had in mind when he compiled this book. It consists of forty-eight reproductions of pages from manuscripts dating from the ninth to the early nineteenth century, and ranging in styles from Maghribi to Indian Shikasteh. The collection is really too random to be of great value to the serious student, even if his interests did exclude modern material. The value of the book would have been considerably enhanced by the addition of a commentary or explanation, or even a transcription in printed Arabic. A book on Arabic handwriting is certainly a desideratum, and it is to be hoped that time and circumstances will allow Dr. Arberry to complete the work he has begun.

L. P. ELWELL-SUTTON.

VERZEICHNIS DER SCHRIFTEN von CARL BROCKELMANN. Zusammengestellt von OTTO SPIES. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1938.

This complete list of the works of the famous historian of Arabic literature is arranged according to the year of publication. The items under each year are arranged in (1) books, (2) articles, (3) reviews. The list will be useful to anyone studying any of the many subjects dealt with by Professor Brockelmann.

B. L.

DOUGHTY'S ENGLISH. By WALT TAYLOR. S.P.E. Tract No. LI. Clarendon Press, 1939. 3*s*. 6*d*.

It has always struck me that the style of Doughty's *Arabia Deserta* is a specimen of what English syntax might have been had Gibbon's famous alternative come to pass. In this valuable monograph Mr. Taylor studies the language of Doughty from the linguistic point of view, all questions of literary criticism being put aside. In the course of his 46 pages Mr. Taylor carefully analyses the various com-

ponents of this style "at once modern, Chaucerian, Elizabethan, and Arabic". It is only with the last element that we are concerned here. After a number of extremely interesting remarks on the character of the Arabic language as an instrument of expression, the author goes on to a detailed description of the influence of that language on Doughty. This influence expresses itself in a number of forms—in new words, or new meanings for old words, such as the brilliant use of the word "Welsh" as a translation of the Arabic "'ajam" in certain contexts, or such expressions as "well-nosed" meaning "proud" and "thick-blooded" meaning "bad-tempered"; in the extensive use of Arab measurements, such as "finger-thick" and "two-span-thick"; in the use of English words to express Arab words of similar sound, e.g. "cutter" for "highwayman", and "buss" for "kiss"; and, most striking of all in the structure of sentences. Many passages read like literal translations from Arabic.

The question of Arabic influence on the style of those Englishmen who have travelled in Arabia is worthy of wider study, and it is to be hoped that Mr. Taylor will turn his attention to some of Doughty's predecessors and successors, whose way of writing, though not as strange as that of Doughty, nevertheless bears strong traces of the speech and country of the people among whom they travelled.

B. L.

SHKIIN. A few words on some Jewish legends, customs, and literary sources found in Karaite and Christian works. (Including an index of the Jewish books cited in *Pugio Fidei* of Raymund Martini.) By Rabbi SAUL LIEBERMANN. (In Hebrew, with English summary.) Jerusalem: Bamberger and Wahrmann, 1939.

This little work represents what is probably a new departure in Talmudic studies. Latin compilations of Talmudic excerpts prepared in the Middle Ages by Catholic theologians for the disputations of Paris, Barcelona, and Tortosa contain numerous alleged translations of Talmudic passages, and accounts of Jewish customs and traditions. These have usually been rejected by Jewish scholars as wholly spurious. In this monograph Rabbi Liebermann does not accept this point of view, and in a well documented study shows that while these medieval authors are guilty of much misinterpretation, perhaps deliberate, of their sources, they nevertheless contain much material that is authentic and consequently of great value to students of Jewish tradition. The main part of the book is taken up with a study of the

accounts of Judaism given by Peter the Venerable of Cluny and by Raymund Martini in his *Pugio Fidei*. These texts are meticulously examined and compared with their alleged sources. A number of references to Rabbinic Jewish customs given in two Karaite works are also considered. The book bears every mark of careful and accurate scholarship.

B. L.

MAGNES ANNIVERSARY BOOK. Contributions by members of the Academic Staff of the Hebrew University. Edited by F. I. BAER, F. S. BODENHEIMER, J. N. EPSTEIN, M. FEKETE, A. FODOR, I. J. KLIGLER, L. A. MAYER. (In Hebrew, with English summaries.) Jerusalem: Hebrew University Press, 1938.

This volume, published on the occasion of the sixtieth birthday of Dr. Magnes, contains in its two parts an interesting cross-section of the work being done by the members of the Academic Staff of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Part I, devoted to the humanities, contains twenty-six articles, of which Judaica and Arabica form the largest part. Dr. Brauer contributes an interesting study of the rites and customs of the Jews of Kurdistan in times of drought, in which much valuable folk-lore material is given. It is interesting to note that even among the non-Jewish population of the area special value is apparently attached to Jewish prayers for rain, the efficacy of which is believed to be greater than in the case of Muslims and Christians. Dr. Bravmann deals with the accusative of the subject after "*inna*" and its "sisters" in Arabic, rejecting the explanation given by Reckendorf and offering an interesting alternative of his own, not dissimilar to that reached independently by Ibrahim Mustafa in his "Iḥyā an-naḥw". Dr. Fischel adds a supplement to his recent book on the Jews in Medieval Islam, and collects a number of references in Arabic sources to the institution of the "Rēsh-Gālūta" or Jewish "Prince of Captivity". Of particular interest is a study by S. D. Goitein of an Arabic text by one Haim Habshush, a Jew of Ṣan'a, who accompanied Joseph Halévy on his travels in the Yemen. The book was written some twenty years after at the request of Eduard Glaser, and it has a great deal of useful material, particularly as regards the condition of the Jews in Yemen. Dr. Goitein has since published the book itself in Hebrew translation. From the pen of Professor L. A. Mayer we have a study on "the Status of the Jews under the Mamlūks". This subject is apparently receiving close

attention in Jerusalem, and a number of useful monographs on several of its aspects have already been published by Poliak, Neustadt, and others. Professor Mayer considers a number of passages in the Muqṣid (Paris MS.), Qalqashandī, and other sources, including the little-known Ta'rīf of Ibn Faḍlallah al-'Umarī. The position of the *ra'īs al-Yahūd* is discussed at length. Other studies worthy of note are some Genizah texts edited and commented by S. Assaf: "The Common Teleological Source of Bahye Ibn Paqoda and Ghazzali," by D. H. Baneth; and an interesting comparison between the positions of the Oral Tradition in Judaism and Islam by G. Weil.

One minor criticism that may be made against the book is that the transliteration of Hebrew and to a lesser extent of Arabic words in the English summary is slipshod and inconsistent.

B. L.

Part II

The Sciences

When Lord Balfour opened the Hebrew University in 1925 he made special reference to the linguistic difficulties that faced such an academic institution in adapting the language of Isaiah to the problems of micro-biology. "Is the poetry and imagery of the language of Isaiah," he asked, "fitted to deal with all the laboratory work that is going to render this spot illustrious?" The science section of this volume goes a long way towards providing an affirmative answer to this question, and is a testimony at once of the vitality of the Hebrew language and of the intellectual activity of the Hebrew University. The first impression that one derives from these articles is the complete ease and naturalness of expression. In the descriptive sciences this is not perhaps surprising. The language of the Bible, and more particularly of the Mishnah, offers adequate scope for a full and yet precise descriptive style. It is more interesting to observe the way in which mathematics and the exact sciences are treated. On the whole there is no extreme attempt to exclude the European word and replace it by a word of Hebraic origin. It is, however, instructive to compare an article on "The Rank of Matrices in Non-Commutative Fields" with one on "The Theory of Graphs with a Transitive Automorphism Group" and to see the tendency of one author to use in every case the European words "commutative", "associative", "transitive", etc., while the other tends to use words of Hebrew origin to which specific scientific associations have

been given—thus, for the three examples given above we find "חלפני," "חברני," "מעבירי". How far such attempts will be successful it is impossible to foresee. It is probable that the purist and the Europeanist will enjoy alternate waves of popularity.

In two spheres the Latin influence is predominant and is likely to remain so: that is in the writing of chemical formulæ and in the expression of mathematical equations. In this connection the mathematical equations usually proceed in the European direction from left to right, while chemical equations are written arbitrarily in either direction. There is, however, little chance of confusion.

These articles show on the whole that the Hebrew language is sufficiently vigorous to adapt itself to the needs of modern scientific expression without sacrificing too much of its original characteristics, either of idiom or of vocabulary.

D. TABOR.

THE CAT IN ANCIENT EGYPT. By N. and B. LANGTON. pp. 92, pls. 19. Cambridge University Press, 1940. Price 25s.

To every cat-lover—and the increase in their number is coincident with the advance of civilization—a Book of Cats is always welcome. In this book Mr. and Mrs. Langton have shown that here, as in so many other matters, Ancient Egypt led the way and exhibited both common sense and imaginative power. Any dog can kill a rat, but it takes a cat to tackle a poisonous snake, and the Egyptian cat of ancient and modern days had and has the same swiftness, deftness, and fearlessness as the mongoose. One pounce on the back of the neck of the unwary snake, one shake, and the neck is broken and the snake dead. Here, then, as Mr. and Mrs. Langton point out, may be one of the origins of the sanctity of the cat in ancient Egypt. But another origin surely lies in the character of the cat. To anyone who really knows a cat, its superiority over the mere dog is manifest. A dog is a slave with the slave mentality, no one would deify a dog; but the cat is an original and independent being, living its own life, and though kindly condescending to the human creatures who minister to its wants, is so definitely superior to those creatures that worship must have arisen naturally. The mental attitude of the cat to its adorer and vice versa is shown in the bronze figured in plate xii, 168. Cat-worship clearly belonged to the aboriginal inhabitants of Egypt, the chief centre being at Bubastis in the Delta. Amuletic figures of cats are known from an early period, as the Langtons have noted,

but the temple-worship did not spread till the eighteenth dynasty, when the great change in the official religion was brought about by the theologians, who attempted to unify the Egyptian pantheon by identifying the different deities with one another irrespective of their origin and their local cults. Thus Bast, the cat, was identified with the lioness, Sekhmet, of Memphis, though the two deities were entirely distinct in origin. The identification was only in temple-ritual; among the people the cat held sway until the end, and amulets of Bast, whether as a cat-headed woman or in animal form, were always popular. Naturally the cult of Bast became very fashionable in the twenty-second dynasty, when the princes of Bubastis made themselves Pharaohs of all Egypt, and scarabs inscribed with the name of Bast are found in great numbers. "May Bast give good luck every day," is a not uncommon sentiment on what are obviously gift-scarabs.

Mr. and Mrs. Langton have published 336 figures of the cat, some of which are certainly purely domestic without any religious connotation, but showing the affection in which the animal was held. There is also a full description of each figure. Such a mass of material for the study of one of the lesser known deities has never been put together before, and is an example of what might be done with some of the other goddesses of Ancient Egypt. Unfortunately the arrangement of the plates makes them difficult to refer to; a better system would have obviated much of the difficulty. This is the chief blot in the book; otherwise Mr. and Mrs. Langton are to be congratulated on the publication of a collection interesting not only to cat-lovers but to all students of the religion and lore of Ancient Egypt.

M. A. MURRAY.

NOUVELLES ÉTUDES D'ÉTHIOPIEN MÉRIDIONAL. Par MARCEL COHEN. (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, 275.) pp. xxix, 472. Paris: Honoré Champion, 1939.

To an Englishman the title is misleading, for the book deals with modern languages, not with Ethiopic. Most of it is concerned with Amharic; there is a vocabulary of 140 words of Woyto, or Wohito, a dialect spoken by a small tribe of boatmen and hippopotamus hunters on Lake Tsana, and fifty pages on Southern Argobba, which is spoken to the south of Harar. This is the first attempt to record this tongue, and it is far more than a bare list of words and constructions. The part on Amharic is not meant for beginners; it is a series of discussions of parts of the grammar. To indicate some of

them: Amharic has two forms of the causative, one made by adding the prefix *a-*, the other by the prefix *as-*; the author calls this second the factitive. Commonly the causative is formed from verbs of type A, the factitive from type B. Intransitive verbs tend to have both forms, while transitive verbs A usually have a factitive. This section is completed by a list of verbs with the prefix *aš-*, with discussion of the probable origin of the forms. Other verbal forms are made with the prefixes *an-* and *tan-*; the list has been made as full as possible with remarks. The form with *an-* is often transitive or causative and the form with *tan-* reflexive. Another class of verbs is formed by using some word with one or other of the two auxiliaries "go" or "say" (cf. *BSOS.*, V, 7, pp. 573 ff.). These verbs are called compound descriptive; a few examples of them are found in Geez. The sounds and sound-changes are dealt with at length; many of them are peculiar to the south Semitic group. For the loss of *f* may be compared the modern Arabic *nuṣṣ* for *niṣf*, and the frequent disappearance of *n* has many parallels in Hebrew. The book is very up to date; you may learn from it how to ask for Wrigley's Chewing Gum in Amharic.

A. S. T.

WORDS OF ORIENTAL ORIGIN IN SWAHILI. By Dr. B. KRUMM. pp. 192. London: The Sheldon Press, 1940.

The publisher craves the reader's indulgence because the author could not read the final proofs. Has he not a reader who could correct "phraynx" and set right the disordered lines on p. 56? Is it too much to ask the said reader to correct Ptolomaios and to bring into line with it Procope? The author thanks some friends for helping him with his English; he should rather curse them. Outstanding mistakes are the use of "Arabian" for "Arabic" and "hybrid" for "native". Perhaps this monstrosity started in the idea "common to the Bantu group of languages". The English and the sense of this book are often both shocking. "Words adopted from Arabic share to a great extent in the circumscription of missing adjectives." One who knows German can guess at the meaning. "The change from *nāmaǧ* to *manaǧ* is probably due to metathesis." Metathesis is not a force but a process, and this change is obviously an example of it. In the previous line *manaǧ* was spelt differently. There are many more examples of bad English and poor sense. The introduction contains wild statements such as, "many of the nautical terms in Swahili emanate from the

sailors' language of Baghdad," and "the fact remains that PWNT was pronounced pwani(e)". Why could not the author use the standard phrase "loan word" instead of saying "incorporated", "adopted word?" The answer is conceit; this shows itself in the care with which he explains away mistakes in the German edition of this book, mistakes due to ignorance of elementary facts in Arabic. The author's method is illustrated by eleven lines on p. 118; these contain the words, "opine," "probably," "more probably," and "very likely"; he makes assumptions and uses them as a base for further dreams (cf. p. 23).

The book ends with a glossary; one assumes that it contains all Asiatic loan words except those mentioned in the note. Several words in the body of the book are not in the glossary. Let us take a few words. *Abudu* was originally Hebrew! the root is common to the Semitic family; *adhima* is derived from an Arabic word which does not exist and which is provided with an even more impossible plural; *aḫera* is derived from the masculine when it is notorious that it is feminine which is used in this sense; *akarabu* and *akrabu*, there is no attempt to explain why these two words, which have the same pattern in Arabic, are different in Swahili; *aqrab* is not plural. The fun does not begin till he gets to the aitches, when he confuses h, ḥ, and ḫ with a sublime contempt for such detail. He cannot even spell the Swahili right, e.g. *ḫitari* for *khitiari*. There are notes on the derivations of several words, mostly wild. He tries to equate *burdani* with the Arabic *buldān*; he quotes Turkish in support, ignoring the fact that *dan* is an ablative ending in Turkish. Canon Binns becomes the Rev. C. Binns. *Iḫtimu* is derived from the eighth form of the Arabic verb on p. 94, but elsewhere it is explained correctly. The author does try to find out the rules underlying the changes involved in the transfer from Arabic to Swahili, but has to admit exceptions (p. 93); the chapter on the verb has its share of bad English, careless phrasing, slovenly printing, and mistakes in Arabic.

One queer idea is that slavery is not a primitive institution in Africa (p. 118); *doti*, a cotton cloth, is probably the Hindustani *dhoti*, loin-cloth, which is made of cotton. There are eight misprints on p. 158 of the glossary.

Jana is said to come from Arabic, whereas it is from Persian; some words, which are said to be Arabic, do not exist, to the best of my knowledge. The book is wordy; even the title could be cut down to "Oriental Loan Words in Swahili". The paragraphs are numbered

throughout and are referred to by number (the references are not always right); the numbers should be put at the top of the page or in the margin to facilitate reference.

A. S. T.

SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE POLICY AND THE LIBERAL SPIRIT. (Phelps-Stokes Lectures, delivered before the University of Capetown, May, 1939.) By R. F. ALFRED HOERNLÉ, M.A., B.Sc. (Oxon.). South Africa: Lovedale Press, 1939.

In the tangled network of race relations in South Africa it is rare to find an analysis of racial policy which is at the same time impartial, well informed, and related to possible action. This unique combination has, however, been achieved, as readers of this book will agree. Professor Hoernlé has brought to the task his detachment as a philosopher, his long experience as a resident in South Africa, and his active participation in racial problems as President of the Institute of Race Relations. Of the four lectures which form this book the first two are an analysis of the present race relations in South Africa, illustrating the technique of domination and the spirit of trusteeship. The third is an exposé of the liberal spirit in a race-ridden world—an incursion into the realm of philosophical thinking, where cherished prejudices and inclinations have to give way before the clear light of reason. The last lecture is a challenge to "liberals" to formulate a long term as well as a short term Native policy which can be realizable in practice.

One of the practical problems discussed by Professor Hoernlé which is, or should be, of practical interest in Great Britain is the relation of cultural progress to social and economic progress among the Bantu peoples in South Africa. It concerns us at home because it is inherent in any conception of trusteeship for the so-called "backward" races. The development of African culture, in language, art, and literature, and the simultaneous teaching of Western culture, are part of the task of the trustees. Africans, it is acknowledged, must be trained to preserve and develop the best in their own cultural tradition. But, as Professor Hoernlé points out clearly, without a parallel advance in economic prosperity, who is going to support and foster African culture? Speaking of the South African Natives who have had professional training, he says, "This handful of professionally qualified Natives must be looked upon as the pioneers of a movement which is

held back, not by lack of intrinsic intellectual ability, but by poverty which makes it impossible for Native parents to pay for a long expensive training even when their children possess the requisite ability; and by lack of opportunity for earning a living when the child has been equipped with professional qualifications."

Readers will value this book because it puts together for them the salient facts and problems of race relations in South Africa. They will also be grateful to Professor Hoernlé for stimulating them to think out racial problems and Native progress in other areas in which Great Britain is more closely concerned. His analysis of the connection between the demand for Native labour in white enterprises and the backwardness of Native Reserves is applicable to other areas in Africa, and his searching questions on trusteeship are relevant to British policy particularly at this time.

MARGARET READ.

TEXT BOOK OF LAMBA GRAMMAR. By CLEMENT M. DOKE, M.A., D.Litt. Johannesburg, 1938. pp. 484.

This is a very full study of the Lamba language, which, as the author points out, could be used with advantage in studying Bemba as well. The language is analysed according to the author's scheme for the analysis of Bantu languages—already made known in his *Text-book of Zulu Grammar* and his *Bantu Linguistic Terminology*. The main features discussed are Phonetics, Grammar, Classification of formatives, and Syntax; and examples are copious. As in his previous works, six basic parts of speech are recognized: Substantive, Qualificative, Predicative, Descriptive, Conjunction, and Interjection (including imperative), while his formatives are: roots, stems, class prefixes, concords, suffixes, verbal auxiliaries, prefixal formatives, na-, and enclitics. This is the second big grammatical study to be published in this scheme, and its reception will be interesting.

The orthography and word-division used are those now accepted by the missionaries working in Lambaland, the author explains. It is a pity that he was unable to persuade his colleagues to accept the letter υ (already accepted in Shona and elsewhere) instead of the diacritic letter ŵ. It is interesting to notice that the principle of determining word-division by the purely phonetic criterion of presence of stress is still adhered to in spite of vigorous criticism in the past.

Long vowels are indicated by overlining rather than by doubling the letter.

The book is well got up by a "replika process", reproducing the typed manuscript. This reduces the cost of such books considerably, but the general appearance is slightly marred by the fact that the author's typewriter was obviously deficient in the letters ɛ, ɔ, ə, and ŋ, which had to be added by hand. Another point for those who propose publishing in this style is to make sure that all the letters of the typewriter are well cleaned beforehand.

A. N. TUCKER.

THE ŚILAPPADIKĀRAM. Translated by V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR. Madras: Oxford University Press, Indian Branch, 1939.

By his translation of the Śilappadikāram Mr. Ramachandra Dikshitar makes accessible to scholars, whose knowledge of Tamil is insufficient for the study of this difficult classic in the original, a poem which is one of the most valuable pieces of early Tamil literature for the information that can be derived from it concerning the development of Tamil culture. The Śilappadikāram is composed partly in verse and partly in a kind of poetic prose. But no attempt has been made to reproduce in translation the poetic quality of the original. Mr. Dikshitar very wisely has contented himself with a prose rendering, for even if the *ahaval* metre might be successfully rendered in blank verse the exquisite beauty of the lyrics is beyond reproduction. The translation is based on the edition of the text prepared by the veteran scholar Dr. V. Swaminatha Aiyar. To the translation are appended a number of valuable footnotes.

In Mr. Dikshitar's opinion the poem was written by Iḷangō-aḍigaḷ, younger brother of the Cēra King Śeṅguṭṭuvan, not many years after the accession of Gajabāhu to the throne of Ceylon in A.D. 171. The poem represents Gajabāhu as present at the consecration of the shrine of the heroine Kaṇṇaki deified by Śeṅguṭṭuvan as Pattini Dēvi. Mr. Dikshitar at one point, page 16, writes as if the Gajabāhu synchronism fixed the date of the composition of the poem; though in fact it fixes only a date before which it cannot have been composed. In connection with the question of the date of the poem Mr. Dikshitar also examines the statements of the fifteenth century commentator, Aḍiyārkkunallār, as to the date of the departure of Kōvalan and

Kaṇṇaki from Puhār and the astronomical condition prevailing on that morning, and calculates that these data indicate the year A.D. 174. On the assumption that the story of Kōvalan and Kaṇṇaki is historical, and that Aḍiyārkkunallār had authentic information, both very doubtful assumptions, Mr. Dikshitar's argument would still, as in the case of the Gajabāhu synchronism, give only a *terminus a quo* for the composition of the poem. In further support of his early dating of the poem, Mr. Dikshitar claims that the vocabulary of the poem, the comparatively small intermingling of Sanskrit words, shows that "the author of the poem lived centuries before the authors of the Tevaram and Divyappirabandam". This is a line of argument that would repay more comprehensive treatment.

In his introduction Mr. Dikshitar has analysed the political, social, and religious life that is depicted in the poem. The poem reflects a time when the Vedic gods had reached South India, when Śiva and Viṣṇu had already risen to prominence, when in polite society marriage was celebrated with Vedic fire-rites, a time in fact when Dravidian culture had already been much affected by Aryan influence. But it is a time before the persecution of Buddhism and the development of strong sectarian rivalry between Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas. One feature of the time Mr. Dikshitar has not noted, though it tends to support an early date for the poem. It is a time when, as the poet's treatment of his theme indicates, in South India the belief in *saṃsāra* and *karma* still needed advocacy. Scattered throughout the poem there are many relics from the dim dark past, primitive phases of religious belief and practice that were ancient then and yet still live to-day among the village folk; and romantic legends of conquest that may contain grains of historical fact.

By this translation Mr. Dikshitar has certainly earned the gratitude of all interested in the history of South Indian culture, to whom by reason of the difficulty of the language Tamil classics are closed, or but very partially opened, books. It is to be hoped that he will feel encouraged to persevere in this good work, and find his reward in securing for Tamil literature, and the culture of which it is a part, the more general appreciation that it deserves.

G. M.

HISTORY OF KANAUJ TO THE MOSLEM CONQUEST. By RAMA SHANKAR TRIPATHI. pp. xx, 422. Benares: Indian Book Shop, 1937. 7 rupees (15*s.*).

This work by a promising young historian is based on the thesis which gained him the Ph.D. of London some years ago, and traces the long and glorious history of Kanyākubja from legendary times down to the Muslim conquest. The Introduction deals with the geography, history of the names of Kanauj, and its place in early legend. Its history proper begins with the Maukharis, when with the decline of the Guptas Kanauj began to take the place of Magadha. The golden age, however, was that of Harsha; and Dr. Tripathi treats at length of the place of this great ruler in history, religion, politics, and literature. The study of Harshavardhana and his work is one of the most important sections in the book. The obscure period that followed is next studied, and in conclusion we have the revival under the great Pratīhāras and the decline under the Gāhaḍavālas, leading to the final collapse and disappearance of Kanauj as a political entity before the Muslims. In addition to the political history we have chapters on administrative, religious, and social conditions in Kanauj, and there are valuable tables of inscriptions, pedigrees, etc. Dr. Tripathi's treatment of his subject is full and critical, and he has given us a contribution to the medieval history of his native land which is likely to be the standard one until our sources are unexpectedly increased. The book is well written, has an excellent index, is nicely printed, and is pleasing to handle; it has been produced in a manner worthy of its merits.

J. ALLAN.

AFTER THE REFORMS: COMMUNAL VERSUS DEMOCRATIC PSYCHOLOGY. By R. S. VAIDYANATHA AYYAR. South India: Maheswari Publishing House, 1939. 12 annas.

In this pamphlet Mr. Ayyar, who quotes liberally from the works of Mr. Leonard Woolf and Professor H. J. Laski, seeks to reveal and explain the conflicts in India between Democracy, Communalism, Feudal Autocracy, and Imperialism. After much meandering he concludes that an All-India Federation is inevitable, and therefore calls on all parties in India forthwith to co-operate in making a success of the Federal scheme.

C. H. PHILIPS.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF NUTRITION IN INDIA. By N. GANGULEE. pp. viii, 79. Oxford University Press.

Comprehensive bibliographies dealing with special subjects are of genuine value to the research student. Dr. Gangulee's compilation in addition will be of service to India's social workers and, we hope, politicians, too.

The first section deals with general works on nutrition; the second with books relating nutrition to national health; the third with diet surveys, the fourth and fifth with Indian foodstuffs and their analyses. Then follow sections on various deficiency diseases, on the sources of India's food supply, on famine and famine foods and the influence of economic factors and social prejudices on nutrition.

Dr. Gangulee is to be praised for his efforts, of which his books are only part, to disseminate and popularize in India the principles to be followed in the provision and choice of food.

C. H. P.

THE RISE AND GROWTH OF THE CONGRESS. By C. F. ANDREWS and GIRIJA MOOKERJEE. pp. 304. George Allen and Unwin, 1938. 7*s.* 6*d.*

INDIAN POLITICS SINCE THE MUTINY. By C. Y. CHINTAMANI. pp. 232. George Allen and Unwin, 1940. 7*s.* 6*d.*

These two volumes are complementary and it is convenient to review them together. Both are intended for the general public, especially in the West; the former being a popular account of the rise and growth of the All-India National Congress up to 1920; the latter a brief survey of the development of Indian public life, political ideas, and institutions between 1858 and 1935.

The volume on the Congress has suffered from joint authorship: it is loosely planned, unevenly written, and much of the material has been thrown together in haste. Throughout the authors have relied on extensive quotation for support rather than illumination. Sir Yajneswara Chintamani's book, on the other hand, is coherent and his lucid style and apt quotation lend interest to his narrative.

The authors of both works are evidently idealists, and at the same time generous to a fault, especially in their judgment of Indian politicians. Even so one fact stands out from their accounts—that Indian politicians, whether members of Congress or not, have failed to see the Indian political problem steadily and as a whole; they

have shown too much interest in the distribution and use of the power that is to be wrested from the hands of the British, too little in working for and winning Swaraj. For the most part, and this is particularly true of the last few years, they have been political opportunists, disdaining to follow the fine examples of Dadabhai Naoroji and Gokhale.

These two books will not increase the respect of the British for India's leaders, but they will show that during the last century and through the efforts of a small number of public-spirited men, both Indian and British, the notion of progressive change has been firmly implanted in the mind of educated India. Moreover, by elucidating India's political problems they serve to promote friendship and understanding between India and Britain. The continued publication of books on India by Messrs. Allen and Unwin is playing an important part in this development.

C. H. P.

LITERACY IN INDIA. By R. V. PARULEKAR. pp. 181. Macmillan and Co., 1939. 2*s*. 9*d*.

This small but important book contains an impassioned plea for a nation-wide drive for the early liquidation of mass illiteracy in India.

In a country whose leaders have chosen the democratic form of government as their political goal, the adult population must be enabled to take an interest in public affairs. Despite certain extenuating circumstances, such as the abnormally high birth and death rates, the percentage of literacy in India (not more than sixteen in 1931) is very low, and its growth alarmingly tardy. In the last twenty years great strides towards mass literacy have been taken in Russia and China, and in a generation 50 per cent literacy has been achieved in the Philippines. What has been done in these countries can be done in India.

The fundamental problem is that of finance and whilst this war lasts it is unlikely that more money can be appropriated for education in India. Nevertheless, as Mr. Parulekar points out, within the present framework and with existing facilities much can be done. He attacks the view accepted in Indian educational circles that a minimum course of four years is necessary to make the pupil literate, and refers for illustration and support to the undoubted success achieved by the

three-class system in the Dutch East Indies, Burma, and Indo-China. The Indian child, he adds, would gain by beginning his school course at the age of seven rather than six as at present, and the money now spent on the fourth year course would be better employed in providing suitable reading material, a move which would check the tendency of the pupil after leaving school to relapse into illiteracy.

The greatest single item of expenditure in India's primary schools is the pay of the teachers ; yet an average of only about twenty-five children to each teacher is maintained—one of the lowest proportions in the world and an anomaly in a country aiming at mass literacy. This number could be doubled without employing more teachers, and probably trebled if the double-shift system of classes, as developed and used in Ceylon, China, Russia, and Turkey, were generally employed. Apparently Bengal has already given a lead in this direction.

Since 1920 little progress has been made in adult education in India, and there can be no doubt that Indian educationalists have much to learn from the success of the Chinese Adult Education Movement. Suffice it to say here that for rapid progress towards mass literacy instruction to adults should first be given to the urban 15–25 age group.

The author omits to mention the use that might be made of the wireless and films, or to suggest that university and high school students would serve India better if they devoted their spare time to teaching rather than to politics.

Many will think Mr. Parulekar's proposals drastic, but the situation demands such measures. Not even the present war should be made an excuse for delay in their execution. Mr. Parulekar is to be congratulated on his comprehensive and bold treatment of a colossal problem.

C. H. PHILIPS.

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THE MUNRO SYSTEM OF BRITISH STATESMANSHIP IN INDIA. By K. N. VENKATASUBBA SASTRI. pp. lxix, 349. University of Mysore.

This volume contains a series of extracts illustrating the work, writings, and influence of Sir Thomas Munro in India. It supplements the *Selections* published by Arbuthnot in 1881.

In his introduction Dr. Venkatasubba Sastri contends that British administrators in India may be considered as falling into two groups. Ignoring Warren Hastings, he treats Munro as the founder of the

first, or "Liberal School", in which he would also place Bentinck, Henry Lawrence, Ripon, and Hardinge. These men, we may say, were concerned primarily with the welfare and happiness of the people they ruled. The second group, in which appear Cornwallis, Wellesley, and Curzon, sought first and foremost efficiency in government.

The author's thesis is more or less sound, but his development of it faulty. No satisfactory analysis of Munro's political, educational, and social ideas is made. Although more than half of the extracts demonstrate the important part taken by the London Government in the administration of India, no discussion of this is included in the introduction. The extracts themselves have a very unequal value, and a number, for instance "Hicky's petition for financial help", might well have been omitted. The odds and ends in the appendixes serve no useful purpose.

C. H. P.

SHUJA-UD-DAULAH. By ASHIRBADI LAL SRIVASTAVA. Vol. I. pp. viii, 313. Calcutta: The Midland Press. 7*s*. 6*d*.

Dr. Srivastava has made a valuable addition to our knowledge of the life of Shuja-ud-Daulah, Nawab of Oudh. In this, the first of two volumes, he traces developments in Oudh from 1754 to 1765, describing in detail the causes of Shuja-ud-Daulah's downfall in 1764, and the expansion of British power over the Ganges valley. The story, based on primary sources in English, Persian, and Marathi, is not an inspiring one, but the author's knowledge and easy style lend interest to it. Maintaining a judicial impartiality, he deals faithfully with the vices and mistakes of the Nawab, and bears witness to the relative directness and force of British policy. We cannot doubt that British expansion was justified in that it led to a necessary extension of law and order.

In discussing Shah Alam's failure to capture Patna and to overrun Bihar, the author severely criticizes Sir George Forrest's conclusion that this was attributable to Clive's "daring and confidence". Dr. Srivastava contends that even if Clive had not advanced to relieve Patna, Shah Alam could not have prolonged the siege. Unfortunately in his description of the siege he goes far to destroy his own case by stating that "the besieged were about to give way" when they received the welcome news of Clive's approach.

It is a pity that the author has given his work the appearance of an elementary textbook by inserting innumerable sub-headings; that more care was not exercised in proof reading; and that the footnotes contain so many incomprehensible abbreviations.

C. H. P.

THE INDIAN PRESS. By M. BARNS. pp. xv, 491. George Allen and Unwin. 21*s*.

This, the first informed and detailed survey of the Indian press, is a welcome and valuable publication. The book, which is concerned almost entirely with newspapers and periodicals in English, is based mainly on printed Parliamentary Papers; and for more recent years Miss Barns has been able to make use of her own experience of work among Indian journalists.

The author makes a beginning with the early news-writers maintained in the provinces by the Mughal Emperors; then inserting for the reader's convenience a chapter on the founding and freeing of the press in Britain—which was, in her words, the father of the Indian press." She next proceeds directly to a discussion of the origin (in the form of *Hicky's Gazette* of 1780) of the British press in Calcutta. Within a few years of that date five English papers were being regularly printed in Calcutta, and others at Madras and Bombay. All were alike, as Miss Barns contends, in that they paid scant attention to India. Their *raison d'être* was as a vehicle of comment, usually libellous and scandalous, on the British administration of the day by those who were outside the privileged circle of the East India Company's officers. Down to 1799 the story is a repetition of clashes between the writers and the Company's Governments, and in that year the Governor-General, Wellesley, with his usual insight and sound sense, intervened to impose a censorship. This worked efficiently and well, and the tone of the press soon showed a marked improvement. In August, 1818, Lord Hastings, who had vague notions of encouraging non-officials to co-operate zealously with the Government, decided to abolish the censorship, and promulgated instead a number of proscribed subjects, of which discussion in the press was forbidden. In short, he replaced a definite by an indefinite rule, and the editors, in particular James Buckingham, took advantage of this with the result that they came into frequent and bitter conflict with the Government.

The author is mistaken in inferring that there was a cleavage of opinion on these rules between the Board of Control and Court of Directors in London. In fact both the President, George Canning, and the Directors were agreed that "neither the Government, nor the public, nor the editors will benefit from the change". It is true that Canning refrained from interfering to restore the censorship, but only because he wished to avoid the discussion of so tender a subject in Parliament. In his view it was better that in England "sleeping dogs should lie".

In discussing the use of a censorship of the press in India Miss Barns does not perhaps pierce to the heart of the matter. Taking a democratic standpoint, she deplores the attitude of those who, like Munro, thought that a free press in an autocratically controlled state was an anachronism. In a constitutionally governed state it is certainly desirable that the press should be completely free, but in an autocracy, where public opinion cannot be said to exist and the Government can be removed only by revolution, a free press will soon create disorder. In reference to India, where in the last half-century steps have been steadily taken towards a constitutional form of government, it is surely logical to maintain that the press should have been freed step by step from restrictions.

Thus Metcalfe's premature abolition of press restrictions in 1835 was shown to be a mistake at the time of the Mutiny; and Ripon's hasty repeal of Lytton's Vernacular Press Act in 1881 weakened the foundation of the state by exposing the existing form of government to an unnecessary strain before another form could be established. The consequent rapid growth of seditious writing, mainly in the vernacular press, led in 1910 to the reimposition of governmental control, which was again relaxed in 1922. As one might have foreseen, before a decade had passed the degeneration of the situation provoked another crop of Press Acts. To-day, according to Miss Barns, the Indian press enjoys "a liberty of expression as comprehensive as that of any other country, though the Central Government possesses wide restrictive powers"—a state of affairs which accords well with the peculiar political position.

Miss Barns has disentangled the threads of her story with great skill. It is, however, unfortunate that the narrative should have been so much clogged by the many long quotations, taken mainly from printed official documents, which might well have been grouped in an appendix. Incidentally, two extremely useful lists are included

in the appendixes; the first of Indian newspapers preserved in India and Britain; the second analysing contemporary newspapers published in India.

C. H. PHILIPS.

THE PROBLEM OF MINORITIES OR COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION IN INDIA. By K. B. KRISHNA. pp. 359. George Allen and Unwin, 1939. 15*s*.

Dr. Krishna has assembled a large body of material on this subject, but his treatment of it is so involved that it is difficult to follow the main argument. So far as we can judge, he believes that communal dissensions in India were created in 1909 by Minto, the Governor-General, and thenceforth deliberately and persistently fostered by the British Government. Political progress in India, he maintains, is impossible unless communal representation is abolished and "a common electoral roll on an equal franchise between the communities" established.

It is obvious that the Government of India has from time to time balanced the various Indian interests against each other. That was inevitable. Equally obvious is it that the solution to this problem rests in the hands of the leaders of those interests.

Although the author asserts that he is seeking to promote the formation of a "United Indian National Front" against British Imperialism, the spirit in which he has treated his subject will hinder rather than help him.

C. H. P.

INDIA'S TEEMING MILLIONS. By GYAN CHAND. pp. xiii, 374. George Allen and Unwin, 1939. 12*s*. 6*d*.

In a book primarily addressed to India's politicians, Professor Gyan Chand sets out to prove that an economic revolution and a reduction of population in India are urgent necessities. He first examines carefully the rate of growth of India's population, showing a healthy scepticism of the dependability of the statistics generally accepted by writers on this subject; and concludes that the present rate threatens the stability of the state. Incidentally he points out that this rate of increase is not without precedent, for it is actually smaller proportionally than in nineteenth century England.

Briefly, Professor Gyan Chand's argument runs as follows. The

smallness of agricultural holdings in India and the semi-starved condition of some two-thirds of the people provide a striking index of over-population. To ease the position India's agricultural resources must be greatly increased, and nothing short of an economic revolution will suffice. But this, he maintains, is impossible without a previous political revolution, including the expulsion of the British Government. Since this cannot quickly be achieved, he suggests that India's leaders should forthwith adopt an interim economic policy calculated to increase the purchasing power and to win the support of the masses. In addition, Professor Gyan Chand appeals to all Indian political parties to adopt as a maxim of policy the spread of birth-control knowledge, which alone can keep India's population within manageable proportions.

The author's sincerity is unquestionable, and his conclusion (obvious enough to all students of the problem) that an economic revolution is India's greatest need must soon be faced by the British Government.

C. H. PHILIPS.

BURMESE BUDDHIST LAW. By O. H. MOOTHAM. pp. xx, 148. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 15*s*.

This is a very clear and reliable little guide intended for practising lawyers and primarily for those commencing practice, to whom it may be unreservedly recommended. The publisher, however, should certainly incorporate a slip of *addenda et corrigenda* embodying the modifications necessitated in Mr. Mootham's statement of the law by the recent Privy Council decision in *Tan Ma Shwe Zin* v. *Koo Soo Chong* [1940] A.C. 527, 1939 R 548, 1939 A.R. 228. To say this, however, is not a criticism of Mr. Mootham, for he has accurately stated the view of the law generally accepted before that decision, which was delivered when his book was already in the Press.

Academic questions, such as the history and jurisprudence of the system and its relation to and comparison with other systems, Mr. Mootham carefully avoids; but there are many such questions of great interest in connection with Burmese Buddhist Law; and those who feel inclined to investigate them might do worse than begin with this admirably clear statement of the law as it is understood to be at the present day. The principal academic interest, perhaps, is that of a system which during all its history has never had any

other basis than *volksgeist*; a system whose authoritative exponents at the present day recognize that with the changing civilization of Burma the customary law is also undergoing rapid changes. This is to recognize the fluidity of custom to an extent which British judges elsewhere would probably regard as dangerous.

The price (15*s.*) is likely to prove an obstacle to the book obtaining the circulation it deserves.

S. V. FITZGERALD.

THE MARGARY AFFAIR AND THE CHEFOO AGREEMENT. By S. T. WANG. pp. ix, 138. Oxford University Press, 1940. 7*s.* 6*d.*

This carefully and closely written thesis has particular interest at the present time because it deals with the expedition sent by the Government of India in 1875 to explore the possibilities of an overland trade route through Upper Burma to Yunnan.

Despite the known objections of the Chinese Government at Peking and the disturbed state of South-West China this expedition penetrated by the well-defined route through Bhamo into Yunnan, there hoping to meet the British interpreter, Augustus Margary, who had travelled from Shanghai. Just before contact was established Margary was murdered and the expedition attacked. The author examines at length whether the outrage was a spontaneous local incident or a premeditated official plot, and with undue caution finally concludes that the former was probably the case.

Mr. Wang proceeds to show how the British minister at Peking, Sir Thomas Wade, used the threat of reprisals to gain the Chefoo Agreement, which opened more Chinese ports, including the Yangtze Valley, to the British, and provided for a Chinese Legation in London, thereby marking an important stage in China's foreign relations.

The book would make easier reading had an introduction and full conclusion been added. As it is the reader, plunged headlong into the complex details of Anglo-Chinese relations, is left somewhat bewildered. The author has consulted much original material both in English and Chinese, and his bibliography reveals an absurdity well known to historians of modern Oriental history—that a student can frequently consult unpublished official papers at the Public Record Office to which he is refused access at the India Office.

C. H. P.

TALES OF A LONELY ISLAND. ROTUMAN LEGENDS. Translated by C. MAXWELL CHURCHWARD, M.A. pp. iv, 127. Published by the Australian National Research Council, Sydney. 5*s*.

A. M. Hocart in "Notes on Rotuman Grammar", *Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. lxix, 1918, said that the Rotuman language could not be elucidated in all its details without a careful examination of collected texts. And now a collection of texts in the language has been published, together with a translation of them, by one who was a missionary on the Island for ten years; but, alas! it has appeared too late for Hocart to write a review.

The first attempt at a Rotuman grammar was made by Dr. R. H. Codrington, *Melanesian Languages*, pp. 401–8. This was founded on information furnished by Dr. Fison, of Fiji, and drawn also from a MS. grammar compiled by a local missionary. Codrington was of the opinion that the Rotuman language was Melanesian (MN) rather than Polynesian (PN); but the Dutch scholar, Kern, regarded it as PN. S. H. Ray, *American Anthropologist*, vol. 21, No. 4, regarded it as a MN language imposed upon a PN base, or vice versa. Perhaps now that texts in the language are available, its structure will be made clearer, and its affinities settled.

As Codrington says, the Rotuma personal pronouns are undoubtedly MN, and not PN, in that they show a true plural, and not a trial number used for a plural, as in PN. There is no sign in the language of the PN passive endings, *ina*, *ia*, *a*, *fia*, *gia*, *mia*, etc. The verbal negative particle *se* is MN, as is the genitive particle *ne*; and the use of the locative preposition *e*, "at," to denote "from", is typically MN.

However, the verbal-noun suffixes are PN, and there are no verbal particles after the MN fashion, except *la*, which denotes a future. The suffix pronouns denoting possession are used only with *'o*, *e*, the two possessive nouns.

There are four peculiarities in the language which have caused difficulty in committing it to writing: (1) the modification of *a* owing to the presence of a succeeding *e* or *i* or *u*, and also of *e* caused by a succeeding *i* or *u* (Hocart gives four sounds of *a*, two of *e*, three of *o*, and two of *u*); (2) the elision of certain final vowels, which causes a "reduction" of the value of certain preceding vowels; (3) the presence of a "break" in sound (as in Samoan), caused by the dropping

of *k* in certain words; (4) the practice of transposing the last two letters of a word, e.g. *puer* for *pure*, "to rule."

Mr. Churchward has availed himself of Hocart's suggested orthography of the language, and of his use of diacritical signs, with certain alterations; and the printed texts, though perhaps somewhat bewildering to look at, may be considered to represent more nearly the actual speech of the people. They certainly mark the differences in meaning caused, e.g., by the metathesis of the final syllable; and the use of the sign ', to denote the "break" in sound, both aids correct pronunciation and also serves to distinguish between homonyms. A MN language, Kwara 'Ae, in the island of Mala, makes quite a habit of transposing the two final letters of words, e.g. *leak* for *leka*, "to go"; but the transposition makes no such difference to the sense as occurs in the instances in Rotuma.

With regard to the existence of the "break", Hocart says that he was rarely certain of its presence at the beginning of a word, but that it was not to be mistaken inside or at the end of a word. One's own experience with the Sa'a and Ulawa languages, Solomon Islands, where the "break" is much in evidence, is that it is extremely difficult to decide with certainty as to the presence of a "break" in many cases, and particularly so at the beginning of a word.

In Sa'a and Ulawa the "break" is caused by the dropping of *g* (velar fricative), *k*, *t*. I have no knowledge of a "break" occurring at the end of a word in MN languages such as both Hocart and Churchward show in their orthography in the case of construct words, e.g. *ho'i* "to return", *ho'*, *li'u* "deep sea", *li'*. But Dr. C. O. Blagden informs me that in Malay the "final glottal stop", or "break", is extremely common, being derived historically from a final (uvular) *k*. Codrington, op. cit., p. 332, uses the sign ' to denote the dropping of a final *t*, but says that the ear is not aware of a sound caused thereby.

There is, of course, no relative pronoun in the language. It is really high time the fact was accepted that both MN and PN languages have no relative pronouns. The *ne* quoted by Churchward as a relative pronoun is the common MN demonstrative *na*, *ne*, which is regularly used following a noun to give definiteness. The example on p. 6, *hanuet ne ia noho e* "that land he lives there", is quite after the MN use of *ne*. This same *ne* is used in Rotuma as a "predicative sign", just as *na* is used in MN.

The tales themselves comprise both legends and folklore stories, with several sky-stories. That of the red-leafed dracaena reminds one of the story of Kamakajaku in Codrington's *Melanesian Anthropology*, p. 365. The story of Mafi and Lu, and their youngest son Moeatiktiki, reads like one of the stories of the PN hero Mauitikitiki.

† WALTER IVENS.

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OBITUARY

Sir Edward Denison Ross

Edward Denison Ross was born on the 6th June, 1871. His father, Dr. A. J. Ross, was Vicar of St. Philip's, Stepney. From Marlborough the younger Ross went to University College, London. Already he had shown an aptitude for learning languages ; but it was at Paris and Strassburg, where he went to study Oriental languages, and in particular Arabic and Persian, that he laid the foundation of a career in which he contributed more perhaps than any other Englishman of his generation to the encouragement of Oriental studies in this country.

From 1896 to 1901 he held the Professorship of Persian at University College ; at that time so little regard was paid in London to Oriental languages that the stipend of the Chair was no more than that of Goldsmith's Schoolmaster. To this period belong a number of publications, including *The Early Years of Shah Ismail* and *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi, a History of the Moguls of Central Asia.* A visit to some of the countries described by Mirza Haidar, author of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi,* produced, in collaboration with his fellow-traveller, the late F. H. Skrine, I.C.S., a delightful work, *The Heart of Asia. The Life and Times of Omar Khayyam* signalled the beginning of a lifelong interest in that elusive poet.

In 1901 Ross was appointed Principal of the famous Calcutta Madrasah. In 1911 this post was combined with that of Officer in Charge of Records of the Government of India and Assistant Secretary in the Department of Education. A Fellow of Calcutta University and a most active member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, he did not confine himself to Islamic studies but gained some acquaintance with Sanskrit and Chinese and a more profound knowledge of Tibetan. He used the opportunities of his post to edit correspondence with Indian Princes carried on in Persian by Clive, Hastings, and other Governors of Fort William ; and he inspired and superintended the cataloguing of the Khuda Baksh Library at Bankipur. At this time, too, were prepared *A Polyglot List of Birds in Turki, Manchu, and Chinese ; An Arabic History of Gujarat ; The Poems of the Emperor Babur ; The Turki and Persian Divans of Bayram Khan ;* and *Abu Turab's History of Gujarat.* Perhaps the most noteworthy work he did during this period, although it has not yet seen fruition, arose from his constant desire to procure a fuller measure of collaboration

between Indian and European scholars. When the late Sir Harcourt Butler was Member for Education in the Viceroy's Council, Ross prepared a scheme for setting up an Institute in Calcutta to which it was hoped Orientalists, both young and old, would come from Europe and America to study and teach in collaboration with their Indian colleagues. With the removal of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi this scheme was shelved ; but had it been brought into being it would have furthered not only Oriental scholarship, but also a fuller understanding between East and West. May it yet come and, when it does, may it be associated with the name of Denison Ross.

Made a Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire in 1912, Ross returned to England in 1914 as an Assistant in the Prints and Drawing Department of the British Museum. Here it was fitting that, himself a one-time traveller in Central Asia, he should have had the work of arranging the collections brought back by Sir Aurel Stein. During the Great War Ross's extensive knowledge not only of Oriental but also of several of the less well-known European languages found practical application in the Postal Censorship and the Department of Military Intelligence, for whom he prepared vocabularies in several languages. A country, which with its vast responsibilities in the East had done so little to encourage study of Eastern languages, was fortunate in finding such a one to help it in the time of need. His knighthood in 1918 was a well-deserved recognition of his work both in India and during the war.

But while the War was not yet half-way through its course and the campaigns of 1917 and 1918 had still to be fought, a scheme, long considered and often shelved by successive Governments, at last reached fruition, and London, capital of a mighty Eastern and African Empire, saw for the first time in June, 1916, the foundation within the limits of the City and closely associated with the imperial University a School of Oriental Studies. Although it was not till 1938 that His Majesty in Council approved a change of title to " The School of Oriental and African Studies " the scope of its work had from the beginning included Africa. Even now the undertaking so long overdue was modest enough with an annual grant from the Treasury, after the provision of its building, of only £4,000 ; but the Governing Body set up by the Charter made a wise choice in Ross as its first Director. When twenty-one years later the day of his retirement came, the income of the School, though still far below its needs, had risen to £37,615, the number of its teachers exceeded 100,

of whom 43 held permanent posts, and more than 7,000 students had passed through its doors.

The foundation of the School gave its first Director the opportunity of making London the centre of Oriental and African studies in the Empire, and Ross rose to the greatness of it. Success depended on the assembly of an adequate staff: for this work Ross, with his wide and intimate knowledge of the world of Oriental scholarship and his flair for picking the right man, had peculiar qualification. A small nucleus was found in the holders of a few ill-paid or almost honorary posts in Oriental languages existing in other institutions of the University, which were transferred to the School, but it lay with Ross to find, amidst the overwhelming difficulties of war-time, fit holders of the new posts now created. But the work thus successfully begun did not stop there. The Director's own unquenchable enthusiasm and his power of inspiring others with enthusiasm for their great task made of his staff not a mere collection of individual scholars but a body of men and women united in the determination to spread by teaching and research knowledge of the languages, laws, history, and culture of the Orient and Africa.

As Director of the School Ross had the immediate supervision of its Library and the editorship of the *Bulletin*. The former, now containing over 100,000 volumes, owed both its rapid growth and its acquisition of many treasures to his well-informed judgment and wide knowledge of Eastern books and bibliography; the latter he created as a journal well deserving the high repute it has gained all over the world.

In this way Ross became an ambassador of Empire, and outside the Eastern and African members of the British Commonwealth also he helped to form bonds of scholarship with other lands: in particular his visits to Persia, Turkey, Portugal, and the United States were fruitful of connections, the full value of which still remains to be seen.

On the Continent, where he was always a welcome visitor, he did much to maintain in the troubled years succeeding the War of 1914–18 the one unity, that of scholarship, which still existed among its nations, until even that too was broken by the brutalities of Nazi and Fascist. Then no one threw himself more whole-heartedly into the task of trying to mend the broken lives of scholar victims of dictatorial tyranny who sought refuge in our country.

With the Directorship of the School Ross held also the University Chair of Persian from 1916 to 1937. Under his inspiration many

students were attracted to Persian. In his writings, however, he by no means confined himself to the subject of his Chair. For a varied literary output during this period continued to bear witness to his versatility: *Islam; Eastern Art and Literature; Tarikh-i-Fakhr ud-Din Mubarakshah; The Persians; Sir Anthony Sherley; Dialogues in the Eastern Turki Dialect; Discourse of the Turks by Sir Thomas Sherley.* His efforts for the Persian Art Exhibition, which helped so greatly to its success, produced his popular account of Persian Art. He wrote introductions to many books, and contributed articles to the *Cambridge History of India* and other series and to many learned journals. As a lecturer he was extraordinarily successful, always informative, never dull; and in 1935 the Royal Asiatic Society, which for many years he had served as member of Council, Vice-President, and Director, awarded him its Gold Medal in recognition of his great services to Oriental scholarship.

For a man of Ross's energy retirement in 1938, although postponed for two years beyond the normal age of 65, was bound to be difficult; all the more, on the outbreak of war in September, 1939, he felt the irksomeness of unemployment. His appointment in January, 1940, as head of the British Information Bureau at Istanbul with the rank of Counsellor gave him great joy. For it provided him with the opportunity of once more serving his country, among a people for whom he had always felt much sympathy and with whose late great leader, Kemal Atatürk, he had formed a personal acquaintance. There he died on the 23rd September, 1940, at the age of 69.

In 1904 Ross married Dora, daughter of Mr. W. T. Robinson. It was a happy marriage. Lady Ross was a woman of many parts, a keen wit, and a gracious personality. To her constant care and companionship her husband owed much. She accompanied him on his last journey to Turkey in 1940 and her death in April of that year was a blow from which he never recovered. That he should follow her soon was not all tragedy.

Ross was a man of great parts, and possessed a personality which made itself felt in any company in which he found himself. He had an exceptional facility for learning languages: indeed the number which he knew had become almost legendary. Several he spoke fluently and well. Possessed of great humour and wit, he was an admirable speaker, shining especially when he spoke impromptu, whether in English or a foreign tongue. He had a great kindliness of heart; if he was quick-tempered, his anger, unless aroused by continued

injustice or cruelty, was soon past and left no rancour. His colleagues will long remember happy times when his wit sparkled and his nature expanded in congenial surroundings of the Common Room. He loved the good things of life and he loved to see others enjoying them. But beyond all his friends will remember him as one who was devoid of envy and whose greatest delight was to give a helping hand to others on the road to scholarship and learning, and who gained at least as much joy from their success as from his own. The School of Oriental and African Studies will be associated always with the name of Edward Denison Ross. For he was a great man.

R. L. T.

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BULLETIN

OF THE

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES (UNIVERSITY OF LONDON)

PAPERS CONTRIBUTED

Foreign Influences on Muslim Theology

By A. S. Tritton

A NEW religion has no theology; that develops later. It is only natural that Islam should show some influence of the older religions among which it grew up. New ideas came in with converts or through talk with men of other faiths. Muslim theology moved in a circle, and came back to its starting-point with the same ideas deeper and riper. The second and third centuries of the Hijra were the formative period, after which thought degenerated into the splitting of hairs. The religious world was in a ferment which threw out many strange ideas. Sober thinkers mostly belonged to the Mu'tazila, who taught the freedom of the human will to free God from the responsibility for sin and evil. Others found a solution of this problem in other ways, some being forerunners of al-Ash'ari, who in 300 A.H. deserted the Mu'tazila and used their methods to build up the system of orthodoxy. Many of these men were not Arabs, and their writings have perished; so all that is known of their teaching comes from the works of their opponents. The earliest of these is *Maḳālāt al-islāmiyyīn* by al-Ash'ari; it is also the most valuable, for it is objective and free from theological hatred. The author has done his best to report what these men taught, and his education fitted him for this. Later books are not so impartial. 'Abd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādi († 429) calls each deviation from the strait path an error. Ibn Ḥazm († 456) is free with abuse for those, including al-Ash'ari, who disagreed with him, and has chapters on

the unpleasant doctrines of the various sects. Al-Shahrastāni († 548) is restrained; but there is always the danger that the later writers misunderstood their predecessors, or read later ideas into their teaching.

One Mu'tazilī work on theology has survived, the *Kitāb al-naṣr* (second half of the third century), a defence of the school against Ibn al-Rawandi, who seems to have given up religion altogether. Al-Jāḥiẓ († 255), another of the school, was more a man of letters, and his voluminous works tell little about theology. The school lived on among the Zaidīya of Yemen; but it is doubtful if Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā († 840) knew more about the beginnings of theology than the orthodox historians.

Muslim writers declare that heresies and errors were due to the children of captives; and, by an inversion of history, the errors of the Jews are ascribed to the same cause. The doctrine of free will is attributed to Persian or Christian influence, and a poet, contemporary with Muhammad, is said to have learnt it from Hira, in other words, from Christians. Some practices were recognized as foreign. A man dressed in woollen clothes was told to "put off his Christianity"; and the prohibition of poetry was called "foreign (or Persian) pietism". Here one may say that the words, "I prefer to have my nostrils filled with the smell of a corpse rather than with the scent of women", would seem more in place in the life of a hermit in Egypt. Muslims made some definite charges. They said that Ma'bad had the doctrine of the Christians, Ibn Karrām called God substance like the Christians, Ibn Kullāb was called a Christian for saying that the word of God was God, and those who say that the eternal word inhabits bodies while not quitting the essence of God are like the Christians with the word indwelling in the Messiah and clothing itself with humanity. The Christians said that Mary's womb contained the word of God; Jahm went further and said that the word was created and dwelt in a tree. The Shī'a say that the imāms possess the books of the prophets, the staff of Moses, the seal of Solomon, the shirt of Joseph (the text has Abraham), the ark, the tablets of the law, and other things.

Some doctrines might have grown up without help from outside. The practice of some extremists, the Khawārij, raised the question of the religious status of children. Some said they were neutral, neither believers nor unbelievers, a position which would have led logically to the acceptance of limbo.

The influence of Christianity is seen most clearly in heresies.

One man taught that Jesus was the first to be created; others said that the world has two lords, one eternal who is God, and one created who is Jesus. Jesus is the son of God by adoption, not by birth, and may cease to be; both are creators, but it was Jesus who created Adam in his image, and he will hold the judgment on the last day. He was identified with the First Reason; it is he who will be seen in heaven, for the sight of God is the sight of the First Reason, and to him God said, "I have not created anything fairer than you." Jesus was the Reason before he clothed himself in a human body.

Another heretic called himself the holy spirit, teaching that, when God dwells in the temple of a human body, by miraculous power he manifests that he is God. He created the contrary to define its opposite. He was revealed in Adam and his devil, then in a succession of prophets and their devils, and then in Jesus and his devil. One said, "the spirit which is in Jesus is the spirit of God from his essence"; and, "the spirit which was in Jesus passed into 'Alī." Zain al-'ābidīn said, "The Jews loved 'Uzair and said of him what they said; the Christians loved Jesus and said of him what they said; some of our party will love us and say of us what the Jews and Christians said of 'Uzair and Jesus; they are not of us and we are not of them." Al-Riḍā said, "Mary is from Jesus, Jesus from Mary; I am from my father and my father from me; I and my father are one thing." One man taught that God was in five persons, in Muḥammad, his daughter, her husband, and her two sons. One version says that the five are equal, for one spirit dwells in them all alike; another says that there is only one person, 'Alī, for he is the first in dignity. This looks like an attempt to improve on Christianity.

As Islam and Christianity are in many ways much alike, it is not surprising that their theologies often agree; frequent agreement in detail, which is not essential, suggests that borrowing has taken place. To take some ideas which were later branded as heretical: al-Naẓẓām taught that all things were created at one time and remained in store till wanted. Philo taught much the same, saying that the world was created in six days, not because the agent needed time but because phenomena need order. Creation was not in time but before it. Some fundamentalists taught that the paper on which the word of God was written became eternal; this suggests the influence of the doctrine of transubstantiation. Ibn Karrām said that God has no power over bodies and accidents when once he has created them; John of Damascus taught that God created the world and then let it go on by

its own momentum. Abu 'l-Hudhail was peculiar in his teaching about heaven; one version says that in heaven action ceases. This gave critics their chance. They pictured a man stretching out one hand to pick a fruit and the other to take a cup of wine; then action ceased and he remained as if crucified. Others gave a philosophical explanation and said that, as man's activity began, so it must end. It is more natural to suppose that he wanted to describe a state of perfect rest, following Christian ideas, "when the resurrection takes place and all things become unchangeable." The same idea is found in the *Theology* of Aristotle, "in the upper world the soul has no need to speak or act."

Ibn Karrām held that the word of God as *kalām* was one, but as *ḳawl* it was many; John of Damascus distinguished λόγια from ῥήματα. The Mu'tazila said that this was the best of all possible worlds; John says that all is for the best as all is by the providence of God. Al-Ka'bi said that everything is good in some way; John said that nothing is naturally bad. Abu 'l-Hudhail taught that a rational man must know that there is a God; John assumed that the idea of God is innate. Ma'mar thought that God has no power over accidents, therefore none over death; John states that God did not make death. Hishām b. al-Ḥakam taught that God has the perfect form, his length, breadth, and depth are all equal; the heavenly city, the new Jerusalem, is a cube. Al-Jubbāī said that God, when he wished to glorify himself, created a glory which was not in a substrate. Maimonides said, and the idea is found in Saadya, "the created light which God causes to dwell in a place (or substrate) for glorification." Taken singly these similarities would mean nothing, but their cumulative weight is considerable.

Muslim opinions about faith varied. The Ḳur'ān combines faith with good works, but does not define the connection between them. Early definitions call it belief in God, his apostles, and his books; it is the acceptance of a body of truth. The Murji'a—the name means either those who refuse to pass judgment on men or those who hope that all will be at last reconciled to God—said that faith is belief in God with love and submission to him. The Mu'tazila held that all men should know God, and so said little about faith, which is usually regarded as the sum of good works. Men debated whether it could increase or decrease; the common answer was that, if it is only belief, it can do neither, but if it includes good works, it can do both. John spoke of a double faith; it is acceptance of the teaching of the Church

and also hope for the fulfilment of God's promises, the graces of the spirit.

Orthodox Islam teaches that men will see God in heaven. A man, who was seen in a dream, reported that certain men were eating and drinking before the throne of God, but he himself, not caring for these things, was allowed to gaze upon the face of God. The likeness to the beatific vision is remarkable. The distinction between obligatory and supererogatory works is common to Islam and Christianity. The common view is that only a believer can do good works, Abu 'l-Hudhail being the only one to teach the contrary; this recalls Augustine and the splendid vices of the heathen.

Al-Ash'ari, the representative of orthodoxy, taught that God is the only agent; he creates the act, the will to do it, and the acquisition by which it becomes man's. John said that none of us can stand up or move without God; the choice is ours but the act is completed by the help of God. To the Muslim sin is due to the fact that God deserts man; John used almost the same word, ἐγκατάλειψις. Good deeds, he says, are due to God's co-operation, though this term is not so close to the Muslim expression of the same idea—*tawfīḳ*, guidance to the right end. The Muslims say that God has willed all that is in the world, but that does not mean that he approves of it all. Approval *riḍā*, is set against will, *irāda*, or *mashī'a*. In the same way John opposes ἀνοχή or μακροθυμία to θέλημα. Things happen κατὰ συγχώρησιν, but only the good is κατ' εὐδοκίαν.

Ḍirār taught that God has a nature (quiddity) which he alone knows. For John of Damascus God is inconceivable and unknown, for he is not among those that are, but is above all, above even existence. Ibn al-Ayādi put this clumsily, "Man is really alive, God is alive metaphorically." Marius Victorinus is as awkward when he says that God is above all, not being, but quasi-being.

The attributes of God appear suddenly in Muslim theology in the middle of the second century; the doctrine is very like the Christian. Epithets like wise, powerful, merciful, which are so often applied to God in the Ḳur'ān, helped the doctrine to grow, though it is doubtful if they started it. Muslims call the Ḳur'ān the word of God and assume that the word is the Ḳur'ān. John knew that it was a heresy to call the Ḳur'ān created, so this particular doctrine is early. Some of the Shī'a said, "the Ḳur'ān is neither created nor a creator, but is the word of a creator"; this is opposed to the Jewish doctrine of the creative word, "thy word completed the work (of creation),"

and to the creative Logos of the Christians. These ideas with the double meaning of *logos*, word and reason, helped to form the Muslim dogma. John argues that, as the Muslims admit that Jesus Christ is the word and spirit of God, the consequence is that Jesus is uncreated or that God was without word and spirit. This argument leads directly to the uncreated Ḳur'ān. The Jewish belief in the pre-existence of the Law probably helped. Some followers of Ibn Karrām taught that God has five powers, two of them being *k n*, the consonants of *kun* (be), the creative word, and also will, hearing, and sight. Arius taught that wisdom and the Logos inhere inseparably in God, who has created forces also. In the second century Muslims said that the attributes are not God and not not-God. John said that they belong to God by nature and are not taken from elsewhere, anticipating the second clause of the Muslim formula. The Mu'tazila, the so-called rationalists of Islam, tried to compose an intelligible system and tended to define God by negatives. Al-Naẓẓām said that the statement "God is wise", affirms his being, and adds that he is not ignorant. John said much the same. Abu 'l-Hudhail said, "we speak of different attributes because God's being manifests itself in different ways," which recalls the words of John, "the divine being is diversified, appears in different forms, because it is exercised on different materials."

The lists of attributes given by John and Muslim theologians are practically identical. The idea of Abu 'l-Hudhail that the creative word is not in a substrate and that of al-Jubbāī that the divine will is phenomenal acts of will not in a substrate seem to be derived from the doctrine of the Logos or that of the demiurge.

The rationalists argued that the orthodox doctrine of the eternal attributes was worse than Christianity, and was indeed crass polytheism. Orthodoxy took its stand on the Ḳur'ān, which says that God has knowledge and power; probably the book was not the source of the idea, but it was a useful stick with which to beat opponents. Some of the orthodox would not say that God has life because the Ḳur'ān does not say so. In the language of the schools the rationalists denied the attributes; what they did deny was that the attributes had a being of their own apart from God.

It is notorious that the founder of Islam owed much to other religions; those who built up its theology were equally in their debt.

Notes on Anti-Christian Propaganda in the Mamlūk Empire

By M. Perlmann

I

THE Mamlūk empire contributed decisively to the crushing of the Copt element in Egypt.[1] Nevertheless, the public offices and the offices of the management of the estates of the emirs, were full of Coptic scribes, who often drew upon themselves the hatred of the population, and became the scapegoats when popular passions ran high.[2] The Jihād spirit of the closing stages of the struggle against the Crusader and the Mongols also played its part in creating agitation against the Christians. It is instructive to find that after about 1250 the tide of theological polemical literature against Christians and Christianity rose to its highest.[3] These movements were fostered with the express purpose of whipping up popular antagonism. Speeches, pamphlets, *fatwas* were used to stir the people in the struggle against the Copts, and in particular those holding office.[4]

The historians Maḳrīzī and Ibn Taghrī Birdī do not mince words on the subject, but make open complaint of the Coptic " domination ".

Of speeches we have two *khuṭbas* of the year 700 A.H.[5] The brochure

[1] G. Wiet in *EI.*, ii, 996 seq., s.v. *Ḳibṭ*.

[2] G. Weil, *Gesch. d. Abbass.*, i, 368–9 ; Wiet, *Hist. de la nation Eg.*, iv, 395. *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 69 ; Baibars Jāshangīr was a chief ḏimmī-baiter in 701 A.H. But a Christian managed his affairs. *Istaulā 'alā jamī' umūrihi, kamā hiya 'ādat mulūk miṣr wa-umarā'-hā min al atrāk fī-l-inḳiyād li-kuttābihim min al-ḳibṭ.* Both Christian Copts and such as pretend to be Moslems are referred to. Sometimes, the outbreaks would sweep over the other Ḏimmīs (Jews, Karaites), too. In 721, " nothing was said of the Jews " (*Khiṭ.*, ii, 516). But Joseph Sambary (wrote in 1673) accuses the Christians of having involved the Jews in the calamity of the year 700. " The accursed Christians were too extravagant, used to walk with a proud gait, dress in silk attire . . . ride on horseback like the Muslim emirs, passing *Azhar* on horseback. They also had built many churches " (Neubauer, *Med. Jew. Chron.*, 1887, pp. 135–6).

[3] Especially on account of the negotiations for a Christian-Mongol alliance. The war against the Mongols is jihād (658 H., *Sulūk*, i, 429). In 707 a decree was read in Damascus on fighting the Mongols and the Christian scribes. *Cat. Leyden*, i, 153–4.

[4] It remains to connect these outbreaks of the populace with other movements of that time, as treated by A. N. Poliak in *REI.*, viii., 251 ff. It is not clear how he arrives at the conclusion (pp. 269 f.) that there were almost no outbreaks against minorities.

[5] Zettersteen, *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. Mamlukensultane*, pp. 84 seq.

of Sa'īd b. Ḥasan is apparently connected with the events of 721 A.H.[1] Probably that is the time of the incisive pamphlet by Ghāzī al Wāsiṭī.[2] Around about the same time *fatwas*, as well as major works of Ibn Taymīya, contributed to the fomentation of hate against Christians.[3] The year 740 produced a framed-up trial of Christians in the Mamlūk state, though not in Egypt; the charge of incendiarism too was brought against them once more, this time in Damascus. The extorted "confession" and a poem describing the event have come down to us.[4] It is within this compass that we have to place the *fatwa* of Ibn an-Naḳḳāsh, written in 757/1357, in connection with a wave of persecution and the question of demolishing churches.[5]

Another tract of the same kind, as yet unpublished, was evidently written about that time by Jamāl ad-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. al-Ḥasan al-Umawī al Ḳurashī al-Asnawī.[6] A review of it in connection with the other documents referred to is offered here.

II

Born in Asna in 704, in 721 Asnawī came to Cairo, where he lived as a proficient student of law and philology. His teacher told him that he had never before granted the title of shaykh to one so young.[7]

Asnawi then went in for teaching, e.g. *hadīṯ*, in several mosques.[8]

He is said to have been a very good teacher, and most painstaking with beginners; and he was esteemed as a man of noble character. Later he became a "man of the pen", in the administration. He served as *wakīl* in the Treasury, then as *muḥtasib* of Cairo.[9] But after some conflict with the vizier, Ibn Kazwīna,[10] he resigned in 762, after which he devoted himself exclusively to teaching and writing.

We notice that the posts he held were of the kind which demanded

[1] Goldziher, *Rev. d. Et. Juives*, 30. Weston, *JAOS.*, 24.

[2] Ed. Gottheil, *JAOS.*, 41.

[3] Schreiner, *ZDMG.*, lii, p. 559; *REJ.*, 32, pp. 212 ff.; E. Fritsch, *Islam u Christ.*, pp. 25 ff.

[4] *Cat. Leyden*, i, 154–8.

[5] Belin, *JA.*, 1851–2.

[6] *GAL.*, ii, 90–1 and suppl.; Sarkis, 445–6.

[7] Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, p. 304.

[8] *Nujūm*, v, 265. On p. 119 we learn that when the emir Shaykhū appointed a reader, in 753, he fixed for him a monthly salary of 300 dirhams.

[9] Ḳalḳ., iv, 36–7; *Khiṭ.*, i, 464, l. 6; the *muḥtasib* gets 30 dinars a month. The *Manhal* (Wiet, N., 1402) and 'Aynī (MS. B.M., Add. 22360, f. 84*b*) mention Asnawī's work in the *dār aṭ-ṭirāz*.

[10] Nujūm, v, 250 f.; he was in high esteem for "having done relatively little injustice". Ibn Iyās, i, 219 f.; *Manhal.*, p. 291.

that the holder be a person of good repute, probity, and possessed of sound theological training. It would seem to have been at about this time that he became the head of the Shāfi'ites of Egypt.

He died suddenly on the 28th of Jumada I, in 772 (September, 1370), at the age of about 68.[1] The day of his burial in a *turba* near the *maḳābir ṣūfīya* was a "memorable day". A lengthy elegy on him is quoted by Suyūṭī.[2] From various sources we have a list of his works: casuistic legal works; commentaries on standard books of law; philology, poetry. Some of them were much in vogue and were commented upon a century later. His course on jurisprudence, *Tamhīd fī tanzīl al-furū' 'alā-l-uṣūl*, was so much appreciated that a Ḥanafite author set out to accomplish something like it for his own *maḏhab*. One gets the impression, however, of the usual production of text-books and commentaries worked out in the course of academic routine.[3]

III

His pamphlet against the Christian scribes is contained in the British Museum MS. Or. 11581, fol. 6–14.[4] The eighteen pages are written in a crude hand, with frequent omissions of diacritical points, 14–15 cc. The tract is entitled: "An earnest appeal on the employment of the Ḏimmis," *Al-kalimāt al-muhimma fī mubāsharat ahl aḏ-ḏimma*.[5]

There is no indication as to the date on which the tract was written.

[1] Ibn 'Imād, *Shaḏarāt aḏ-ḏahab*, vi, 223–4.

[2] Ḥusn, i, 242 ff. Here with reference to his native town a *jeu de mots* occurs (p. 244): *wa-baldatuhu Asnā maḥallan wa-maḥtidan wa-manziluhu fī-l-khuldi asnā-l-manāzili*.

[3] Ḥājī Khalīfa, vi, 447. *GAL*. The MS. of Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba gives the date of the writing of most of his works.

[4] Registered in Steinschneider's *Pol. Lit.*, n. 82.

[5] Another copy is extant in Tunis and is entitled *Risāla fī 'adm istikhdām ahl aḏ-ḏimma wa 'adm tauliyatihim al-muslimīn* (*GAL.*, Supp. ii, 107). Ḥājī Khalīfa quotes the title in a different form (vi, 354): *Naṣīhat ūlī-al-albāb fī man' istikhdām an-naṣārā*. But he adds that some call it: "*Al-intiṣārāt al Islamīya*." Again, Suyūṭī mentions another title: *ar-Riyāsa an-Nāṣirīya fī-r-radd 'alā man yu'aẓẓim ahl aḏ-ḏimma wastakhdamahum alā-l-muslimīn* (*Ḥusn*, i, 242). This rather bewildering variety of titles seems to be as old as the tract itself. At any rate, Samhūdī wrote as early as 886 that he had perused the tract which some people called *Intiṣārāt*, etc., whilst a disciple of the author inscribed it *Naṣīḥat*, etc. Although the author had not cared at all about a title, he nevertheless, after having seen the suggested title, approved of it (*Wafā al-wafā*, i, 466). From Ḥājī Khalīfa we learn that Suyūṭī prepared an abridgment of the tract entitled *Jahd al-Ḳarīḥa fī tajrīd an-Naṣīḥa*.

The text mentions events of 749. It must then be attributed to the last twenty years of the author's life. It seems safe enough to assume that it was written within the years 755 and 760, when under aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ṣāliḥ and an-Nāṣir Ḥasan there was a violent campaign against the Christian scribes. These are also the years during which the author was in close touch with public affairs, held public office, and in particular had frequent contact with civil servants of the Christian faith.

IV

Asnawī starts with Kuranic quotations, and cites standard anecdotes illustrating the theme, to prove the enmity of the Christians towards the Muslims, and that it is obligatory to reciprocate with like sentiments.[1]

On top of his arguments on the subject of the *Ḏimmīs* he offers a word of advice. He says that it is generally held by all good Muslims that the *Ḏimmīs* should be subject to certain inviolable and irrevocable laws. Unfortunately, however, there has of late been a good deal of laxity, although the creed of Allah is as firm and strong as ever, and the powers that be are doing their utmost to maintain the creed, by assisting scholars and laying down courses of study.

It is this laxity which is accountable for the *Ḏimmīs* riding on horseback, after the manner practised by Muslims. By so doing they think to deceive the Muslims, so that they may secure such employment as would not be offered to anyone who dared not ride after that fashion. But it is unlawful to employ them—that is the concensus of opinion amongst Muslims. Moreover, *'ulamā* say that a *ḏimmī* cannot be a *ṣairafī* in the treasury, since his evidence cannot be accepted on the goodness or badness of a coin; for, if his decision was accepted, it would mean admitting the *ḏimmī* to some elevation. So if a *ḏimmī* may not be employed even as a mere technical assistant, then how much more unlawful is it to employ him in state service contrary to the plain letter of the law? In Egypt this has become a veritable plague.

"Strangely enough, no country, either in the East or West, will recognize the appointment of *ḏimmīs* in the management of the affairs of Muslims, Egypt being the only exception. By God, how strange! What is wrong with this country, of all Muslim lands? Is it not the greatest Muslim country, the richest in population and knowledge?

[1] E.g. the "*māt an-Naṣrānī*" story.

Now the employment of unbelievers brings great evils and appalling conditions, such as one would not wish for his enemy, much less should Muslims wish them to come upon the community of Muḥammad. The Copts declare that this country still belongs to them, and that the Muslims evicted them from it unlawfully. Then they often steal as much as they can from the state treasury, in the belief that they are not doing wrong. As to the possibility of confiscation and punishment, torture, they hold that the chances of these happening to them are about equal to that of falling sick; that is to say, sickness does sometimes come upon a man, but is not likely to be frequent.

They will deposit those funds in churches and monasteries, and other such institutions of the unbelievers; for they hold that so long as they, the Copts, are successful they are more entitled to these funds than are the Muslims. When they are put to torture they urge one another to bear the agony with fortitude, and display steadfastness. When they are compelled to pay they bring to light the smallest possible sum, hand over a portion of it, and pay some of it away in bribes until they are set free. Now, is it right to put in charge of public affairs people with such beliefs and capable of such acts? Moreover, they will appropriate much of the property of the Muslims, the land which is a source of income to the Sultan, or the fiefs of the emirs and the troops, as well as many of the endowments for poor Muslims, e.g. the town of Nestru, and others, taking it for themselves, their churches, and monasteries despite its being forbidden to transfer anything of that kind into their own hands. Whosoever, being able to do so, refrains from interfering, thus allowing them to continue to steal and to retain all that is in their power, he is responsible for it in this world, and will have to render account for it on the day of resurrection."

This is the first list of accusations :—

(1) Claiming the land of Egypt as their own;

(2) Deceiving the Muslims, their state in the first place;

(3) Appropriating lands, even *waḳf* lands, to the benefit of Christian owners, private persons, or church bodies.

The most striking is the first. Can we believe that such a claim, even as an argument in a dispute, was made? Was it openly avowed? This is not the only instance of this claim. There is a story to the effect that in the days of the Fatimid caliph al-Āmir, the recluse ar-Rāhib practically became vizier, and on one occasion revealed his

thoughts before an audience of officials. The following is the version of Ḳalḳashandī :—" Our labours and the taxes we pay make us the owners of this land, which the Muslims took from us by force; whatever we do in their despite is but just retaliation for what they have done to us; nay, it is as nothing compared with the death of our chiefs and kings, slain in the days of the Muslim conquest. Therefore, whatever we appropriate of the wealth of the Muslims, and of their kings and caliphs, is no more than our due, since it is merely a portion of what is owing to us from them."

Then he recited :—

" A noble girl, they robbed her of her mother, and humiliated her by treading upon her with their feet;
Then they set her up as a ruler over them. But beware when your enemy becomes ruler." [1]

The same note is struck in another work (B.M. Or. 23293) against Christian officials [2], where too, as in the *fatwa* of Ibn al-Naḳḳāsh,[3] the story of the " accursed monk " is told; his speech is in different words but in the same spirit as that of Ḳalḳashandī.

The verses recur without the story in Ghāzī al-Wāsiṭī's " Answer to the *ḏimmīs* ". [4]

We seem to have here a repetition of the assertion ascribed to the Copts. The subject was one which caused irritation in medieval Egypt. To whom, it was asked, does the country belong? Was it conquered or taken over by treaty? What should be the attitude towards the Copts, the aborigines of Egypt?

A Muslim account of Egypt is sure to contain a chapter on the question whether the country had been occupied by force or by treaty.

The Copts were concerned with inventing and circulating stories which told in their favour. And we find such stories as early as the *Sīra* and Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's *History of the Conquest of Egypt*. The Prophet is said to have urged the Muslims to treat the Copts kindly; for the Muslims would find them of great help against the enemy. On his death-bed the Prophet thinks of the Copts, and warns the

[1] Ḳalḳ., xiii, 369 f. Wiet, *Hist.*, iv, 262 ff. Lane-Poole, Najāḥ Abū Kannā became tax-farmer (*dāmin*) in 1126 and was beaten to death after four years of service.

[2] B.M. Or. 23293, fol. 190B.

[3] *JA.*, 1851, p. 461.

[4] *JAOS.*, 41, pp. 383–457. Here 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ saw in his dream Christians reading the verses. He awoke frightened, and dismissed the Christian scribes. Gottheil remarks on this his translation of the verses: " I am told these are popular verses sung over the wine-cups. The vine is apostrophized as a girl, and sung to as such."

unbelievers that they must not hurt them. The Copts, it is generally accepted, are not only *ḏimma* but also *raḥim*, kith and kin; for Ismā'īl's mother, Hagar, was an Egyptian; and three prophets, Abraham, Joseph, and the Apostle, had Egyptian wives. The conquest was by treaty.

The enmity evinced towards the Copts is in direct contrast to the preceding attitude. It is held that their country is merely an enemy territory occupied by a people that can be regarded as slaves, to be made use of when any such are wanted.[1] Further, it is asserted that the Copts abuse their offices when they want to rid themselves of the restrictions imposed on *ḏimmīs*, or escape from the humiliations cast upon them and so raise their own status. They strain themselves to live up to the Muslims. And they even assume a proud bearing. All this they achieve by concentrating their ill-gotten wealth into their own coffers, and transferring much of it to *waḳfs* of their churches. What is most appalling is their general bearing, vengeful cynicism towards the Muslim community and its affairs. The same points are brought forward in the edict of al-Malik as-Ṣāliḥ Ṣāliḥ of 755 A.H.[2]

"Let them not lay hands on the *mawāt* lands of the Muslims or any other land, nor lay claim to it for a cell or a church or monastery, etc."

"They may not buy a Muslim slave, male or female; nor one taken prisoner by Muslims; nor one who is of Muslim origin. They may not convert a slave to Judaism or Christianity.... They may not buy any of the imported slaves..."

The same issue is discussed in Asnawī's tract. "They buy Muslim slaves from the Turks and others, make them Christians, and nobody can stop them."

The author of the above-mentioned tract against the Christian scribes thus explains his motives in writing it: —

(1) Concern for Muslim property;

(2) Devotion to the regime;

(3) Indignation on seeing the wealth, the money, and estates accumulated by these Copts which they acquired as officials, or, rather, acquired by abusing their position.

[1] *Sīra*, p. 3: 'Abd al-Ḥakam, pp. 2–4, 84–90. The choice is free (89, ll. 14–151): to go over to the *umma* or to become *ḏimma*.

[2] Ḳalḳ., xiii, 378 seq. Now L. A. Mayer in *Sefer Magnes*, 1938, pp. 161 seq.

It is held to be quite normal that the Christian should hate the Muslim. He is always on the look-out for an opportunity to betray him.

"Employing them in financial affairs means for the Christians raising their status, imposing them upon Muslims, upholding them so that they despise the Muslims, and turn the Muslims into servants.... All that, being the result of their religious hatred, etc."

That is the road to treason. Ḳalḳashandī says :—

"The first qualification of a scribe is Islam . . . so that he may be relied upon in what he writes or dictates as well as in what he omits ; for he is the organ (*lisān*) of the Government.... So not one of the unbelievers should be placed in office ; for he will serve as a spy to the unbelievers on Muslims to discover their secrets, and in this way the enemy will get to know confidential information, e.g. the state of their treasuries, number of troops and men." [1]

The diploma of appointment of a Syrian patriarch contains a warning against harbouring men from abroad, and holding secret correspondence with foreign potentates.[2] Much earlier, aṣ-Ṣairafī, writing in the time of the crusades, demands : A scribe must be a Muslim . . . especially in the present time, so that secrets may not leak out, which is a serious danger, for the enemy stands so near.[3]

In a violent rhymed sermon of the year 700 the preacher insists :—

"By God, they are the source of all misfortune and treason. It is because of them that strangers beset us. While you are trying to destroy the enemy's country, they are building here in safety a country of their own. And our major secrets will leak out to the foe through them."[4]

At times these accusations were accompanied by evidence. When in 658 A.H. Hulāgū's army took Damascus, the Christians rejoiced in his victory. They abused the Muslims, sprinkled them and the mosques with wine, and cried that the true faith is victorious.[5] Whilst the foreign policy of these scribes contains menaces of treachery, their home policy consists in humiliating and oppressing the Muslims. They facilitate the erection of a church, or remissions in the payment of the poll tax ; but when a Muslim wishes to erect a mosque, or when a Christian wishes to become a Muslim, they raise difficulties.[6] Moslems are compelled to run in their

[1] Ḳalḳ., i, 61–2.
[2] Ibid., xii, 427.
[3] *Ḳanūn dīwān ar-rasā'il*, pp. 95–6.
[4] Zettersteen, p. 88.
[5] *Sulūk*, 425. 432, Wāsiṭī also dwells on the case.
[6] Ibid., 151.

train, on foot.[1] The scribes appropriate goods and even estates, and nobody dares to utter a word against them, with the result that the Christians can boast of possessing luxuries, palaces, horses, and fine clothes. Their contempt for Muslims is so deep-rooted that it is patent even in the posterity of those who had embraced Islam.[2]

Asnawī also holds the Christians responsible for the spread of moral laxity, for wine drinking, seduction of Muslim women, etc. Their influence starts when they are in the retinue of an emir. They gradually worm their way into his household, etc. Asnawī tells of a sharīf who got into trouble for kissing the hand of a Christian and defended himself by saying: 'I could not find any other way. I had no choice in the matter; for he is an official in a department where I had some business to transact. My case had been sent on to him, and I had to try and influence him in my favour; or he might harm me and my family. I am a poor man. I have no resources beyond those that lie in his hands. So I did it, out of necessity. My guilt rests upon him who appointed the Christian.'[3] "Only a few days later God delivered us, brought us the great joy of a decree forbidding their employment."

The haughty bearing of a Christian scribe sometimes became the pretext for an anti-Christian agitation, or even state intervention, in the form of a renewal of the restrictions laid down for *ḏimmīs*.

We have seen, then, that the principal accusations against the *ḏimmīs* were that they were sly, anti-Muslim, treacherous, that they accumulated wealth by dishonest practices, and that they demoralized the administration of the state and the fiefs.[4] Another accusation has already been referred to. And here is what Asnawī has to say specifically on it:—

"This feature has become so appalling an evil that they have the effrontery to encroach on the endowments and funds of the mosques . . . by prevailing upon people to withhold payment. By their manipulations they make it appear that certain lands and properties are of little or no value; and when they have convinced Muslims of this they appropriate the lands and properties. That is why so many old mosques are now fallen into decay.

[1] Zett., p. 88.

[2] *Khiṭat*, ii, 511.

[3] Strict theologians developed a general aversion and opposition to bowing to human beings whatever their position. Goldziher, *RHR.*, 1887, pp. 157 seq.

[4] *Khiṭ.*, i, 90, ll. 6 ff., on *makr al-aḳbāt*.

"Taking advantage of their connection with the Sultan, the emirs, and the administration, they make every effort to have churches and monasteries erected, and to restore those that have become dilapidated.

"Now the land of Egypt was conquered by force by the Companions of the Prophet; and where conquest by force takes place no ancient church can be allowed to remain, to say nothing of the restoration of such as have fallen into decay, or the erection of new.

"Great cunning to bring these things to pass has been displayed frequently by the officials employed from amongst them, more particularly where the official happened to be an Armenian, recently converted to Islam. . . . But consider the character of a man who connives at the erection of buildings where the enemies of God and the Apostle will foregather. . . ." [1]

V

Some of the accusations definitely refer to historic events. The Christians are notorious for their attempts at incendiarism, e.g. of mosques.

"They display great cunning in their schemes to burn down mosques, many of which have been destroyed in this way, and many men, women, and children burnt to death. . . . Many of the buildings burnt down by them are in ruins to this day."

Cases of incendiarism by Christians are then enumerated. Asnawī apparently wished to confine himself to those cases which occurred during his own lifetime. He does not mention the earlier anti-Christian campaigns under the Mamlūks (658, 663, 678, 682, 700),[2] but starts his list with the events of 721, which he may have witnessed when he arrived in Cairo, a lad of seventeen. At least he must have heard them talked about a few months after they had taken place; for the atmosphere was still tense with excitement. Yet already in 700 the technique of propaganda had been well developed.

An ambassador from the Maghreb was an amazed witness of a Christian official's insolence. He asked himself: "How can Muslims

[1] Cf. R. Gottheil, *Dhimmis and Moslems in Egypt* (*Old Test.*) *and Sem. St. in mem. of W. R. Harper*, ii, Chicago, 1908); A. S. Tritton, *The Caliphs and their non-Moslem subjects*, ch. iii; M. Schreiner, *ZDMG.*, 45.

[2] *Khit.*, ii, 497 f.; *Sulūk*, i, 425, 429, 432, 535, 667 f.

win a war if at home they have in their midst the infidels at the head of the state ?" This was the origin of an outburst.[1]

There was a struggle between factions of *fuḳahā*. Shaykh Najm ad-Dīn Aḥmad b. Rif'a fulminated against churches and synagogues, and represented the views of the populace, whilst Ibn Daḳīḳ, *ḳāḍī-l-ḳuḍāt*, taking the opposite side, published a *fatwa* declaring that it was unlawful to destroy churches unless and until proof was forthcoming that the buildings were post-Islamic.[2]

We have two splendid diatribes in rhymed prose against Christians, especially officials, which were delivered at that time. They display a clever technique of the art of propaganda. They inspire terror with their pictures of future punishment; exaggerate grossly the mischief they are out to remove; rouse religious fervour to its highest pitch, and pile up a terrifying list of accusations of treachery, exploitation, and moral depravity. They conclude with a shrill call to action :—

"Who is present let him warn his neighbours and relatives; whoso will heed, let him rouse those who are not present so that they pay heed to the Muslim call."

Then follows the appeal to mob-passion: "O God, assist those who crush them, and crush those who assist them!"

The pamphlets of Sa'īd b. Ḥasan, a Jewish convert, as also probably some *fatwas* of Ibn Taymīya, treat of those events.

Again in 721 there were outbreaks of fire, denunciations, confessions, the discovery of a plot by monks and their torture. We also obtain a glimpse of what appears to be a genuine popular movement which had been in existence for months, with most carefully prepared provocations and demonstrations, slogans and calls to direct action. Clashes with the police took place, and the authorities were stoned, amongst them the *ḳāḍī* who was defending the Christians. A high official explains that these occurrences were entirely due to the hatred of the Christian scribes. The emirs, realizing that the tension was running too high, advised that no attempts be made to quell the outburst. "It is certainly God's will." The Sultan found himself in a dilemma. On the one hand he was afraid of antagonizing the masses; on the other he was afraid of

[1] *Sulūk*, 909–12; Quatremére, ii, 2, pp. 177 seq.; *Khit.*, ii, 498; Ḳalḳ., 13, pp. 377 f.

[2] Steinschneider, nn. 41, 85, 57*d*.

anarchy. The result was that he decided to leave the Christians to the tender mercies of their persecutors for a time.[1]

Another case of incendiarism, says Asnawī, was discovered in Damascus in the year 740. The Christians had set the Umayyad mosque on fire; again they confessed. Asnawī refers to a series of fires which damaged a minaret and some of the endowments belonging to the mosque. A Christian confessed under torture, and supplied the authorities (under Tankiz) with the material that had been searched for. We still have a record of the confrontation of that Christian with the notables of his community. It is the story of a secret meeting of several Christians of the administrations, headed by two monks who were expert incendiarists, and who came from Byzantium a little while before. A plan of campaign was drawn up. The monks set about carrying them out. They prepared seven bombs (*ka'kāt*) filled with *barūda*, naphtha, and coal-dust, etc. These they "planted", and a series of fires broke, out. Messages were sent, bribes distributed, communication with officials of other towns maintained. There is also a poem describing the event. Even the texts of the decisions of the *ḳāḍīs* of Damascus have been handed down to us. They discuss whether or no the fires may be regarded as a violation of the "treaty" which might necessitate its denunciation, and what was the punishment, fine or banishment.[2]

A case of incendiarism also occurred at about the beginning of *'ām al-fanā*, the year of extermination, the year of the black death, 749. Christians were caught and confessed. But they bribed some of the officials, who allowed them to escape, whilst a noble sharīf would be put to torture on such charges.

On the other hand Asnawī makes no mention of another wave of anti-Christian agitation which swept over the state in his own time. The last he mentions is that of the year of the black death, 749. He omits the events of the fifties of the fourteenth century, with their outstanding incidents in 755 and 759 A.H.

This fact, joined with the fact that there is much in common between the questions raised in those years and the events mentioned by Asnawī in his pamphlet, leads us to the conclusion that the pamphlet was probably written during the campaign of those years,

[1] Tritton, ch. 4; Wiet, 484 ff.

[2] *Cat. Leyden*, i, 154–8; Zettersteen., 209; Weil, i, 361 ff. and 383 ff.; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Durrat al aslāk*, Abstracts in *Orientalia*, ii (Amst., 1846), p. 372.

and was one of its products. The course of events, however, does not seem to be very clear.[1] Ibn Taghrī Birdī has only a few words under 753. Ibn Iyās mentions the massacre of Bedouins in 754, after which "a fellah was forbidden to ride a horse, or bear arms". And he proceeds to tell of a new decree against *ḏimmīs*, aimed especially against employing them in offices. Ḳalḳashandī brings the full text of aṣ-Ṣāliḥ's decree of 755 against the employment of infidels in the offices either of the government or of the emirs. But the older Maḳrīzī mentions, under 755, that large crowds delivered a petition about the *ḏimmīs*. Violence broke out; churches were demolished, excepting that of the Venetians. The authorities tried to intervene, but had to withdraw. After this another decree was promulgated, which declared that it was not enough for a Christian to embrace Islam; his whole family had to do likewise; and it was made compulsory for the converts to attend prayers. The decree also changed the former law of inheritance. It laid down that a Muslim member of a Christian family, i.e. a recent convert, should not forfeit his portion, and where there was no heir the treasury and not the *ḏimmī* community was entitled to the inheritance.[2]

In another passage Maḳrīzī states:—

"The Muslims agitated against the Christians. Lists were drawn up of those lands in Egypt which had become *waḳf* of Christian churches and monasteries. The scribes of the emirs were obliged to supply those lists to the *dīwān al-aḥbās*. When they were completed, they comprised 25,000 *faddān*, all church and monastery endowments. These were offered to the higher emirs who managed the affairs in the days of al-malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ṣāliḥ; that is to Shaykhū al 'Umarī, Sarghitmish, and Ṭāz. It was decided that those estates should be granted to the emirs in addition to their fiefs. And the Christians were humiliated, as was but fitting. Several of their churches were demolished." 'Aynī knows of the general decree against employment of infidels (*mubāshara*) in Rejeb 755.

In these passages we find mentioned the date 755 and the name of as-Ṣāliḥ.

But Ibn Iyās gives a similar account of the confiscation of church estates under 759. Memoranda were submitted to the emir Sarghitmish

[1] *Nujūm*, v, 133; Ibn Iyās, i, 200 f.; Ḳalḳ., xiii, 378; Quatremère, *Mémoires*, ii, 254.

[2] Schreiner, *REJ.*, 29.

by the *dīwān al-aḥbās*, stating the value of the churches and monasteries, and it was found that there were 25,000 *faddān* in Christian hands. On learning this Sarghitmish flew into a rage. He went up to the citadel to consult with the sultan (al-malik an-Nāṣir Ḥasan II, 1354–1361), who decreed that this land be taken from the Christians. He also drew up *murabba'āt* bestowing the Christian lands upon the emirs, in addition to their fiefs. Steps were taken to counteract the evil influence of the Christians' morals on the Muslims. The solemn affirmation of the restrictions, published by Gottheil, is dated 752.

Connected with the events of 754 there is the story of the strange fate of a Karaite private secretary of Damascus, who was forced to embrace Islam and undertake the pilgrimage. He told of the vicissitudes of his life in Hebrew poems.[1]

Lastly, the *fatwa* of an-Naḳḳāsh against the Christians was written in 759/1357–8. Its essential points are: Muslims cannot offer to unbelievers either friendship (*walāya*) or offices (*wilāya*); Muslims can have no other feeling but hatred for unbelievers

Here, too, we learn of another factor which served to fan the wrath of the *fuḳahā* against the Christians; it is that the Franks who had come to live in Egypt for business reasons had formed themselves into a community which could not be treated on the same level as the native Christian community. They came under treaty and did not pay the poll-tax; "their women were considered as being like ours," etc. But an *amān* cannot be issued for a period beyond one year.

Thus it will appear that there was a series of restrictive measures, some of them new (confiscation of church lands, the imposition of the Muslim laws of inheritance) in the fifties of the eighth century A.H.; and that we still possess some of the literature to which these restrictive measures gave occasion, amongst them—probably—Asnawī's pamphlet.

VI

Asnawī also refers to a Christian plot to blow up Muḥammed's tomb in Medina.

One night, in a restless sleep, the sultan Nūr ad-Dīn saw in a vision the Prophet pointing to two brown men. This dream was repeated three times. The sultan consulted with the vizier Jamāl ad-Dīn al-Mauṣilī, who interpreted the dream as meaning that the

[1] J. Mann, *Texts and Studies*, ii, 201 seq.

sultan should go to Medina. They set out together, and when they arrived the prince made it known that he would distribute money. But the men whom he had seen in the dream did not appear, nor had he any further inspiration. He then insisted that every inhabitant of the city should come up before him. At last he discovered that there were two men who had failed to show themselves ; they explained that they were not in need of assistance, but themselves distributed large sums of money in alms.

The two men, rich pilgrims from the Maghreb, were brought before the sultan. He instantly recognized them, nor was he misled by the fact that they were held in high esteem. He visited their house, which was near the tomb, and there he discovered many books (on explosives ? *fī-r-raḳā'iḳ*), and after further search, he discovered a secret place under a rug.

The two Maghrebites were beaten until they confessed that they had come to the city as Christian emissaries to accomplish a terrible plan.

On hearing the confession the sultan realized how great had been the danger which threatened Islam ; and he wept and ordered the two men to be beheaded. He then forbade the employment of Christians in state service in Syria, Egypt, and Diyārbakr.

This story, a kind of " Protocols of the Elders of Zion ", was widely diffused. Samhūdī, in his *History of Medina*, quotes it from Asnawī's pamphlet, but has had it from other sources, too, with some variations, as well as the date 557.

But Samhūdī expressed some doubts regarding its authenticity. " But, strangely, I have not come across this story, although it is of a very serious character, in the works of Nūr ad-Dīn's biographers." And he knew of other stories reminiscent of this one, which seemed to him to be spurious.[1]

Some restoration work was carried out in 557/1162 by Nūr ad-Dīn, and around the story of this work, on the pattern of the Christian incendiarism, that other story seems to have been woven.

Asnawī quotes the case of Saladin. Under the pressure of circumstances he decided to discontinue employing Christians, but to continue, at least temporarily, to raise funds by *mukūs*, unlawful taxation. But *ḳāḍī* Muḥyī ad-Dīn b. az-Zangī advised the abolition

[1] Yalbugā as-Sālimī (d. 811) once told Maḳrīzī that as vizier, he knew that through *mukūs* the Copts rob Egypt of seventy thousand dirhams daily.

of the *mukūs*, saying that God would help the believers. His advice was accepted and God helped them and the true faith prevailed.

Wāsiṭī condemns the official as a parasite. The manipulations (*iṣṭilāḥ*) of the Christian clerk make it impossible for others than himself to follow the records, and make it necessary to retain him.[1]

VII

As the pressure that was brought to bear upon them was intensified, more and more Copts embraced Islam. But far from solving the problem this conversion created a new one, itself a burning question—a hotbed of suspicion, distrust, and mockery. As a rule, the Muslim Copt still adhered closely to his own people, and in many ways kept apart from the Muslims; whilst to the Muslim he remained what he had been, "*al-ḳibṭī al-miṣrī*"; for the change had been imposed upon him from without, and had in it little of personal conviction.[2]

The Muslim Copt was, in the eyes of the Muslims, a representative of the hated brain-trust which aimed at keeping the country in the hollow of its hand. Islam was utilized as a means to that end and was nothing but hypocrisy.

It was usual for one member only of a family to embrace Islam; the others remained Christians. It rarely happened that he severed his connection with Christians and became a good Muslim.[3] It is only external pressure, laws prohibiting the employment of Christians, and the lust for power which will force a Copt to embrace Islam.[4] And such are more antagonistic towards Muslims than are the other Copts. "The contemptible amongst them, thanks to his having turned Muslim, would with malice humiliate the Muslims to an extent impossible to him whilst he was a Christian. Indeed, as one wrote :—

"The unbelievers turned Muslim at the point of the sword
"If left alone they are transgressors.
"They saved their skin and goods;
"They are safe, *Sālimūn*, but no *muslimūn*."[5]

The tract against the employment of *ḏimmīs* which has been referred to elsewhere, has a chapter "Concerning the reason why,

[1] Poliak, *REI.*, 1938. [2] Cf. *Nujūm*, vii, 269; vi, 823.

[3] The story might have arisen under the impression made by the schemes of Renaud de Chatillon to strike at Medina (578/1183), thwarted by al-'Ādil, Saladin's brother. Cf. Wiet, *Hist.*, 323–4; Abū Shāma, ii, 35 ff; Samhūdī, i, 466–472.

[4] *Sulūk*, 911: *ḥirṣan minhum 'alā bakā'i riyāsatihim.*

[5] *Khiṭ.*, ii, 498.

if one of them happens to embrace Islam, he becomes still baser than he was before, more treacherous, more unreliable, and more insolent". If he is in straits he repeats the creed. He goes home to his family, and explains away what he has done.

This is meat for the preacher.

"Now look at those who embraced Islam, inquire.

"Do you find them any one of them in any mosque?

"People do not talk of them, but just remain silent.

"If you say they became Muslims—where is the fruit of their Islam?

"Has any of them gone in pilgrimage to the holy house of God?

"Has any of them a pilgrim's cloak?

"Has any of them been proved to fast in Ramaḍān?

"Has any of them entered a mosque to join behind the imām?

"Or else—you say—they are not Muslims. Then why is poll-tax not exacted

"From them, humiliation not imposed on them?" [1]

But who is responsible for the high place these Christian scribes occupy? The authorities. Therefore, it is but logical that the attack be turned against them. And that is actually what took place.

Sometimes the attack is vague and is aimed at the indifference of Muslims in general.

"What is this weakness which has affected Islam? Should the enemies of God and of the Apostle be allowed to rule the people?" Therefore the people must be roused out of their slumber, to stand up against the enemy of God. "Why do our theologians remain silent on that subject, our rulers inert?" And this at a time when Muslims have become a mere rabble of servitors, and eat forbidden food. The authorities tried to defend themselves. It is not our fault; for we found the Christians in the offices where they have been for generations. Ḳalḳashandī knew of this plea, and knew also that Hilāl aṣ-Ṣābī was generally held up as the example of an excellent non-Muslim scribe. He explains this by stating in what way aṣ-Ṣābī differed from others. He came of a group that was small in number, devoid of fame and state, were lacking in fighters against Islam, and had no government to which they might be loyal, to the detriment of Islam.[2]

[1] Zett., 90 f. [2] i, 63, quoting Abū-l-Faḍl aṣ-Ṣūrī.

Asnawī discloses the weakness of the argument. He says :—

"Whosoever is capable of removing the evil must not shirk, and say : 'So it was before me, former generations tired of it. The consensus of Islam and the clear text of the Holy Book prove that this excuse will be of no avail.' Subterfuge will not work. Punishment is inevitable. 'Of what use is it to the poor man, in whose power it lies to put an end to the evil, if on the day of resurrection his torment will be shared by someone else ?' 'Acceptance of the employment of the Christian is acceptance of their deeds.' The sages have said : 'Acceptance of unbelief is in itself unbelief.'"

VIII

The power of the Copts as a community was crushed ; but the individual Coptic official still remained a common figure.

New exactions were imposed in 792. In 815 the poll-tax had to be paid in person under conditions of subjection and humiliation.[1]

Half a century after the death of Asnawī, in 822, the Christian kingdom of Abyssinia was accused of oppressing its Muslim subjects. In connection with this accusation, the Patriarch of Egypt was summoned before the Sultan, was made to kneel, and had abuse poured out on him. And once again the decrees against employing Christians were enforced.[2]

The Christians tried to buy themselves off, and were assisted in their efforts by the Muslim Copts.

The annalist highly approves this act of Mu'ayyad Shaikh, and hopes it will be accepted as atonement for his transgressions.

"For it is one of the greatest things to the glory of God, as the employment of these Christians in the bureaux of the Egyptian state is one of the greatest calamities. It causes the Christian religion to be exalted. Most Muslims have to apply to and stand before the gates of the dignitaries of state for decisions on their affairs. When a man has some business which is in the hands of the diwan of a certain chief, he is compelled to abase himself, and ingratiate himself with the official in charge of that particular diwan, whether he be a Christian or a Jew or a Samaritan. As the proverb has it : 'A man in need is blind ; he seeks only satisfaction.' Thus, a man has to stand before a Christian, whilst the latter may remain seated for many hours, until he has come to a decision regarding the matter in hand, the

[1] Quatremére, *Mém.*, ii (*Sulūk*). [2] *Nujūm*, vi, 398 ff., 559.

Muslim blessing him, and being more polite towards him than he would be towards a learned shaykh. Or it may be that a Muslim will kiss the hem of the official's garment, and follow him on foot, whilst the other rides on horseback until he is through with his business. As to peasants of the villages, a Christian inspector will beat them, humiliate them, and put them in chains on the pretext that he is out to save their master's money. But that is not so. What he is out for is to dominate Muslims. This it is and nothing else which befalls a Muslim prisoner in a Frank land; only that there he is owned by his master."

The fellah is a poor man, in need, afraid of the master of the land, whom he asks for some improvement in his state, in regard to the amount of the taxes he has to pay. . . . Thus Mu'ayyad conquered Egypt anew. Many Copts realized, in their distress, that there was only one means whereby they could retain their posts, namely to embrace Islam. They could not resist the temptation. They did not want to renounce their positions. "Habit is second nature." Accordingly they pretended to have turned Muslim, repeating the creed.

Three years later the decree was renewed, again in vain. In 852 there was a special decree promulgated prohibiting Jews and Christians from practising medicine amongst Muslims.[1] And almost a century after the death of Asnawī, in 868, the decree prohibiting the employment of Christians in state offices was once again renewed. The chronicler comments sadly[2]:—

"How fine it would be if it continued; if these recurrent proclamations of prohibitions ceased, and the Copts were not getting into state offices any more. . . . So it went on for about a year, then everything was again as it had been before."

[1] *Nujūm*, vii, 160. [2] Ibid., 721 f.

The Influence of Chingiz-Khān's Yāsa upon the General Organization of the Mamlūk State

By A. N. Poliak

1

In an article published several years ago we have collected evidence corroborating al-Maqrīzī's statement (mistrusted by Quatremère in *Histoire des Mongols*) that *siyāsa*, the legal code of the Mamlūks, was founded upon the Great Yāsa of Chingiz-Khān.[1] The Great Yāsa was not merely a code of criminal and civil law but a system of rules governing the entire political, social, military, and economic life of the community which adopted it. The expansion of this system outside the Mongol nation was due to the belief that it was responsible for the extraordinary military success of the Mongols in the thirteenth century, and that it might be regarded as a talisman ensuring victories on the battle-field.[2] The Yāsa rules concerning communal organization were even more important from this point of view than the laws treating of the behaviour of individuals. It is natural, therefore, to suppose that not only the Mamlūk criminal, civil, and commercial law but also the general organization of the Mamlūk state was based upon the Yāsa. The present article, inspired by the attempts made in modern times to collect and systematize the fragmentary evidence concerning the contents of the Yāsa,[3] is intended to show that this organization is indeed comprehensible only in the light of such evidence.

Some preliminary remarks are necessary. The Turkish states founded within the Moslem caliphate prior to the advent of the Mongols and to the promulgation of the Great Yāsa already possessed their own Yāsas, codes obligatory exclusively upon the Turkish-speaking military castes, not upon the natives, and based upon Turkish tribal traditions. The foundation of these states closely resembled the establishment of Teutonic kingdoms within the Western Roman Empire : in both cases the fiction of imperial unity continued to exist,

[1] *Revue des Études Islamiques*, 1935, pp. 235–6. Cf. also our *Feudalism in Egypt Syria, Palestine, and the Lebanon*, p. 15, n. 1.

[2] Cf., e.g., al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. A.H. 1270, ii, p. 221.

[3] The long series begins with Pétis de la Croix, *The History of Genghizcan the Great* (French, 1710, English, 1722). To cite only his latest followers : Vladimirtsov, *Social Organization of the Mongols*, Russian, 1934 ; Alinge, *Mongolische Gesetze*, 1934 ; Riasanovsky, *Fundamental Principles of Mongol Law*, 1937 ; Vernadsky, with Minorsky's collaboration, *On the Contents of the Great Yāsa*, Russian, Brussels, 1939.

and the subjugated indigenes were administered, according to imperial laws and usages, by their own magistrates, who employed the imperial language as the official one. The conquerors formed a military feudal caste, which was headed by its kings—who, from the standpoint of imperial constitution, were regional commanders of troops engaged by the empire—and which had its own language, laws, and courts of justice. The separation of the two castes was slightly relaxed by the conversion of the conquerors to the imperial religion, which necessitated some respect for the native clergy and the use of the imperial language in religious matters; but the relations between the two castes were regulated by the law of the rulers. Nūr al-Dīn b. Zangī was the first who compelled the Turkish military caste to comply with the demands of Islamic law,[1] and he is explicitly stated to be one who abandoned in favour of this law the *siyāsa*, a term evidently designating here not the Great Yāsa, which did not yet exist, but the local Yāsa of the Zangid state.[2] The early corruption of the word Yāsa to *siyāsa* is a noteworthy point, as also the similarity of that Yāsa to the Great Yāsa in recommending more cruel punishments for rebels and highwaymen than those ordered by Islamic law. Quite possibly, technical terms used in the Great Yāsa, or at least in its version used by the Mamlūks, were largely derived from these earlier codes; one is tempted to give the rein to fancy and suppose that the Great Yāsa was originally conceived as an improved edition of the Yāsas of Moslem Turkish rulers, which were doubtless more elaborated and adapted to the needs of a large empire than the kindred traditions of Mongol herdsmen and of those Turkish tribes which remained outside the Moslem empire.

It seems that, owing to the semi-magic power ascribed to the Great Yāsa, this code was in general concealed by the rulers from subjugated populations: among the Arabic, Syriac, Persian, and Armenian authors who tell us about it, not one explicitly pretends to have seen it himself or appears to be familiar with the order of its chapters and articles. As to the members of the military caste, in the Mamlūk state they were evidently acquainted not with the Mongol text written in Uigur characters but with a version written in their Turkish dialect in Arabic letters. Those of them who did not specially prepare themselves for the career of military judges, *ḥujjāb*, but had to perform

[1] Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn*, ed. A.H. 1287, i, p. 6, l. 37, to p. 7, l. 2; p. 7, l. 12; p. 11, l. 1.

[2] Ibid., p. 13, ll. 18–25, etc.

judicial functions in their quality of sultans and governors, were sometimes illiterate,[1] and could learn by heart oral lessons from this version. At any rate, this version could not differ considerably from its Mongol source, and since the materials concerning the organization of the Mamlūk state are more numerous than those regarding any part of the Mongol empire, we may, if our thesis is correct, consider them as the best instrument for reconstructing the Great Yāsa. We must only remember that, according to the tradition inherited by the Mamlūks from earlier Turkish states, a Yāsa regulated the internal life of the ruling caste and its relations with the natives, whereas the internal affairs of the latter were governed by Islamic law and, within limits fixed by it, by religious codes of non-Moslem communities.

The Mamlūks did not consider the Great Yāsa as a code of an entirely strange people. As the Mongols admitted Turkish tribes to their military caste (cf. the evolution of the term "Tatars" in the Golden Horde), so the Mamlūk- "Turks" regarded the Mongols—and the Circassians, the Alans, the Russians, and all the peoples regularly recruited for Mamlūk troops—as Turks,[2] which meant for them primarily "horsemen of the steppes". The number of peoples represented in various times in the Mamlūk army was very great, but regular recruiting took place only among populations acquainted, partly or wholly, with steppe horsemanship. Though most of the Mamlūks were brought through ports of Crimea, and numerous merchants and religious officials of the Mamlūk state were Qirimīs, viz. Turkish natives of the agricultural, mountainous, Crimea regions,[3] there was no Qirimī group in the army. The Turks of the South Russian steppes, Qypchaq, were, on the contrary, an important element in it[4] until the transformation of these steppes towards the end of the fourteenth century into an almost depopulated expanse, "the Wild Field," as the Russians later called it, owing to the excessive emigration into the Mamlūk and Lithuanian possessions, and to the Black Death

[1] Sultans Aynāl and Yalbāy may be cited as examples: Ibn Iyās, ed. A.H. 1311, ii, p. 64, l. 29; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Ḥawādith*, p. 335, l. 17; p. 608, ll. 8–11.

[2] This view is endorsed by Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'Ibar*, ii, p. 10, ll. 6–12; iii, p. 534, l. 26; iv, p. 501, l. 8, etc.

[3] Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi'*, ii, p. 276, l. 17; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, vi, p. 784, l. 8; p. 812, l. 6, etc.

[4] *Khiṭat*, ii, p. 221, ll. 14–15, etc. Such evidence must be carefully distinguished from that which applies the term Qypchaq to the Golden Horde. In the Zangid and Ayyūbid times the same name designated a province of Kurdistan (after one of its rulers), whose lords were Turcomans: Abū Shāma, ii, p. 138, l. 33.

of 1348.[1] The Russians (*Rūs, Urūs*), at first very numerous in the army, ceased to play there an important part at the same time as the Qypchaqs, which indicates that they did not originate from forested agricultural Russian principalities but were nomads (*brodniki*) of the Qypchaq steppes.[2] Ibn Khaldūn describes these Slavic nomads as herdsmen of oxen and sheep, living under the same conditions as Turks.[3] If the horticultural inclinations of the Circassian sultan al-Ghawrī show his nostalgia for the Caucasian mountain-gardens,[4] the diet preferred by the first Circassian ruler of the Mamlūks, Barqūq, was characteristic of a steppe herdsman of horses: horsemeat and koumiss.[5] It appears that the Circassians, like their eastern neighbours, the Alans or Ossets, whose Christian religion they shared,[6] inhabited then not only the mountains but also adjacent steppes, and that the subsequent shrinking of the Circassian and Ossetic territories was a consequence of the mass emigration to the Mamlūk state. This situation may explain the long dependence of Circassia on the Golden Horde, mentioned by al-Qalqashandī as late as 1412. Owing to it the Circassians could participate in this emigration from early times, especially in view of their military reputation which was increased by the similarity of their ethnic name in sound and in spelling to a

[1] *Nujūm*, v, p. 63. Ibn al-Wardī in *Ta'rīkh* of Abū l-Fidā', ed. A.H. 1286, iv, p. 150.

[2] Ibn Khaldūn, v, p. 372. Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iv, pp. 182, 216. "Wlādmr" in Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, iv, p. 408, l. 2 = Vladimir? But in general the Russians, as others, adopted Turkish names: cf. Baybughā Rūs or B. Urūs, d. 1353. During the ethnic conflict among the Mamlūks in A.H. 870, there was no longer a Russian faction: *Ḥawādith*, p. 525, ll. 14–16. The "Slavic" regiment of "Turkish" troops in the Yaman, which existed in the fifteenth century (*Sakhāwī*, x, p. 215, No. 937), possibly retained its name from earlier times.

[3] i, p. 102, ll. 18–21.

[4] Ibn Iyās, iv, p. 56, ll. 8–9; p. 102, ll. 8–15; p. 149, ll. 8–17; p. 195, ll. 2–8, The appellation al-Ghawrī is derived not from the place of birth but from the barracks where he received his military education, *ṭabaqat al-ghawr*: Muḥammad al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-Sā'ira*, MS. Damascus (Ẓāhiriyya), i, f. 123 (the author, who lived in the seventeenth century, already ignores the meaning of the word *ṭabaqa*! Cf. on *ṭabaqat al-ghawr*, situated in the citadel of Cairo, Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī*, MS. Paris, v, f. 113*a*, l. 16).

[5] Ibn Iyās, i, p. 269, ll. 10–15, 17; p. 309, l. 23.

[6] Cf., e.g., Abū l-Fidā', *Ta'rīkh*, p. 97, l. 28; Ibn Khaldūn, ii, p. 282, ll. 8–9; *Ṣubḥ*, iv, p. 462, l. 5. Under the Circassian sultans the citadel of Cairo contained for some time a Christian church, probably for Circassian women, who were not compelled to give up their faith as were men: al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tibr al-Masbūk*, ed. 1896, p. 73, ll. 2–5. The native biographers of Mamlūk emirs and knights were not allowed to write about their Christian past, not even to mention the date of their conversion to Islam.

Mamlūk word meaning "courageous".[1] Significantly, the Georgians, who became under the Ottomans the principal element of the Egyptian Mamlūk corps,[2] did not play an important part in the army of the Mamlūk sultans; the share of the Alans was there more considerable than that of the western neighbours of Circassia, the Abkhasians, whose connection with the steppes was smaller [3]; and those Armenians who participated under Sultan Qalāūn in the Burjī regiment of the royal Mamlūk corps were recruited in Armenian colonies scattered to the north of the Black Sea rather than among the inhabitants of Armenia proper, military foes of the Mamlūks. The first nucleus of the Mamlūk army consisted mainly of northern Oghuz, *Turk*, plur. *Atrāk* (the special application of this name to them in the Mamlūk sources recalls its similar use, in the form of "Torks", in early Russian sources, and seems to have been customary in their area), or Ghuzz; both of these ethnic names became general appellations of the military caste, and their language was the basic element of the Mamlūk dialect.[4] Under Sultan Ḥājjī they yielded for the first time

[1] *Charkas* = *jarkas* = *jārkas*, lit. "[owner of] four souls": *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī*, i, f. 173*a*. Used as personal name. Under the Ayyūbids we still find its original form, *chahārkas* = *jahārkas*: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, i, p. 397, l. 3.

[2] C. F. Volney, *Voyage en Syrie et en Égypte*, Paris, 1787, i, p. 166.

[3] The Alans (*'Alān, al-Lān, Āṣ, Ās, al-Lāṣ, al-Āz*) were numerous there throughout the Mamlūk epoch: cf., e.g., Ibn Khaldūn, v, p. 372; *Ṣubḥ*, iv, p. 182; *Ḥawādith*, p. 525. The Abkhasians (*Abazā, Abaza*) only during its last century: *Ḥawādith*, loc. cit., etc.

[4] Cf. our remarks in *Revue des Études Islamiques*, 1935, pp. 236–8. Unfortunately, owing to the opposition of the military caste to the study of its tongue by the natives (*Feudalism*, p. 1, n. 2), the surviving Arabic-Turkish glossaries of the Mamlūk epoch have been written not by members of this caste but by outsiders, who had little connection with it. Perhaps they do not reflect the official dialect but are due to the fact that the natives did not distinguish one Turkish dialect from another, the official being, of course, not the only one used in the Mamlūk state. The only published glossary whose author claims to be a Turk by birth, *Bulghat al-Mushtāq* of 'Abdullāh al-Turkī (ed. A. Zajączkowski, Warsaw, 1938), is the work of one whose Arabic name shows clearly that he did not belong to the military caste (cf. *Ḥawādith*), p. 616, ll. 5–8; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, iii, p. 71), and who honestly admits that the Turkish words compiled by him became known to him through the medium of earlier books and of persons better acquainted with Turkish than himself. He too evidently believed in the identity of "Turkish" proper with the language of Qypchaq (cf. the text, p. 1, ll. 1, 10), the latter being in this case probably not one of South Russian Qypchaqs but the tongue of North Mesopotamian Qypchaq, which included that region of Irbil in which he was particularly interested (cf. p. xiii). This tongue belonged, indeed, to the same Ghuzz family as the Mamlūk Turkish, though it hardly was quite identical with the latter. The claim of North Syrian Turcomans to be Qypchaqs (*Ṣubḥ*, xiii, p. 37, l. 7) might be also a reminiscence of their being descendants of *that* Qypchaq, since, according to many evidences, this Turcoman tribe was brought to North Syria by the Atabeg Zangī from the east:

their privileged position to the Circassians,[1] and after Barqūq this change became firm; but even later their share in the Mamlūk army was not negligible. A striking phenomenon is therefore the relatively humble part played there by southern Oghuz scattered over Western Asia, *Turkumān*, *Tarākima*, or *Tarākimūn*[2]: those of them who dwelt within the Mamlūk state had the status of natives, prohibited from wearing "Turkish" uniforms[3], and supplying auxiliary troops only; natives of Mārdīn and Asia Minor (Rūm) were admitted to "Turkish" regiments, but not to the *Turk* faction there.[4] The reason seems to be that they had lost those traditions of steppe horsemanship which ensured the Mamlūk military superiority over native (bedouin) cavalry. Similarly, though the Mamlūks admitted at first to their troops some Kurdish warriors of the former Ayyūbid principalities,[5] later this Kurdish element disappeared, and new immigrants from Kurdistan received only the status of native auxiliaries. The Mongols were always welcome in the Mamlūk army, and only their high standing prevented them from becoming there very numerous, because they had to be enlisted as free and qualified warriors, and not as apprentices who remained temporary slaves until the completion of their military education. This temporary slavery was not a great humiliation, because since the time of Nūr al-Dīn every Mamlūk who reached the age of majority had to be manumitted; but those knights who had never been slaves felt themselves superior to those who had to pass such an apprenticeship.[6] Only towards the end of the Mamlūk state was it imposed on the Mongols as on others.[7] The Egyptian al-Maqrīzī admired the physical beauty of the Oyrats settled in Cairo, just as the Iranian Sa'dī admired the Mongoloid features of Central Asian Turks.

2. *The Ruler*

As we know from *Codex Cumanicus*, a manual of West Turkish spoken in southern regions of the Golden Horde,[1] and other sources,

cf., e.g., Abū Shāma, i, pp. 43–4 (on the tribal name cf. *Ṣubḥ*, vii, p. 190; Ẓāhirī, *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik*, ed. Ravaisse, p. 105). At any rate, though the material cited in such works is possibly of more heterogeneous stock than the official Mamlūk vocabulary, it also proves the latter's Ghuzz origin.

[1] *Nujūm*, v, p. 56.

[2] Cf., e.g., *Ḥawādith*, p. 549, l. 18.

[3] *Ṣubḥ*, iv, p. 182, l. 12.

[4] *Ḥawādith*, p. 525, ll. 14–16.

[5] *Khiṭaṭ*, i, p. 95, l. 4. *Sulūk*, Quatremère's transl., i, p. 24, l. 23; i, ii, p. 45, n 53.

[6] Ibn Iyās, i, p. 168, l. 6.

[7] *Ḥawādith*, loc. cit.

[8] Cf. the chapter *Nobilitas hominum et mulierum* in the editions of Kuun, 1880, and Grønbech, 1936.

there were in the Golden Horde only three ranks above the common knight: emperor *qān* or *khān*, king *sulṭān*, and prince or baron *bay* (*beg*) = *amīr*. We find the same graduation in the Mamlūk sources, which describe the Mamlūk sultan as the suzerain of the local beys-emirs and sometimes as a vassal of the emperor (*khān*) of the Golden Horde, who was in his turn a vassal of the higher emperor of the Mongols, "the Great Qān." Owing to the absence of a rank intermediate between sultan and emir, strong vassals of the Mamlūk sultan, as princes of Mecca, Medina, and Yanbū', were called in the documents issued by the royal chancellery emirs only, though they were designated by their own subjects—and frequently even by Mamlūk writers—as sultans.[1] The comparison of the Mamlūk graduation of titles with that of the Golden Horde sheds a new light on the action of Baybars I, who called his son Barka-Khān (*al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī*, v, s.v., explicitly vocalizes this name Barka and not Baraka) after the latter's maternal grandfather, the emperor of the Golden Horde: its purpose was evidently not only to please the emperor but also to promote the son and his successors from kingship to imperial rank. The promotion was particularly important because the title of sultan was not Mongol but one conceded by the Mongols to native rulers and chieftains subjugated by them in the west, while the title of *khān* or *qān* was, according to the testimony of Juwaynī and Bar Hebraeus, the only one accorded to the rulers by the Great Yāsa. This object was attained, and the subsequent emperors of the Golden Horde did not demand their mention as overlords in the Friday sermon in Mamlūk mosques; and if the Mamlūk *khān* continued to be called in Arabic sources *sulṭān*, it was because of his post of *sulṭān al-Islām*, administrator of the Moslem community in the name of the 'Abbāsid caliph, so far as the Sunnīs were concerned, and as lieutenant of the Fāṭimid caliphs, so far as the Ismā'īlīs were concerned.[2] When the Mamlūk ruler became again a vassal of a foreign lord, Tamerlane, the Mamlūk chancellery was compelled to underline the latter's superiority by applying to him the ancient title of Qara-Qytai's emperors, *gurkhan*.[3] The elective character of the Mamlūk monarchy recalls that of the Mongols. In

[1] Ẓāhirī, *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik*, ed. Ravaisse, p. 16, ll. 11–13, etc.

[2] Poliak in *REI.*, 1935, p. 236, n. 3; *Feudalism*, p. 1, n. 4; and *JRAS.*, 1939, pp. 429–430.

[3] *Ṣubḥ*, xiv, p. 102, l. 18; p. 103, l. 7 (rendered as *kūrkān*). While in Central Asia this title was so forgotten that V. Barthold supposed it to have never been used after the Qara Qytai epoch (*12 Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens*, p. 123), the Mamlūks preserved the ancient tradition of the steppe.

both cases the ruler was elected by chief dignitaries of the state, who were simultaneously commanders of the army. The Mamlūk state council, *majlis*, as the Mongol *quriltay*, was an advisory body summoned by the *khān* whenever he wished to hear the opinion of his electors and other learned and influential persons on important problems. The numerous and turgid titles applied to the Mamlūk rulers and emirs in Arabic official documents seem to violate the Great Yāsa's rule ordering extreme simplicity in this respect; but the Mongols regarded this rule as obligatory upon themselves only, while their clerks, recruited from conquered populations and composing documents in their languages, had to call the Mongol lords by titles which were traditionally applied by these peoples to their masters.[1] One Mongol was a comrade for another, but not for a captured native; and the Mamlūk-"Turks", who considered themselves as a branch of the imperial people, followed the usage of its main body.

3. *The Military Caste*

The Great Yāsa obliged every inhabitant to devote a part of his time to performance of some service for the state. The Mongols themselves were not divided into two castes, charged with military service and public works respectively: Juwaynī expresses his admiration for the fact that a Tartar soldier was a peasant, expected in the time of peace to pay taxes, to maintain post service, to perform works of public utility, and to prepare arms, munitions, and everything necessary for warfare. When, however, the Mongols in foreign countries captured by them became a military caste dominating the disarmed native peasantry, military service had to be separated from labour service, and the Mamlūks did likewise. Under Baybars I the knights and emirs still participated sometimes in public works, such as repairs of Egyptian irrigating canals in 1264–5,[2] but later such cases do not occur. The term *bīgār*, which continued in Iran to designate the compulsory labour-service of peasantry,[3] was used by the Mamlūks as peculiar to the military service of the Turkish-speaking troops, and hence to these troops themselves,[4] while the labour-service of the

[1] We find this tendency already in a charter of Hūlāgū of A.H. 658; Ṣāliḥ Ibn Yaḥyā, *Ta'rīkh Bayrūt*, 2nd ed., p. 57, ll. 2–8.

[2] *Sulūk*, Quatremère's translation, i, ii, pp. 19, 25.

[3] Cf. Minorsky in *BSOS.*, ix, p. 950, after Juwaynī, i, p. 22, l. 20.

[4] *Ṣubḥ*, xiii, p. 94, l. 8; p. 97, ll. 6, 13. Arabic sources render it, of course, as *bīkār*.

Arabic-speaking peasants was called *'awna*, the Arabic translation of *bīgār*.[1] By the way, the word *bīgār* was applied from early times to active military service of Turkish troops in the caliphate's service,[2] and might be used in early Yāsas for these troops, just as Juwaynī uses it (in its Iranian connotation) when speaking of the Mongol Great Yāsa; we cannot, however, affirm that it was then already connected with the idea of general compulsory service for the state. Similarly, only the "Turks" exempt from active military service were called *ṭarkhāns*, the appellation given by the Great Yāsa to persons immune from general state-service. This is another example of technical terms brought by the Turks to Moslem countries long before Chingiz-Khān[3]; adopted by the Great Yāsa, which modified their meaning in accordance with its laws and with Mongol connotations of the respective words[4]; and then borrowed again by Moslem Turks from the Mongols together with the latter's Yāsa. In order to ensure the accurate performance of the general state-service, the Great Yāsa ordered that the population be distributed into fixed divisions attached to specified areas and charged with specified services and taxes, and that every person be forbidden to pass from one division to another without permission. The Mamlūks complied with this rule when they compelled every province to maintain its own troops; forbade the transfers of troopers from one province to another without sanction of the central government; and located their fiefs, as a rule, within the respective province only, and the habitual residence of a trooper in the administrative centre of his province. The Ottoman feudal system inherited this usage, but an Ottoman feudatory was more frequently enabled to inhabit his fief. A survival of the Mongol system of general state-service was the duty of the Mamlūk knights and emirs to know not only how to use arms but also how to make them, not only how to ride horses but also how to breed them.[5] It was perhaps responsible for the extreme dislike of fire-arms by the Mamlūk troops. These arms never became normal weapons of "Turkish" emirs and knights, and when al-Ghawrī established a mercenary corps of gunners

[1] This term survived in Egypt until the nineteenth century: Jabartī, iv, p. 207, ll. 17–20; the Earl of Cromer, *Modern Egypt*, the chapter on the corvée.

[2] Cf., e.g., Abū'l-Fidā', ii, p. 172, ll. 18, 20, 21; Abū Shāma, ii, p. 185, l. 31; p. 203, l. 12.

[3] Cf., e.g., the personal name Ūlugh Ṭarkhān (Ibn Khaldūn, iv, p. 297, l. 21), third century A.H. H. W. Bailey, *Turks in Khotanese Texts* (*JRAS.*, 1939, p. 91), sums up some non-Moslem materials.

[4] Mong. *darkhan* "freedman"; cf. Vladimirtsov, pp. 69, 93.

[5] Cf. the sources cited in *Feudalism*, p. 15, n. 6.

and musketeers, instead of recruiting such specialists from slaves and serfs, this action was bitterly resented by Ibn Iyās, whose admiration for traditional arms was doubtless shared by other knights.[1]

The conquest of Moslem countries by Turks was rendered possible by the superiority of Turkish cavalry. In the steppes occupied by Turkish tribes grass annually grew longer than in the more southerly areas of the Arab bedouins, and therefore these steppes were able not only to support greater numbers of men, horses, and cattle, but also to accustom horsemen to longer annual migrations from winter encampments to summer pastures and vice versa, and, consequently, to extreme mobility. The Arabs could not, like the Turks, shoot arrows without ceasing or reducing their gallop[2]; and while in both cases cavalry was distributed during battles into three autonomous divisions, called by Arabic sources *qalb* "heart, centre", *maymana* "right wing", and *maysara* "left wing",[3] the Arabs sought only to surround, if possible, by their wings the enemy's flanks or one of them, whereas the Turks, as later the Chingizid Mongols, aimed at surrounding the entire army of the enemy as by a ring, *ḥalqa* in Arabic sources.[4] The Turkish system of military education, which was further elaborated by the Mongols and made a part of the Great Yāsa, was founded upon this manœuvre. It included various exercises during which horsemen had to form mobile rings,[5] and the annual great hunt of the Mongol

[1] He was a knight of al-ḥalqa and a fief-holder: iv, p. 136, ll. 10–12, etc.

[2] Cf. Poliak in *REI.*, 1934, p. 262, n. 4.

[3] Cf., e.g., the application of these terms by Abū Shāma (ii, p. 82, l. 6; p. 144, l. 20; p. 179, ll. 13–18) to Ayyūbid cavalry. The centre was commanded by the ruler, the two wings by senior generals. On the corresponding terms used afterwards by Iranian Turks—*manqalay* Mong. "forehead, front", *sagh* "right", and *sol* "left"—cf. Minorsky in *BSOS.*, x, p. 165.

[4] Cf., e.g., Abū Shāma, ii, p. 82, ll. 6, 11; p. 144, ll. 3–4; p. 202, l. 24, and numerous Arabic treatises on physical culture (*furūsiyya*) and hunting. The corresponding term employed by Juwaynī when speaking on Mongol imperial hunts is *nerge*. Those treatises on warfare whose authors were faithful disciples of the Arab military school (e.g. Ibn Khaldūn, i, pp. 226–233) ignore *ḥalqa*.

[5] Thus, *Kitāb fī 'Ilm al-Furūsiyya*, MS. Aleppo (Aḥmadiyya), f. 18*a*, mentions a *ḥalqa* play during which horsemen surrounded a single rider, who had to flee from their ring. Lāchīn al-Ḥusāmī al-Ṭarābulusī, *Tuḥfat al-Mujāhidīn fī'l-'Amal bi-'l-Mayādīn*, MS. Aleppo (Aḥmadiyya), mentions *ḥalqat ḥifẓ al-fāris*, two concentric rings constituted by "rival" parties; *ḥalqatayn al-muqābala*, two rings formed by them behind their respective commanders, who met each other in the middle; *maydān al-ahilla*, two concentric crescents; and *ḥalqas* of horsemen round their own commanders or round the line on which they were formerly placed. These two small treatises (for the use of excellent photographs of them I am indebted to Dr. S. Reich),

army, headed by the *khān* in person, which took place in early winter, was also such an exercise, the game being surrounded by the ring of warriors in the same manner as a hostile army. The game occurring in the deserts of Arab countries was negligible in comparison with that of the Mongolian, Central Asian, and South Russian steppes; but as the annual great hunt was prescribed by the Great Yāsa, the Mamlūk sultans practised it in the Libyan desert, and their Syro-Palestinian governors-general in areas specified by them.[1] The Ayyūbid army was divided into "the royal special warriors of the ring" *al-ḥalqa* [*al-sulṭāniyya*] *al-khāṣṣa*, viz. small feudatories who formed the centre commanded by the sultan,[2] and the knights in the emirs' service, who constituted the two wings; the Mamlūks reorganized these two corps in accordance with the decimal system required by the Great Yāsa, which necessitated the graduation of emirs according to the number of tens of Mamlūks in their service, and the distribution of *al-ḥalqa* into hundreds and thousands, often nominal only. The adjectives *al-sulṭāniyya al-khāṣṣa* gradually fell into desuetude, as the ruler became connected with his Mamlūk corps more than with free "warriors of the ring", who ultimately ceased to be a military body.

describe plays performed on public festivals by Arabic-speaking professional lance-players (*rammāḥ*). These lance-players were a hereditary corporation, anxious to conceal the secrets of their professional education from the general public (*Furūsiyya*, f. 27*b*); and since the "Turkish" warriors concealed in their turn technical particulars of their military art from natives, the art of *rammāḥs* was a conservative one, claiming descent from Sasānian and early Islamic warriors (ibid., ff. 24, 34), not from the Turks and Mongols. The author of *Furūsiyya* calls various exercises *al-ṭa'n al-Ḥijāzī* (f. 4*b*), *Khurāsānī* (f. 28*b*), *Shāmī* (f. 32*a*), never by names indicating a Turkish or a Mongol origin. Still, some Turkish influence infiltrated through the medium of those Mamlūks discharged from service who had to derive their subsistence from lessons of horsemanship given to despised natives and adapted to their needs. The author of *Furūsiyya* evidently had only native teachers, as Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan al-Rammāḥ (f. 5*a*) and Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb al-Rammāḥ (f. 15*b* ff.), and for him a private Mamlūk, Sayf al-Dīn Ṭuquz, who condescended to write something on this subject, was a most venerable person (f. 14*b*); but the name of Lāchīn al-Ḥusāmī indicates that he was some time a Mamlūk, though he prefers not to speak about his past; and the fact that he is much more versed in the *ḥalqa* plays than the native author corroborates our view that at least these plays were adopted by the *rammāḥs* from the military caste. By the way, the word *ḥalqa* is always vocalized by him as *ḥalaqa*, possibly after its popular pronunciation.

[1] *Ṣubḥ*, iv, p. 22; xiv, pp. 166–171. Abū l-Fidā', iv, pp. 30, 31, 93, 134.

[2] Abū Shāma, ii, p. 179, ll. 17–18; p. 180, ll. 4, 36, etc. Quatremère's explanation of the term *al-ḥalqa* in this case as the guard surrounding the ruler and protecting him (*Sulūk*, his translation, i, ii, pp. 200–2, cited by Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, s.v.), is not founded by him on any sources. In fact, *al-ḥalqa* did not surround the ruler but fought beside or, more frequently, before him.

4. *The Serf Caste*

The general obligatory service for the state established by the Great Yāsa assumed in the case of native peasants the form of labour-service. According to Pétis de la Croix, the Great Yāsa compelled those who did not go to war to participate during a specified season of the year in public works, and to devote a day weekly to some work for the *khān*. The seasonal labour-service took in Egypt the shape of annual repairs of irrigating dams and canals, for which the peasants had to supply money, implements, and working cattle, in addition to their manual work. The repairs of great dams, *al-jusūr al-sulṭāniyya*, were supervised by regional "inspectors of the soil" *kushshāf al-turāb*, who were emirs appointed to these positions by the sultan, while small dams, *al-jusūr al-baladiyya*, were under the control of local feudatories.[1] The maintenance of the irrigation-system was always one of the chief duties of the Egyptian governments, but according to al-Maqrīzī the 'Abbāsid governors and the Fāṭimid caliphs entrusted it to their feudatories (he does not make things clear when speaking of the Ayyūbids, but it appears from contemporary chronicles that they followed the example of their predecessors). Peasants were mobilized also for construction of new canals, bridges, and fortresses.[2] As to the compulsory regular work for the *khān*, it was carried out in demesne farms of the Mamlūk ruler and his fief-holders, to whom he transferred this prerogative.[3] Another service imposed on the peasants was, as in the Mongol state, the maintenance of post-stations along principal routes. In both cases horses, forage, and money were supplied by neighbours of such a station.[4] Another Mongol institution adopted by the Mamlūks, public granaries, was probably established in the same manner. They were divided, like irrigating dams, into royal, *sulṭāniyya*, and local, *baladiyya*. In 1315 the former contained in Egypt alone 160,000 *irdabbs* of grain, i.e. approximately 316,800 hectolitres.[5] Their main purpose was to supply to cultivators loans in kind as seeds and as food until the harvest (in Egypt also to enable them to use green manure, which was not utilized in Syria and Palestine). The royal

[1] *Ṣubḥ*, iii, p. 449. *Khiṭaṭ*, i, p. 101. Ẓāhirī, p. 129.

[2] *Sulūk*, Quatremère, i, ii, p. 26, n. 29. Abū'l-Fidā', iv, p. 120, ll. 19–22.

[3] Cf. *Feudalism*, pp. 71–2.

[4] Cf. on the Mamlūks: *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, ii, 1, 62; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, p. 249, n. 7; *Ṣubḥ*, xiv, p. 377, ll. 1–3.

[5] *Khiṭaṭ*, i, p. 91, ll. 18–19.

public granaries must not be confused with the private granaries of the sultan, or with granaries of the crown domains.

The law which prohibited the peasants from leaving their respective villages without permission of their lords, and then only for a specified time,[1] was not brought into existence under Frankish influence, since it was established not by the last Fāṭimids or the Ayyūbids, when the Franks were a strong and imposing power, but by the first Mamlūk sultans, when the remnants of the Frankish states were moribund. Moreover, in Syria, Palestine, and the Lebanon it was applied less rigorously than in Egypt.[2] Its source was the Great Yāsa, which ordered distribution of the population into fixed divisions, attached to specified areas. While in the case of a Mamlūk warrior the area within which he could freely move, when not on duty, was identical with the province to whose troops he belonged and in whose centre he dwelt, a native peasant could freely move only in the lands utilized by his village community. These lands formed for the purpose of cadastral surveys a unit, *nāḥiya*, whose cultivators could inhabit either the village (*balad*, *qarya*) or small hamlets (*kufūr*) in its vicinity; but if the population of such a hamlet became numerous, it was transformed into a particular village-community and *nāḥiya*.[3] The division to which a peasant belonged, *ḥamūla* "loaded beast" (the name seems to be a translation of a Mongol one, like the corresponding Russian *tiaglo*), could contain either the entire community or its fixed subdivision, clan, entitled to a fixed share of the common arable land, which was expressed either as a fraction whose denominator was 2, 3, 4, 6, 24, less frequently 5 and 7 (redivisions of great clans into smaller resulted in redivisions of common lands into a greater number of "shares" *ashum* or "portions" *ḥiṣaṣ*, which was a multiple of the previous ones), or as some number of *faddāns* (in Egypt 1 *faddān* was 5,929 square metres, while in Syria, Palestine, and the Lebanon its extent differed in various villages); and such a division with its lands formed the local "portion" (*ḥiṣṣa*, *naṣīb*) of an estate-holder, lord of this division (his other possessions, if any, being usually situated in other parts of the respective province).[4] As we have remarked

[1] Cf. *Feudalism*, pp. 64 ff., and *RÉI.*, 1936, pp. 261–3.

[2] Al-Subkī, *Mu'īd al-Ni'am*, ed. Myhrman, p. 48, l. 15.

[3] Ibn al-Jī'ān's *al-Tuḥfat al-Saniyya* is a list of Egyptian *nāḥiyas*. On the term *kufūr*, sing. *kafr*, cf. ibid., p. 9, l. 4; p. 15, ll. 22, 27, etc.; Jabartī, i, p. 346, ll. 26–8. On transformation of *kufūr* into particular *nāḥiyas*, see Ibn al-Jī'ān, p. 9, l. 4; p. 13, l. 4; p. 15, ll. 22, 27; p. 22, l. 6; p. 59, l. 16, etc.

[4] Ṣāliḥ Ibn Yaḥyā, *Ta'rīkh Bayrūt* (the cited feudal charters). Ibn al-Jī'ān (the cases of villages divided among several lords). *The Buildings of Qāytbāy*, ed. Mayer, i (text), 1938, pp. 52–60. Ibn al-Shiḥna, *al-Durr al-Muntakhab*, ed. 1909, p. 75, ll. 10–11;

elsewhere, the main principles of the Mamlūk feudal land-tenure were brought from the Golden Horde, and the principal tax paid by the peasants, *kharāj* of Arabic sources, was nothing but the Mongol *qalān*.[1] Whereas the Islamic *kharāj* was the tribute imposed on those lands whose proprietorship was vested in the state and whose holders had only the right of hereditary lease, as opposed to the tithe levied on allodial grounds,[2] the Mamlūk tax was paid by tenants of all cultivated lands, whether "tribute-paying (*kharājī*)" or "tithe-paying" from the standpoint of Islamic law, to their immediate lords. Even in documents emanating from religious authorities, such as the endowment-deed of Sultan Qāitbāy,[3] the term "kharājī lands" was applied to allodial estates whose tenants paid these rents.

Native townsmen were, from the standpoint of Mamlūk law, not a particular caste having a common status, but they were exempt in groups from duties imposed on the serf-caste. Small towns were from this standpoint villages, and cities, military settlements; and native merchants, artisans, clerks, and physicians, were nowhere citizens and normal inhabitants, but only exceptions. When during the last Mamlūk-Ottoman war the Ottomans utilized against the Mamlūks the slogan of *'adl* "justice",[4] which meant from Nūr al-Dīn's time the annulment of Yāsas and the return to Islamic law, it easily attracted the bulk of these townsmen, because it implied their emancipation, or at least made their own position and that of their property more certain.

The MS. of this valuable article was sent in two years ago, and, in view of the difficulty of communications, the proofs have not benefited by Dr. Poliak's final corrections. Here are a few points on which, in normal times, the author's opinion would have been duly consulted :—

P. 863. The hypothesis of the existence of "the Yasas of Muslim Turkish rulers" needs further proofs. The term itself (*yasa*) does not occur either in the Orkhon inscriptions, or in Uyghur texts, or in Kāshghari (470/1077).

p. 119, ll. 1–6. *Sulūk*, Quatremère, ii, i, p. 89. *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, i, p. 354, etc. Poliak in *JRAS.*, 1937, pp. 105–6, and *Feudalism*, pp. 19, 69–70.

[1] *REI.*, 1935, pp. 238–241 ; 1936, p. 264 ; *Feudalism*, pp. 65–7.

[2] We refer to its final form. The article devoted to the early history of this tax in *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, 1940, pp. 50–62, written long ago and never seen by me in proofs, utilizes but a part of materials proving that this form differed from early ones.

[3] *The Buildings of Qāytbāy*, i, p. 52, right margin.

[4] Ibn Iyās, iv, p. 463, l. 12 ; p. 471, ll. 18–23 ; v, p. 159, l. 11.

P. 865. It would be more adequate to explain *brodniki* not as "nomads", but as "free-lances".

P. 866. The Arabic name of the Circassians, *Jārkas*, apparently stands for Persian **Chahār-Kas*, i.e. "the Four (tribes) of Kas". *Kas* was the ancient name of the Circassian people: in Ossete *Kas-ag*, in Old Russian *Kas-og*, in Arab geographers *al-Kas-ak-iyya*, see *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, 446. The popular etymology of *Jārkas*, as current in Egypt, should be explained as "[equal to] four persons".

P. 866. A mistake about the language of the military caste is difficult to admit. Two centuries before the author of the *Bulghat al-mushtāq*, the author of the glossary published by Houtsma also describes the "Qipchaq-Turkish" language, which he distinguishes from Turkmanī.

P. 868. The Turkish-Mongolian name *Bärkä* (sometimes *Bärkäy*) apparently means "a hostage"; Kāshghari, i, 357.

P. 868. Barthold's assertion concerning the disappearance of the title *gūrkhān* is right. The title *kūrkān* has nothing to do with **gür-khān*. It must be read *kürākān*, "a son-in-law", as, for example, Tamerlane was surnamed.

P. 871. *Nerge* has hardly the same meaning as *ḥalqa*. It seems to be a variant of *jirga* "a row." in Juvayni: "a line of communications," or "a line of beaters". In Turkish **y* can give both *j* and *n*, cf. *yumurtqa/nimurtqa*.

V. M

Laesio enormis in Muhammadan Law [1]

By Willy Mansbach

MUHAMMADAN Law, like many other legal systems, leaves it entirely to the parties to make their own bargain. They can fix any price they like; there is no rule demanding its fairness or adequacy. Consequently there is also no remedy against a bargain solely on the ground that the one party has suffered a loss by reason of disproportion between his own and the other party's prestations (Arts. 356, 441 Mejelle, Art. 221 O.H.).[2]

Yet inadequacy of price is not without importance in the Laws of Sale and Hire. In its desire to protect minors, Waqfs, and the State Treasury (Bait al-Māl) from unprofitable transactions, Muhammadan Law has made inadequacy of price a ground for relief when the bargain has been made on behalf of such persons or institutions.

In Arabic, this inadequacy is called *ghabn fāhish*, a term corresponding in its meaning to *laesio enormis*. Unfortunately, it has not always been translated in this way. "Excessive deception without fraud" [3] and "flagrant misrepresentation" [4] suggest some kind of action on the part of one party causing an error in the other. But all that *ghabn fāhish* stands for is an objective state of loss, the fact that one party has got the worst of a bargain.[5] This is proved by the term being always contrasted with *taghrīr* (deceit),[6] by the fact that certain fractions are laid down as the marks of excess, and last but not least by the fact that except in the cases already mentioned (to a discussion

[1] The author begs to offer sincere thanks to Dr. Vesey FitzGerald and Professor H. A. R. Gibb for their kind assistance. It is due to Dr. FitzGerald that the research into the subject was undertaken. On many points his advice was sought and readily given. Professor Gibb translated some passages from Arabic sources.

[2] Art. 394 Mej. is no exception to this statement. The heirs of a person who has sold an article during mortal sickness under its value have the right to cancel the sale if his generosity amounted to more than a third of his property and the purchaser does not make good the deficiency up to this mark. The criterion for the existence of the right of cancellation is the amount of the inheritance, not the value of the thing.

[3] Sir Charles Tyser, *The Mejelle*, Nicosia, 1901, Arts. 165, 356.

[4] C. A. Hooper, *The Civil Law of Palestine and Iraq*, Part I Mejelle, Jerusalem, 1933, Arts. 165, 356.

[5] Dr. V. FitzGerald.

[6] Art. 357 Mejelle, see also Art. 164.

of which we will proceed) only the presence of both *ghabn fāhish* and *taghrīr* together in a transaction entitles the victim to rescind the contract (Mejelle Art. 357). The right view is expressed by translations such as "excessive injury without fraud",[1] "excessive deficiency",[2] and "*lésion excessive*".[3] The best translation appears to be "evident disadvantage".[4] Muhammadan Law classifies a loss as excessive when the disproportion between the prestations of the parties amount to at least 5 per cent in case of merchandise (*'urūd*), 10 per cent in case of animals, and 20 per cent in case of real property (Arts. 165 Mej., 390 O.H.). The reason for this differentiation is that a sale of the first kind of goods is common, of the second less common, and of the third rare.[5] The proportions go back at least to the twelfth century. Possibly they were already well known at the time of Abu Ḥanīfa or of his disciples Abu Yūsuf and Muḥammad Shaibānī, for the Hidāya shows that the term *ghabn fāhish* was used in different meanings. According to some it meant a rate beyond the valuation of appraisers, according to others a difference of 10 to 10½ in the exchange of goods, of 10 to 11 in that of cattle, and of 10 to 12 in that of immovables.[6] The categories are the same as those of the Mejelle, a fact which is not surprising, since the Mejelle is not a Code in the Western sense of the word, but merely a compilation of the old law.

Ghabn fāhish is of effect only in sale and hire—and even in these two spheres of law (apart from *taghrir*) only for—

(1) the benefit of minors, Waqfs (pious endowments), and the State Treasury (Bait al-Māl), i.e. for the benefit of persons and institutions which are incapable of looking after their own affairs, and

(2) in the Law of Agency generally.

It will be best to consider each of these types of dispositions of property and how *ghabn fāhish* affects them separately.

(1) (*a*) *Sale.*—Property owned by an orphan minor, dedicated as Waqf, or belonging to the Bait al-Māl cannot be sold at a price excessively below value. The same is the case with respect to Ijāratain

[1] Dr. E. Grigsby, *The Mejelle*, Nicosia, 1901, Arts. 165.

[2] Omar Hilmi (translated by Sir Charles Tyser and G. D. Demetriades), *A gift to posterity on the Law of Evqaf*, 2nd ed., Nicosia, 1922 (quoted as O.H.), Art. 389.

[3] Young, *Corps de droit ottoman*, vol. vi, 2, Oxford, 1906, Arts. 165, 356.

[4] C. Hamilton, *The Hedaya or Commentary on the Mussulman Laws*, 2nd ed. by S. G. Grady, London, 1870, p. 388.

[5] Hamilton-Grady, *Hedaya*, p. 388.

[6] Ibid.

holdings [1] of minors generally, lunatics, and persons in their second childhood (Arts. 356 Mej., 221 O.H.). Such transaction is "not valid".[2] The meaning of this is not without dispute. Dr. Grigsby takes the view that it is void [3]; Dr. FitzGerald, that it can be set aside [4]; and Dickstein that rescission or the difference can be demanded.[5]

It is humbly submitted that none of these opinions is adequate in view of the wording, the history, or the intended effects of Art. 356.

The Turkish text of the Mejelle does not use the words *bāṭil* (void) nor *fāsid* (voidable), nor does it allude to the existence of a right to rescind, set aside, or demand the difference. It says only: *Bai' saḥīḥ olmaz,*[6] "valid sale is forbidden." There are also no traces in the history of *ghabn fāhish* suggesting any of the above solutions. And even if this is not conclusive, who is to have such right to rescind, set aside, or demand the difference? The *mutawalli* himself? What if he does not exercise it? Can he be compelled? Or if he has not such rights, who else has? All these questions arise if we accept Dr. FitzGerald's or Dickstein's view—and remain unanswered in the law. And apart from this, a right to rescind would give no protection to the persons or institutions whom the Law wants to protect, for such right lapses when the purchaser in turn has sold the article (Art. 194 Mej.). And since there is no duty on him to pay the full value in any case (unlike the case of lease of Waqf property) (Art. 392 O.H.) the intentions of the law would become futile. On the other hand, a sale at an excessively low price by a minor who is permitted to trade (Art. 968 ff.) is perfectly lawful [7] according to Abu Ḥanīfa, whilst it is not so when his guardian has effected it; so there is an insuperable

[1] Ijāratain (double rent) is in theory a lease of Waqf property granted against payment of a premium and successive yearly rents with a right of perpetual renewal. In fact it is "a perpetual beneficial interest" (Goadby-Doukhan, *The Land Law of Palestine*, Tel Aviv, 1935, pp. 9 ff.) which is assignable and inheritable, though not according to the sacred law of inheritance.

[2] Mej. Art. 356.

[3] Grigsby, Mej. Art. 356.

[4] *Muhammadan Law according to its various Schools*, Oxford, 1931, p. 110.

[5] *Hammishpat Ha'ivri* (*The Jewish Law*), Book I, Tel Aviv, 1926, p. 31. This, according to Dickstein, seems to be the view of the Turkish interpreters of the Mejelle.

[6] This reference comes from Dr. V. FitzGerald and has been translated by Professor H. A. R. Gibb.

[7] Cf. N. B. E. Baillie, *The Moohammadan Law of Sale according to the Huneefeea Code from the Futawa Alumgeeree*, London, 1850, p. 246, distinguishing between such a sale to a stranger (lawful) or to the guardian (lawful only if clearly advantageous). Both in the case of Waqf and in the case of minors the rule of *ghabn fāhish* is only one of the safeguards which the law imposes for the protection of the helpless against the possible misconduct or negligence of their legal protectors.

difficulty in accepting the view that *ghabn fāhish* by itself renders the sale void in these cases.

A better view, it is submitted, is that a sale tainted with *ghabn fāhish* is outside the authority of a guardian, administrator, or the Imām, and consequently without legal effect, at least so long as the state of evident disadvantage exists.

This interpretation of the Law is supported by the results of research into the history and purpose of the rule. It is well known that Muḥammad himself showed great consideration for the fate of orphan minors.[1] This care was extended—perhaps in Muḥammad's time, but in any case not later than that of Abu Ḥanīfa—to minors generally.[2] It was also extended to Waqfs[3] and to the Bait al-Māl[4]—to the former presumably because they were regarded as means for discharging a pious duty, to the latter because, although it is the communal chest of Islam, its primary beneficiaries are the poor and helpless of that community. It showed itself in a special protection against unprofitable transactions concerning their property. The means by which this protection was to be effected are obvious. No minor, nor Waqf, nor the State Treasury can act by itself. Each of them has to have an agent to do so. What is more appropriate than to limit the representative's authority to such acts as are conducive to the interests of the persons[5] on whose behalf he is to act? Since "it is common practice amongst mankind to sell a thing at an adequate price",[6] sales at a loss are outside his authority. But there may be a necessity to act at a disadvantage. Also from practical considerations it is not good to bind the hands of a representative too tightly. Therefore a boundary line has to be found at which an agent's authority ceases. It was not enough to say that the agent's authority was exceeded when the disadvantage of the transaction became evident. Law to be practically enforceable requires some more definite test; and so

[1] *The Holy Quran.* Arabic Text with Engl. Translation and Commentary by Maulvi Muhammad Ali, Woking, Surrey, 1917, pt. ii, 220; iv, 6; iv, 10; viii, 153; iv, 2: "And give to the orphans their property, and do not substitute worthless (things) for their good (ones) and do not devour their property (as an addition) to your own property. This is surely a great crime."

[2] Hamilton-Grady, *Hedaya*, p. 387; cf. as to dower p. 41.

[3] Fatāwa Qāḍi-Khān, a work contemporary with but probably slightly older than the Hidāya. The author's absence on military duty unfortunately prevents exact reference.

[4] Aghnides, N. P., *Mohammadan Theories of Finance, with an introduction to Mohammadan Jurisprudence*, New York, 1916, p. 434.

[5] Hamilton-Grady p. 41, 387; Aghnides, p. 434.

[6] Hamilton-Grady, *Hedaya*, p. 387.

we get, as a rule of thumb, the fractions detailed above. They embody the limits (unless, of course, he has been specially empowered) of the authority of the agent of an adult as well as of that of a representative of a minor, Waqf, or Bait al-Māl.

And it is from this conception of *ghabn fāhish* as a limitation of authority that we must deduce the effect of it on a sale. This has been recognized already as early as in the Fatāwa Qāḍi-Khān. A *mutawalli* of a minor or a Waqf is in the position of an agent,[1] reads a passage there. It is submitted that this is still the law to-day, since the Mejelle as well as 'Omar Ḥilmi's book are but compilations of the old Ḥanafi Law, and that it also applies to the position of the Imām in his capacity as president of the Bait al-Māl. If an agent acts outside his authority with respect to price, his acts are of no legal effect as against his principal (Arts. 1,479, 1,482, 1,485 and see 7 Cyp. L.R. 102, 1,495) unless the latter ratifies them. Similarly, if the guardian of a minor's property or the *mutawalli* of a Waqf or the Imām sells property belonging to his protégé, no right in the things sold passes to the purchasers as long as the transaction is tainted with *ghabn fāhish.*[2] This is expressly stated with respect to Ijāratain holdings belonging to a minor (Art. 221 O.H.). Such holdings, having been alienated by a guardian, can be claimed back after the infant has reached the age of puberty. This suggests that the right to Ijāratain has not passed to the buyer. And the same is the legal position with respect to Mulk property belonging to an orphan, Waqf, or the Public Treasury. Similarly, where the agent of an adult contravenes the limits of price set by law or by his principal, the sale is of no effect (Arts 1,482, 1,485, 1,495 Mej.). The only difference is that in the case of a Waqf and the Bait al-Māl there is nobody to ratify such sales. Whether a minor after he has come of age can ratify sales by his guardian is doubtful: there is no authority. Nor is there any for the proposition that the payment of the difference between price and full value, or just between price and the *ghabn fāhish* limit, makes a sale automatically valid. Either payment would remove the defect in the agent's authority. But on analogy with the rules on hire with which we shall be dealing later, and considering the purpose of the *ghabn fāhish* rule, only payment of the full value should have such effect.

Another problem is whether a guardian, *mutawalli*, or the Imām may validly *buy* on behalf of an orphan, Waqf, or the Bait al-Māl

[1] "*Bi-manzalat ul vakīl.*" See note on preceding page.

[2] Art. 364 Mej. does not apply to our question. It concerns Arts. 237 ff.

at an excessively *high* price? The Hidāya answers this question in the negative with respect to the guardian of a minor,[1] a proposition which must be deemed to apply also to the other types of representatives; the more so, since a similar purchase by the agent of an adult would require ratification (Arts. 1,482, 1,485 Mej.).

(2) This brings us to the question how far *ghabn fāhish* is of importance in the Law of Agency generally. Abu Ḥanīfa [2] held, against his dissenting disciples Abu Yūsuf and Muḥammad Shaibānī, that an agent to sell may sell an article at any price, unless it has been fixed by his principal (Art. 1,494 Mej.). The reason for the different treatment of such agent and a *mutawalli* or the Imām is apparently that he who appoints an agent without limiting his power has to bear the risk of being betrayed by his chosen representative. But this consideration does not hold good in the case of an agent appointed to sell Ijāratain. He cannot incur *ghabn fāhish* unless his principal ratifies the transaction (Art. 255 O.H.). Apparently nobody can be presumed to sell Ijāratain at an excessively low price, and therefore a special act of ratification is necessary in order to make such sale effective. The protection of the Waqf is extended to protection of its Ijāratain tenants.

On the other hand, an agent to buy has no power to purchase at an excessive loss (Art. 1,482 Mej.).[3] Some goods, like meat or bread, the price of which is fixed, he cannot even buy at a slightly higher price. The reason [4] for this provision is to prevent an agent from cheating his principal by buying an article first for himself and, after discovering that he has got the worst of the bargain, saying that he has done so on behalf of his principal. However, in order to protect the innocent vendor, property bought in such a way belongs to the agent, but the principal has the right to ratify the purchase, by which act it becomes effective for and against him.[5]

(*b*) *Hire.*—Just as in sale so also in hire the fundamental principle is the freedom of the parties to determine the rent at their own free will. And they are bound to their arrangements once they have concluded them, however circumstances may alter afterwards. But again an exception is made for the benefit of minors and Waqfs.[6] When real property has been let by the guardian of an orphan or of

[1] Hamilton-Grady, p. 387; cf. as to dower p. 41.
[2] Hamilton-Grady, *Hedaya*, p. 387.
[3] Ibid., p. 388. [4] Ibid., loc. cit. [5] 7 Cyp. 102.
[6] Apparently similar rules apply also to the Tapu fee of Miri property. See Art. 87 *Ottoman Land Code*, 1858. Goadby-Doukhan, loc. cit., pp. 26 ff.

a pious foundation for a rent less than the estimated rent, "the contract of hire is voidable and the rent must be increased to the estimated rent" (Mej. Art. 441).[1] This effect is caused by even the slightest deviation from the estimated letting value. Yet 'Umar Ḥilmi states different rules with respect to Waqf property. According to him, such property must be let at an equivalent rent (Art. 389 O.H.). But if it is excessively[2] below this standard, the lease is not valid. This, however, does not mean that it is entirely without effect. It merely gives the *mutàwalli* the right to dissolve the contract if the lessee refuses to pay rent at the full value (Art. 392 O.H.). In any case, whether the *mutawalli* resorts to this remedy or not, rent at the full value has to be paid for the whole time during which the lessee has possession of the property (Art. 392 O.H.). This explains also why the law provides different remedies for *ghabn fāhish* in a lease of Waqf property and in the case of sale of it. The legal effect of a sale, i.e. the passing of ownership and the loss accruing from it, can be prevented only by making the whole transaction invalid. But an unfavourable lease cannot be remedied in this way, for the lessee has already got what he had bargained for, i.e. the use of the thing. The danger of a *mutawalli* not exercising the right to bring the lease to an end is guarded against by making the tenant liable for rent at the full value.[3]

Extreme inadequacy affects the lease of Waqf property not only when it exists at the time of the conclusion of the contract but also when it arises afterwards on account of an increase in the letting value due to common demand (Art. 393 O.H.). If such rise amounts to 50 per cent or more above the contractual rent, the tenant is bound to pay this proportion in addition to the contractual rent for the remainder of his term of lease. If he refuses, the *mutawalli* may dissolve the lease and let the property to somebody else at the full value rent. But if the *mutawalli* does not dissolve the contract but leaves the tenant in possession of the property, the latter continues paying only the contractual rent. The tenant has no similar right of dissolution. Juristically, this rule is obviously in a different class from those which have reference merely to the value of the property at the moment of the bargain. It is somewhat difficult to explain it as based upon

[1] Grigsby, loc. cit., and Tyser, loc. cit., Art. 441 "Imperfect". Young, loc. cit., "annulable."

[2] i.e. 20 per cent Art. 165 Mej., Art. 390 O.H.

[3] There is no authority that this applies also to the letting of property of minors.

agency; but we may compare the series of cases in Hindu Law summarized by Lord Atkinson in *Palaniappa Chetty* v. *Deivasikhamony*[1], "which establish that it is a breach of duty on the part of a *shebait* [corresponding to a *mutawalli*] to grant a lease in perpetuity of *debutter* [*waqf*] lands at a fixed rent, however adequate that rent may be at the time of granting, by reason of the fact that by this means the *debutter* is deprived of the chance it would have, if the rent were variable, of deriving benefit from the enhancement in value in the future of the lands leased". The element of speculation in such a transaction is itself repugnant to the spirit of Muhammadan law and therefore to be circumscribed in the case of an agent imposed by law. The power to demand a higher rent by reason of a subsequent increase in value does not apply to *ijāra wāḥida*, short term leases for three years or less.[2]

There is also the principle that a *mutawalli* cannot hire anything on behalf of a Waqf at an excessive rent.[3] Since he has no authority, such transaction is without legal effect (Art. 391 O.H.).

(*c*) Ghabn fāhish *and* Laesio enormis.—We have seen above that *ghabn fāhish* has the same meaning in Arabic as *laesio enormis* has in Latin. There is also the parallel that certain fractions of the value of a thing are the marks of excess. In so far both the conceptions are similar. But the background of the rule in Muhammadan Law is different. The fundamental idea which gives rise to it is not the ethical maxim of fairness and equality between the parties' prestations. For *ghabn fāhish* comes only into operation for the benefit of a person who has not acted *in propria persona*, but has been represented by an agent. Where such representative is freely chosen he cannot bind his principal beyond the limits of his authority. A certain elasticity is introduced in such a case by the possibility of the principal extending the authority so as to cover unprofitable transactions. Where, however, an agent is imposed by law, his authority is limited by the law itself, with the result that such limitation is fixed and inflexible. In either case the proper place of the rule against *ghabn fāhish* in a system of law is not the part dealing with adequacy of prestations but the *Law of Agency*, a place to which, e.g., the Hidāya has properly assigned it.[4]

[1] (1917) 44 I.A. 147; 40 M. 700; 39 I.C. 722 (1917) A. PC. 33.

[2] Baillie, N. B. E., *A Digest of Moohammadan Law*, 2nd ed., London, 1875, p. 607.

[3] The rent is excessive if it is 20 per cent or more higher than the renting value of such thing (Art. 391 O.H.).

[4] Hamilton (Grady), *Hedaya*, pp. 41, 387 ff.

Hvatanica IV

By H. W. Bailey

THE following texts have been selected to illustrate the religion of Khotan and to supplement the material already available from other sources.

Texts

I. Ch 1. 0021a, a

1 aúrga í ba'ysu̯ñā rāṃdātāṣṭä
āra-verūci āstaṃnä hamīḍä
2 ttye vīśe'ra hīye gūtęra | jsa uskhąsta

rana vī ysą̄ya abhi̯ṣeką dījsāką 1

vīysñä ysą̄ vīysñą hamye tathatą̄-vrrara
3 attūśī|ma ną̄mī ba'ysu̯ñä sąrau
harbīśāṃ ba'ysāṃ hye aúmaunä mista
cu ra baudasątva būma-prrą̄pttą̄ hvāṣṭa 2

4 |arahadä ṣāvā cu ra khąṇḍaką-vaṣą̄ṇä
cū parīda mūdä dharma-garbha hasą̄yą
5 dharma-dhātä | hīya dyaudha hajsara gūstyę
tathatą-prrarastą śamatha-prrara vasva 3

6 narvakalpa hajsara vī | brrāva su̯rā
bą̄dacaitta hīyę vīvā jsa naradä .
sāṃbhaudha ką̄yū narmauṇä ūvārä
7 pajsa ge' vī|ra sąrva-sątvāṃ keṇä

mvi'śdī'jä bveya paśīdä ṇeva-raysem
8 khu nä tsīda satva avāya bveysye bā|ḍi
tti haḍę dā jsa ūvą̄ra grrą vą̄śī'di
ba'ysau jsa vyą̄rya mara nāsīdä ysathä

9 sąmyakä-drręṣṭä | vasve gūtterä rrvī
mahāsaṃma rrāṃdā hyę gu̯ti̯rā jsa narädą
vrrīśmä ḡyasta aśu̯' . cayaṃ rre .
10 ṣvīdä | hūrrāka būmä dīvya ḡyaśca

hūṣauñą̄ka āysdirai ką̄kä haḍi̯
valākäteśvarā baudasatvą

I. Ch. 1.0021a, a

Homage to the kings of Bodhi,
united, Ārya-Vairocana and the rest,
arisen from the family of the Vajra,
born in a jewel, possessors of consecration. 1

Born in a lotus, arisen in a lotus, having the nature of the Absolute,
significant in name art thou, the lion of Bodhi,
of all Buddhas the great exemplar;
those too who are Bodhisattvas, who have attained the stages, the excellent. 2

Arhant, śrāvaka, he too who is solitary like the rhinoceros's horn,
those who graciously dwell in the sphere of the dharma-garbha,
having been delivered to the circuit of the Bodhi of the Absolute,
having the nature of the Absolute, with nature in quiescence, pure. 3.

In the circuit without constructive thoughts, clear, pure,
issued from the ripening of the thought of Bodhi,
cosmical body and apparitional, exalted,
on behalf of all beings in the five ways of life,

Rays of favour they send out, immortal food, elixir,
that beings may not go for a long time to the ill existences,
but they preach according to the Law exalted commandments,
receiving prophecies from the Buddhas, they accept rebirth here.

Issued from the family of the right-thinking king,
of pure family, royal, Mahāsammata;
Vaiśramaṇa the god, Aśoka, King Cayaṃ,
the giver of the milk, goddess of earth;

Causes of growth, watcher, protector indeed,
Avalokiteśvara, the Bodhisattva;

11 ū|vārä gaustamä-deśa ranīje
jīnäve vī rrąścä hamya āṣa'

ttye gąsta raudä bhalacakrravartta
12 |rāja rājęśvara rre śūki
śāhają darye jabvī vī
ttye raudä pūrāṃ pūrāṃ śūrä darą jsa

13 |harbīśāṃ rrāṃdāṃ hye vamūrākä
rāysanāṃ hvāṣṭä bīśāṃ rāṃḍāṃ biṃdä
14 maittrai hye narmṇau ssa ysatha pīcha|ṣṭä
ttye śakrra brrąhmau ttī nārāya mḭhaiśvarä skaṃdha varūṇä
15 nāvau rre haṣṭä baudasatva haṣṭä parvālā | jīvą-sabhava rāja
dīvya jaścā cu rä dīśą-pāla nąga-pāla tcahaurä śūkhuṇa
śakhīmä
16 yakṣa dīśa-mū|ka pātca grahavadatta būjsaju sthąnāva cu ra
jasta dīvye parvąlā nāva rrąśtä heṣṭāṃda ||

II. Ch 00267

2–3 jastauni jastą be'ysą | āspāvi nāsaumanai :
4 be'śa mḭsta maḥābūma-prrāpattä baudhasątva | araham'dą
pūñudi śararṇą sątva :
5 tta tti khu sąrbacḭ dīśa' jsa abīrya|vi lą̄videvi namau
6 akṣauba jasta be'ysą āstani harbaiśa jistauną | jasta be'ysą :
7 ravye pa dīśa' jsa namau rahnąkautta jasta be'ysą āstaną : |
harbiśa jastauną jasta be'ysą :
8 ñuhūjsakye dīśa' jsa namau armyā|yi jasta be'ysą āstana
ha'rbaiśa jastauną jasta be'ysą :
9 haudha raichau | pa dīśa' jsa namau daudūbe'svara jasta
10 be'ysą āstaną harbaiśa jastauna | jasta be'ysą :
11 uskyāṣṭa dīśa' jsa namau badiśrī jasta be'ysą āstani |
ha'rbai'śa jastauna jasta be'ysą :
12 nāṣṭa dīśa' jsa namau verauci jasta | be'ysą āstana harbaiśa
jastą be'ysą :
13 cu ra tta ttī dīśau' vīdaśau' jsa aṷ|ṇaṃdā jasta be'ysą īde :
14 tta tta khū dirṇaidąra jasta be'ysą : śauttaidrai | jasta be'ysą :
ciṃdaprraba jasta be'ysą : nārāyi jasta be'ysą 1
15 | cu ra tti ttī mara myauña sąhe'-lāvadevi : rahnavyauhą'-
16 maṇḍala vauña rahna-|rāśa' ranīne ysāra-vārja śī vaiysa baidi
17 aṷṇadai : kṣa'sa kala bau|dhasatvaunau raudau jsa pai'jsa :

11 ū|vārä gaustamä-d'eśa ranīje
jīnäve vī rrąścā hamya āṣa'

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10 be'ysą āstaną harbaiśa jastauna | jasta be'ysą :
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jastą be'ysą :
13 cu ra tta ttī dīśau' vīdaśau' jsa aṷ|ṇaṃdā jasta be'ysą ide :
14 tta tta khū dirṇaidąra jasta be'ysą : śauttaidrai | jasta be'ysą :
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15 | cu ra tti ttī mara myauña sąhe'-lāvadevi : rahnavyauhą'-
16 maṇḍala vaṷña rahna-|rāśa' ranīne ysāra-vārja śī vaiysa baidi
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of pure family, royal, Mahāsammata;
Vaiśramaṇa the god, Aśoka, King Cayaṃ,
the giver of the milk, goddess of earth;

Causes of growth, watcher, protector indeed,
Avalokiteśvara, the Bodhisattva;

exalted in the land of Gostana, the land
of precious stones, become worthy of the kingdom;

To this Gostana's king, imperial,
king, lord of kings, king, monarch,
born of Śākya in Jambudvīpa,
by this king's sons' sons' valiant courage,
Vanquisher of all kings,
best of rulers over all kings,
apparition of Maitreya, a hundred births, visibly;

To him Śakra, Brahmā, then Nārāyaṇa, Maheśvara, Skanda, Varuṇa, the king of nāgas, the eight bodhisattvas, the eight wardens, originating from Jīva (?),[1] goddess of the kingdom, those too who are protectors of the quarters, the four protectors of the world (=lokapāla), Śukhūṇa, Śakhīmā, the yakṣa Daśamukha, thereafter Grahavadatta, Būjsaja, and Sthānāva, those too who are divine protectors, nāgas, —they gave the kingdom.

II. Ch. 00267

May we take refuge in the Buddha, god of gods. All the great Bodhisattvas, who have attained the great stages, the arhants, the meritorious beings seeking refuge, those such as are in the eastern region in the world Abhirati: homage to Akṣobhya the Buddha and all the Buddhas; in the southern region, homage to Ratnaketu, the Buddha, and all the other Buddhas; in the western region, homage to Amitāyus, the Buddha, and all the other Buddhas; in the northern region homage to Dundubhisvara, the Buddha, and all the other Buddhas; at the zenith homage to Bhadraśrī, the Buddha, and all the other Buddhas; at the nadir, homage to Vairocana, the Buddha, and all the other Buddhas; those, too, who dwell, Buddhas, in the regions and intermediate spaces, such as Dharaṇīndhara, the Buddha, Śāntendriya, the Buddha, Candraprabha, the Buddha, Nārāyaṇa, the Buddha 1;

He too who here in the Sahaloka world, in the Ratnavyūha circle in the Ratna-rājya, on the jewelled thousand-petalled white lotus seated, surrounded by sixteen koṭis of kings of Bodhisattvas—

[1] *jīva* may represent Skt. *jīva* or *jeta*.

18 namau daśabąla cakrravirtta mahākāraṇītta śāstāra śākhya-
mauna jasta be'ysą āstana jastauna jasta be'ysa ī́de :
19 | cū ra ttą ttī ttūṣyą' baviña aủṇade : mahādarmarāja
20 aba'ṣaika-prrāpattai | āryā maittrai baudhasątva paḍauysą̄ña
21 jsa : bai'sta ysāra baudhasątvauna raudi | ī́de : tta tta khū
22 āryā maittrai baudhasątva : āryāvalākattaiśvara baudhasatva |
23 āryā mijaśūri baudhasątva : āryā kṣattigarba baudhasatva :
24 āryā ākā|śagarba baudhasątva : ą̄ryą̄ be'ṣajarāyi baudhasatvą :
āryā samattaba|dra baudhasątva : āryā vijrrapauṇą bau-
dhasątva vī burai
25 cū ra tta ttī haṣṭū|sa sai śāstanābaibaraprrasādauna nāvauna
26 raudi ī́de tta tta khū nadi | upanadi grahą'vidattą : sūmąpauña:
hūlūra . būjsaja ṣanīraka 2
27 | cū ra tta ttī hauvani hauvana jaśta ī́de : tta tta khū
28 śakhīmaṃ : śauka cau|mauṇyą : hārrva raivi draiṇḍa būma
29 dīvya : kathi dīvya : rāja dīvya : kuṣḍi | dīvye jaśta vī
30 burai : aủda parāysau daśāpālā jastau vī būrai : habai|stani
mara ṣacū kītha bīsā navāysvą devattą parvālā aśte hīye mi
prrabebā ṣṭārai : drai kūla hauvina hauvina pāraṣaṃdā pāra-
32–3 ṣṣadye | kūṣṭą tta saṃ ṣṭāvi harbaiśa vā vāṣa [1] hīyvā hīvyā
34 jasta-bavinūā nāvi-bavinūā jastau be'ysāṃ ī́ñaką | dā pvaume
35 beḍa : kūṣṭa tta saṃ ṣṭāvi harbaiśa vā vāṣṭa namadryana [2]
parya | avihāysye :

III. S 2471

252–3 viña tta ī́nāṃ cū ra ttī mara kṣīra paramaṇḍa|le hīye kāka
254 nīvā[ ] [3] ysva devatta paravālā | ī́de tta tta khu bīsa hrrūva
255 ysīmāttala gaṇḍye śala|ba ysīnī nāṃda ī́ye tta khu śakrra
256–7 brrahamą̄na paḍą̄|ysāña jsa tcą̄ra lą̄kapāle vrrīśama vīrrulai
258 vī|rrupākṣa dadarāja sañī pajī pajābe'ña sūmakī|laha mahāyą̄na
259 hubāsta āstana āda vai[pai]|ṇḍūrye-rāka-dūmaketta bauda
260 brrahaspa śūśmanaiśa|ya hą̄da ysā⟨ra⟩ haṣṭase hauda paravālā
261 ca vā ttu hva|na kṣīra ysīnī nāṃda ī́ye
262 cū ra ttī hą̄vana hą̄vana | jaśta ī́de tta tta khu agūśa'
263 sthą̄ną̄va śakhīma śarī|mā dīvye aśaukha cą̄mą̄ṇḍva
264 hārrva reva daṣa' būma | dīvye katha dīvye kūṣḍi dīvye
rāja dīvye jaśta āsta

[1] Line 32 = 34 crossed out.
[2] *drya* = *drū*.
[3] Blurred akṣara (? *na*).

homage to Śākyamuni, possessed of the ten powers, imperial, most merciful teacher, the Buddha, and all the other Buddhas ;

Those too who dwelling in the Tuṣita heaven, beginning with the great king of the Law, who has gained consecration, Ārya-Maitreya the Bodhisattva, twenty thousand kings of Bodhisattvas, such as Ārya-Maitreya the Bodhisattva, Ārya-Avalokiteśvara the Bodhisattva, Ārya-Manjuśrī the Bodhisattva, Ārya-Kṣitigarbha the Bodhisattva, Ārya-Ākāśagarbha the Bodhisattva, Ārya-Bhaiṣajyarāja the Bodhisattva, Ārya-Samantabhadra the Bodhisattva, Ārya-Vajrapāṇi the Bodhisattva ;

Those too who are the eighteen hundred kings of nāgas who have accepted the teaching, such as Nanda, Upananda, Grahavadatta, Sūmapauña, Hūlūra, Būjsaja, Ṣanīraka 2 ;

Those too who are most powerful goddesses, such as Śakhīmaṃ, Ṣauka, Cāmuṇḍā, Hāritī, Revatī, Dṛḍhā the earth, goddesses of city, kingdom, palace, including the guides, the protectors of the regions, the gods ;

In short, resident here in the city of Ṣacū, the genii, deities, protectors who . . . are possessed of images, three koṭis of most powerful members of the assemblies being in their own divine abodes and abodes of nāgas at the time of the hearing of the Law from the Buddhas, wherever these all are, hither may they all graciously accept the invitation.

III. S 2471

Now so may we act. Those too who here are the protecting genii, deities, guardians of the circle of the country, such as have taken into their charge bīsa hrrūva ysīmāttala gaṇḍye śalaba, such as Śakra, Brahmā, and the rest, the four world-protectors, Vaiśramaṇa, Virūḍhaka, Virūpākṣa, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Sanjaya, Aparājita, having the five sorts of knowledge, . . . Mahāyāna, well-guided (?) and the rest, up to Vaiḍūrya-roka-dhūmaketu, the Buddha, Bṛhaspati . . . seven thousand eight hundred and seven protectors who have taken this Khotan land into their charge ;

Those too who are most powerful goddesses, such as Agūśa', Sthānāva, Śakhīma, Śarīmā the goddess, Aśaukha, Cāmuṇḍā, Hāritī, Revatī, Dṛḍhā the earth, the goddesses of city, palace, kingdom, and the rest ;

265–6 | cū ra ttī śa'ma būttarāja paḍāysāña jsa pūra ārma|ysdāna
267 grraha nakṣatta [lī] [1] salye bāyā [*da] [2] devatta para|vālā ṕde
268 tta tta khu nāvauna rāṃda ṕde nada upa|nada sāgara grraha-
269 datta ẻlapatta myacalenu [3] sū[*pū] [4] ma|pauña ttaśattara
270 būjsyaja ṣanīraka ssa nau kūle | hāvana hāvana pāraṣadā
271 pāraṣadye ca ttā nāma na | hvava ṣṭe
272 cū ra ttī ga aṅṇaḍvā devatta paravālā | aśtada ṕye tta tta
273 khū mahābala paravāle ca gara | veysaña ysīnī pastai nāve
274–5 gara-kūvā khāhvā ā|ṣaijvā ttājvā bīsā devatta paravālā
276 aśtada ṕ|ye harabaiśa ttā [5] vā namadrrūna parīye ahavā|ysye

IV. P 2893

7 ttī haṣṭa-pacīḍa śira baudhasatva *u* [6] kṣī'rä nāṃdä diśa'
8 a*y*ai|ṣcy⟨ā⟩ṃdi kuṣṭa ā'ma mūṃja satvāṇą mva'śda udaiśau*y*e :
9 suhi kiṇą bisanāña vā*n*a | āva ⟨ki⟩ḍai ysūṣṭe bhaiṣajyarāja
10 banā*c*vā | vī mūṃja ttula sagapālāṃ kiḍa sam*aṃ*ttabhadrrą
11 ⟨u kṣitigarbha⟩ ra ñą⟨nag⟩īrai ys⟨ī⟩nī ⟨nāve⟩ ār⟨ā⟩valai
⟨kitteśva⟩ra ⟨b⟩au⟨dhasa⟩|tvā ṣa' jūsña parīja vinīyā hara-
12 hausta *a*ttrrā*sta* . baudhasatva maṃjāśrrī ṣe' kāśavi *ttra*()-
13 *ri*|hā-śela āsta biśe parṣa'na haṃtsa māṇabhāva ñānīthāṃ ṣi'
kā*nvasñi* ādaramyą | āmūha nāve . āra ⟨ā⟩kāśagarbha ra
jsāṃ ṣi' baudhasatvä sakāya gīra satva-paripākā × ṣai × va
14 | dyāñe haṣṭa vā parvālā hauvana mista . pīchaṣṭu ba'ysna
15 kṣīra ysīnī nāṃdā biśa va|ra śāśa' sarva-saṃga prravaiya rruṃdä
āstaṃna hvāṣṭa ṣada karīha vrrīśamaṃ saṃñī aparājai[ja]-
16 | *tt*a gaganasvarä svarṇamāla grrahavadatti . nvaiya hā
17 aṃgūśa' sthānāvą parṣa'na hatsa ttyā|na āstaṃna mista
18 mista uvāra drrai byūra hauvana pa-ysāra pa⟨ṃ⟩cābhijña
19 pa-se ra hauda tta | parvālā miśta . haṣṭusä ysāra nāgarāja
malaida-śāsanā-bhaprrātta . hvaṃ kṣī'ra dījsā|*re*

V. P 2929

3–4 bę'śą mai'sta mahā|brrūmą-prrāpattą baudąsatvą :
5–6 arąhaṃdą : u prrą|ttīką-saṃbauda : hvana kṣīrā hīyi kāka
7 nīvā|ysva āysdąrā dęvattą parvālā : pajsaṃ āṣą'|ṇą : hąrąbīśa
ṣṭāṃ vā nąmaṃdrrāṃ āchāyau :

[1] Blurred, probably part of *salī*.
[2] Blurred, uncertain.
[3] *mya* = *mu*.
[4] Blurred *pū*.
[5] Blurred.
[6] Read *ru* ?

Those too who are, beginning with Yama, king of demons, moon, sun, planets, constellations, presidents of the years, deities, protectors, such as are kings of nāgas, Nanda, Upananda, Sāgara, Grahavadatta, Elāpatra, Mucilinda, Sūmapauña, Ttaśattara, Būjsyaja, Ṣanīraka, a hundred and nine koṭis of most powerful members of assemblies, those too who are not addressed by name [1];

Those too who are deities, protectors, and the rest, dwelling in the mountains (?), such as the protector Mahābala, who has graciously taken into his charge the mountain pools (?), and those who are deities, protectors in the mountain-wells, springs, ponds, and rivers;

All those, may they graciously accept the invitation.

IV. P 2893

Then the eightfold good Bodhisattvas took the land, they settled upon the district where were the abodes and dwellings for the good of beings; for their welfare he came to the village (?) of Bisināña, he greatly approved it. Bhaiṣajyarāja made his dwelling in Banācvā,[2] Samantabhadra in Sagapālāṃ of Ttula, and Kṣitigarbha took charge of Ñānagīrai, Ārya-Avalokiteśvara the Bodhisattva, he in Jūsna took the unsaved (?) beings to be delivered and disciplined, the Bodhisattva Manjuśrī, he dwelt in the Hall of Kāśyapa's Relics with his whole retinue, Māṇabhāva . . . he took up his abode in . . ., Arya-Ākāśagarbha too, he the Bodhisattva ⟨took ?⟩ the Sakāya-gīra for the ripening of beings . . . The eight protectors mighty and great, in visible form took the neighbouring lands into their charge. There the kings who had gone forth wholly devoted to the teaching, excellent, faithful, vigorous, and the rest, Vaiśramaṇa, Sanjaya, Aparājita, Gaganasvara, Svarṇamāla, Grahavadatta, thereafter Aṃgūśa', Sthānāva, with their retinue, beginning with those the most great exalted three myriad powerful five thousand, possessed of the five sorts of knowledge, five hundred too and seven great protectors, eighteen thousand kings of nāgas, who had received the teaching from Maleda—they hold the Khotan land.

V. P 2929

All the great Bodhisattvas who have attained the great stages, arhants, pratyekabuddhas, the watchers, genii, guarding deities, protectors of the Khotan land, those worthy of honour (= arhants), all these I invite;

[1] *ṣte* put for *ṣṭāre*.

[2] Or Banāca (*-vā* being then loc. plur.).

8–9 ca | būrā tta baiysūñyai ṣkui [1] vīrä : ayīkṣyą : jątta-cai|tta
10 stūpą dąmąrāśą ĭdai : jątta-cętti āstaṃ|na tcaurä mai'stą
11 caitta : hvąṣṭą baudąsątta baivąna : | ahąrīnaką *tryac*aṃdąna
12 paraṇāmä : baiysū:|ña raną : u bīsaṃgīnai räna : u dąvīnai
13 rana ā|staṃna :

VI. P 2026

After invocation of Karąkasūda, Kanakamauną, Kāśavą, Dādäbe'svarąrāja, Rūją, Dīpaṃkarä, and Kauḍāṃ follows :—

64 brrūya bīsai jasta be'ysa namasū naudą || khāṃhyape' vī
65 jasta be'ysą na⟨ma⟩ [2] | sū nauda ||
66 | || sarbada dīśa' hālaiyāṣṭä bīsā sakhąrąmau hālai [3] u damarā-
67 śau' hālai u ārñānā | hālai u pe'mau hālai u besā hālai u
68 araṇā-dīśāṃ' hālai u dīyagarau hālai u pī⟨ḍā⟩ | bvākaḍā
69 prrasthąrmaḍā beysūña prraibaibaikąyā be'ysā hālai arga
śarāṇā⟨va⟩ | tsū namąsū vanū aṅnū naudą 1
70 dahā:kṣanye dīśa' hālaiyāṣṭā bīsā sakhąrąmau ⟨hā⟩|lai u
71 ārñąnāṃ hālai u pe'mau hālai u dīyą⟨garau hālai u⟩ | pīḍāṃ
72 bvąkaḍau prrastharmaḍāṃ be'ysūñā prraibaibau hālai u
arąṇą-dīśau ⟨u drrayā⟩ | ranā hālai aṅrga śaraṇāva tsū [3] aṅnū
vanū nąmąsū nąda 2

There follow similar passages for the pūrvye dīśa' ' eastern quarter ' and the uttarye dīśa' ' northern quarter '.

VII. P 4649

6–7 bī'śāṃ hvana kṣīra | kākä *t*svettą : parvąlą ysīnī nāsādę :
rrāja dīvya ğyaśti . vrrīśama laukapālā . | × × × *nivā*ysvā uhā'
paśīde .

VIII. P 2942

5–6 jsīnīvau nāsīda harbaiśa be'ysa | : haṣṭą baudhasatva [ha]
7 hatca [pa] [4] parvālāau jsa : asūlaka baudhasattą gva|ka
hīyāda : padārāysau cvau hūrīda [5] pada [6] śairka :

IX. P 2900

1–2 : namau bagävätte śākyemaunasyą tta*th*āgattasya namau
3 cūttirä-mahārā|jasya vrrīśāmaṇḍasya tta*th*āgattasya baiśvä-
marasyą mahi'śurasyą a|parājittasya sañasyą mauṇḍibadrrąsya
bīnāyekasya

[1] Uncertain akṣara : *ṣ* is clear and *-i*.

[2] Opaque paper pasted over makes parts illegible, but the words can be supplied from the repetitions.

[3] Subscript. [4] Blurred out. [5] *hūrī* written over *bāyī*. [6] Subscript.

Whatever are those Birth-shrines, stūpas, dharmarājikā stūpas, built over the relics of the Buddha; beginning with the Birth-shrine, the four great shrines; the eight bodhisattvas' abodes, the complete ripening of the three inconceivables, the jewel of the Buddha, and the jewel of the Bhikṣu sangha, and the jewel of the Law and the rest.

VI. P 2026

Homage, reverence to the Buddha dwelling in Brrūya; homage, reverence to the Buddha in Khāṃhyape '.

Towards the sanghārāmas in the eastern region, the dharmarājikā stūpas, the wild places, images, stūpas, wild regions, lamps, pictures, . . ., carpets (?), the Buddhas having the bodies of images of Buddhas, with reverence seeking refuge I come; I bow down, I venerate, I bless, with homage. 1

[*Similarly towards the southern region.*]

VII. P 4649

May all of them, protectors of the Khotan land come, may the guardians take charge of it, the goddesses of the kingdom, Vaiśramaṇa the world-protector, . . . of the genii leave the . . .

VIII. P 2942

May all the Buddhas take charge of them, the eight Bodhisattvas with the protectors, the Bodhisattva Asūlaka, . . ., the way-guides who give them the good way.

IX. P 2900

Homage to the Bhagavān Śākyamuni, the Tathāgata; homage to the four great kings, Vaiśramaṇa the Tathāgata, Viśvamitra (?), Maheśvara, Aparājita, Sanjaya, Māṇibhadra, Vināyaka.

X

Derge Kanjur,[1] vol. 76, 224 b 2–5 = Narthang, vol. 30, 342 b 2–6.

2 de-nas deḥi ćhe bcom-ldan-ḥdas-kyis lẖaḥi rgyal-po rnam-
3 thos-kyi bu daṅ ı byan-chub sems-dpaḥ | sems-dpaḥ chen-po
ḥdu-śes-can źes-bya-ba daṅ ı lẖa mi-pham-pa[2] źes-bya-ba
daṅ ı kluḥi rgyal-po khyim-ḥchig[3] ces-bya-ba daṅ ı lẖa
nam-mkhaḥi dbyaṅs[4] źes-bya-ba daṅ ı lẖa gser-gyi phreṅ-
ba-can[5] źes-bya-ba daṅ ı lẖa-mo lcags-kyu-can źes-bya-ba
4 daṅ ı lẖa-mo | gnas-can źes-bya-ba-rnams-la ḥdi skad-ces
bkaḥ sćalto || rigs-kyi bu khyed-rnams-la mchod-rten go-ma-
sa-la-gan-da daṅ ı ri glaṅ-ru yul daṅ bcas-pa daṅ ı ṅaḥi
bstan-pa daṅ ı sras-rnams yoṅs-su[6] gtad-kyis ı yoṅs-su
5 bsruṅ-ba daṅ ı bskyab-pa | daṅ ı bskyaṅ-ba daṅ ı mchod-
gnas-su[7] ḥgyur-bar gyis-śig ı

XI

Fonds Pelliot tibétain 254: Tibetan text not published, but translated in F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan*, i, p. 310.

As regards the non-decaying of the Good Religion in the Li land and the eight great resident tutelaries of the land, the great lord Be-śa-ra-ma-ni, the generalissimo Sa-ñe, Aparājita,[8] Gaganeśvara,[9] Suvarṇamālā,[10] Ankuśavatī,[11] Sthānavatī,[12] the Nāga-rāja Ḫgra-ha-bad-ta and the rest, their vowed retinues, the tutelaries in general are three myriads: Devas tutelaries a thousand five hundred and seven.

XII

Ibidem p. 311.

Names of the eight self-originated Bodhi-sattvas at present resident in the Li land: Vajrapāṇi, who is lord of the Guhyas, resides in

[1] In the Cambridge University Library, Kanjur only. For translation see Thomas, T. i 19–20.

[2–7] Narthang variants :—

[2] mi-ḥpham-pa.

[3] khyim-ćhig.

[4] dbyiṅs.

[5] ḥphreṅ.

[6] yoṅsu.

[7] gnasu.

[8] Loc. cit. p. 97 Aparājita renders the Tibetan *gźan-gyis mi-thub-pa* 'not conquered by others'. Note that in Professor Thomas's transliteration *ẖ* = Tib. ཧ *ḥ*.

[9] gha-gha-na-sva-ra.

[10] su-gar-na-ma-la.

[11] lcags-kyu.

[12] sta-na-ba-ti.

Śoṅ-pya, above the highest terrace of Ḫgeḫu-te-śan[1]; Ārya Avalokiteśvara[2] resides in Ḫju-sna; Ākāśagarbha in Skoḫi-bron; Mañjuśrī and Maṇibhadra[3] both in Ḫgeḫu-te-śan; Kṣitigarbha in Ḫdro-tir; Samantabhadra in Saṅ-ga-po-loṅ of To-la; Bhaiṣjyarāja in Ḫbaḫ-no-co; Maitreya in Ḫbas-no-ña.

XIII

Candragarbha-sūtra,[4] Taishō issaikyō, vol. 13, p. 368, col. 1, ll. 13–18.

(1) 難勝天子.
(2) 散脂夜叉大將.
(3) 羖羊脚大夜叉.
(4) 金華嚴夜.
(5) 熱舍龍王.
(6) 阿那緊首天女.
(7) 他難闍梨天女.
(8) 毘沙門王神.

Notes

Abbreviations.

Mahāvy.	*Mahāvyutpatti*, ed. Sakaki, 1925.
Oda	Ōda Tokūnō, Bukkyō Daijiten (on which see F. M. Trautz, *Asia Major* i 205).
Thomas, T.	F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan*, vol. i, 1935.
JātS.	Jātakastava = Ch. 00274, facsimile in Codices Khotanenses.
Bhadrak.	Bhadrakalpikā-sūtra in Ch. c. 001, 194 ff.
Suvarṇabh.	*Suvarṇabhāsa-sūtra*, ed. J. Nobel, 1937.
Vajr.	Vajracchedikā, in A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan*, 1916.
Aparim.	Aparimitāyuḥ-sūtra, Hoernle, ibid.

A. Lexical Commentary

I. Ch. 1. 0021a, a 1–16

1 (*a*) 1–3 = Ch. 1. 0021b, b 1–3, with variants :—

1 | siddhaṃ
aurga ṭ[5] ba'ysūñāṃ rrādautāṣṭā :
ārya viṃrūca āstani hamīḍa :
2 ttye vīśa'rā[5] | hīye gūtterāna hamye
rani vī ysāyi : abiṣekā dījsākā

[1] *ḫ* = Tib. ཧ *h*. [2] 'A-rya-ba-lo. [3] Ma-ni-bha-ba.
[4] Translated by Sylvain Lévi, BEFEO 5, 268. [5] Top of akṣara lost.

3 vīysaña ysā viysąña ha|mye ttathattā-vrrarā
attuśīmā nāmai ba'ysūña sarą̄ :

(*b*) *aurga* . . . . *-āṣṭā* 'homage towards'. Cf. P 2026, 69 infra *be'ysā hālai arga*, and Vajr 3 b 2–3 *orga ī harbiśą̄nā gyastą̄nā ba'ysą̄nā u baudhasatvāṃ* ⌒ | *hālaiyāṣṭā*.

(*c*) *-āṣṭa*, equivalent to a case ending 'to', form of *hāṣṭa* in compounds, older *-ālstu* Kha 1.13, 145 r 3 *nārvāñālstu*, 146 r 4 *balysūśtālstu*, 147 v 4 *varālstu*; *-ālsto*, E 25.179 *gyastuvolsto*, suffixed to the locative. After final diphthong and *-ā*, *-āṃ*, *-y-* or *-t-* is inserted: *hālaiyāṣṭa*, *rāṃdātāṣṭā* (= *rruṃdāṃ* + *āṣṭa*). On *-y-*, *-t-*, *-v-* see BSOS x 572.

(*d*) *vīśe'ra* 'vajra'. Vajrayāna texts are represented in Khotanese by Ch. ii 004 (four folios); the favourite reading of the *ttaiṣī* 'bhikṣu' was Vajrayāna texts (P 5538 b 28, ed. BSOS ix 523): E *vaśāra-*, with the usual *ś* (= *ž*) for Indian *j*. In Ch ii 004, 3 v 4 the *vajrrakūla* 'Vajrakula, Diamond Family' is mentioned. An allusion to the *Viśa*, 'Vijaya' or *Vījītta* 'Vijita' family of the Khotan kings may be intended.

(*e*) *gūteṃra* (*eṃ* = *ai*), 9 *gutiṃrā* (*iṃ* = *ai*), Ch ii 004, 3 v 1 *guttairā*, P 3513, 63 r 4 *gūttirrna* = Skt. Suvarṇabh. 3.20 *kula*; Ch ii 004, 2 r 2 *gutterā*, 3 v 3 *guttara*, P 3513, 14 v 4 *ba'ysą̄ñā gą̄ttrrā*, E *gūttrā*, *gautrā*, *gūttāru* 'gotra'. On the 'Element of the Lineage', see Obermiller, Acta Or. 9, 97 ff., and 11 108: *gotra*, Tib. *rigs*, was a synonym of *dhātu*, *sattvadhātu* and *tathāgatagarbha*.

(*f*) *jsa* = *na* of Ch 1.0021b, b 2 *gūtterāna*.

2 (*a*) *uskhąsta* = *hamye* Ch 1.0021b, b 2; P 2787, 54 *ūtca māhą̄samą̄drra myą̄ña ūskhastą tcūra rana* 'the four jewels produced in the ocean'. If *iskhajsā* Ch ii 002, 7 v 1 = Skt. *abhyudaya*, P 2739, 11 *askhijsą̄me*, P 2787, 51 *ūskhājsāmai* are connected, then *uskhajs-*: *uskhasta-* from **us-khaď-*, and *-khasta* from **-khačita* with *st* from secondary contact, as *pasūste* < **patisaučatai* (Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 27). Similar use of *ysāta*, P 2896, 43 *gūttairą jsa ysāva* "born from the family".

(*b*) *abhiṣeką dījsāką*, Ch. 00267, 19 *aba'ṣaika-prrāpattai* 'initiated consecrated'.

(*c*) *-vrrara* in compounds from *prara*, *pratara* 'nature', BSOS x 575. Cf. P 3510, 9.3 *ttāthattā-vrrarā*, P 4099, 169 *ttathattīnai*.

(*d*) *attuśīma* 'not empty' (E *ttuśśīma*), hence 'significant'.

(*e*) *sąrau* 'lion', Ch. 1.0021b, b 3, Ch. ii 004, 4 r 2 *sarą̄*, Ch. 00266, 46 *sarā*; plur. P 3513, 44 r 2 *sarauva*, gen. plur. P 2781, 69 *sarautāṃ*, P 2025, 83 *sarauyāṃ*: *sarau* < **sargava-*, beside Sogd. *šrγw-*, MidPers.

šgr, *šyr*, MidParth. *šgr* (Henning, BSOS x 88) < **syargava-*; for *s-* and *sy-*, cf. Av. *saēna-*, OPers. *saina-* beside Skt. *śyena*: IE *k-* beside *k̂i̯-*.

3 (*a*) *aumaunä* 'likeness' < Old Iran. or Skt. *upamāna*, cf. E *aupamo*, *ūtamo* 'likeness', Skt. *upamā*.

(*b*) *-prrą̄pttā* plur. to *-prāptaa-*, Skt. *prāpta-* assimilated to the Iranian adjectival use of the *-ta-* ptc. with *-ka-*: Khot. *-taa-*, MidPers. *-tak*, Av. *-taka-*. With anaptyxis Ch. 00267, 19 *prrāpattai*.

4 (*a*) *cu ra* 'who also' = 'and he too who'.

(*b*) *khąṇḍaką-vaṣą̄ṇä*, P 4099, 54 *kharga-veṣāṇa* (suprascript *-r-* perhaps written for *ḍ*), Mahāvy. 1006 *khaḍga-viṣāṇa* 'alone like the horn of a rhinoceros'. Note *ṇḍ* = Indian *ḍ* (and here anaptyxis also). Since in Khotanese intervocalic *-ḍ-* was used for some type of *l* sound (retroflex ?), as shown ZDMG 92, 585, *ṇḍ* was conveniently used to distinguish Indian retroflex *ḍ* in writing either Sanskrit or Khotanese texts: so in Khot.-Sanskrit texts, Ch ii 003, 53 r 1 *gūṇḍä* = *guḍa* 'molasses', Ch 0041, 23 (facsimile JRAS 1911, 464, plate v) *vaiṇḍūrya* beside Bhadrak. 564 *vaiḍūryagarbhau*, Ch ii 003, 45 v 4 *vittāṇḍā* (= Khot. *vittāla*) = Skt., Pkt. *vetāḍa*. In Khot. texts occur P 2906, 7 *veṇḍūrya*, P 3513, 6 r 4 *vaiṇḍūrya* (in a Buddha name), Ch 00267, 28 infra *draiṇḍa* = Skt. *dṛḍhā* 'firm'. This is also the reason that *ṇḍ* is put for *ḍ* in the alphabetical lists (see JRAS 1911, 454 ff.). In a different use, probably scribal carelessness, *ṇḍ* occurs for *ṇ*, Ch ii 003, 46 r 4 *prraharaṇḍyau* for *praharaṇyau* (Skt. *praharaṇa*), P 2025, 233 *kyeṇḍa* = Ch 00266, 154 *kaiṇa* 'because of'.

(*c*) *mūdä* inf. to *mān-* 'remain', with *parīda* 'they deign to, are graciously pleased to', see BSOS ix 535, x 574.

(*d*) *hasą̄yą*, loc. sing. to *hasai*, as in E 17, 28 *mätra-vihāri bodhisatvānu hasai*. Or 9609, 4 r 2 (Suvarṇabh.) *dharmadhāttu hasāya āstä* = Skt. *vijahāra dharmadhātau*, hence probably *dhāttu hasāya* is an example of the frequent type of hendiadys expressed by use of Sanskrit and Khotanese words together: S 2471, 264 *dīvye jaśta* 'goddess', Skt. *devatā*, Ch. c 001, 908 *mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa hudahu̯nä gu̯naina*, P 3513, 28 v 3 *biśāṃ sarvasatvāṃ* 'all beings', P 2787, 22 *be'śa sarvąsatta ūysnaura*, P 3513, 38 v 4 *biśāṃ sarvadharmāṃ*, Ch. ii 002, 141 v 5 *āvaṃdū hairthaṃ jsa* 'sudden', Skt. *āgantuka*, Ch. 00266, 52 *kauṭarāauja rrada* = P 2025, 91 *kauṇḍa-rrauda* 'koṭirāja', Ch. c. 001, 1001 *baudhasatvä ba'ysuñavuysai*, 219 *brrahmasvarä bajāṣäna*, P 2782, 1 *ekayāṃ bārrai* 'one vehicle, *ekayāna*', P 3513, 51 v 1 *gūscyi hauva prribhāvana* = Skt. *vimokṣa-balena*, P 2787, 6 *bvajsai' gūṇa ṣahāna* 'virtues', 151 *pīrūya pūrvayą̄ga* 'pūrvayoga', 161 *jabvī' dvīpa*

'Jambudvīpa', E 14, 118 *candāvani mūra*, 23, 151 *mūra candāvanā*, P 3513, 79 v 4 *caittaumaṇa rana* 'cintāmaṇi', P 2781, 52 *lagāpūrā ḳīthai* 'in Laṅkāpura', P 2787, 117 *daryai jabvī dvīpa*, P 2026, 86 *kṣasą maista mahāsthīrā* 'the sixteen great elders', Ch. c. 001, 978 *svastakarmä be'mañe* = Tib. *bde-legs* 'fortune', P 2786, 28 *ąkṣara ḥagaiṣṭä* 'mark (as signature)', P 3513, 44 v 3 *bijāṣä svarā*, P 2906, 11 *ttaikṣadā sāmūhe* 'sāmmukha', P 4099, 343 *gūsca nairvāṇa* 'nirvāṇa'. Such hendiadys is regular when many foreign words are borrowed, cf. Agnean *Bodhivaṃ wärtaṃ* 'in the Bodhivana', 68 b 6 *cintāmaṇi wmār* 'cintāmaṇi jewel', or Old Javanese *sawāhyābhyantara liṅāw ḍalaṃ* 'outside and inside', *śapatha maṅmaṅ* 'curse' (see Ferrand, Journ. Asiat. 1919 i 282, note 5). Hence *hasai* = *dhātu*. The *dharmadhātu* of the Prajñāpāramitā texts is the Unique Absolute (Acta Or. 11, 31).

5 (*a*) *dyaudha*, read *baudha* = Skt. *buddha* and *bodhi*: Ch. c. 001, 852 *dī baudha bahyā* = Tib. 416 b 4 *byaṅ-chub-kyi śiṅ druṅ-na* = 菩提樹下 'under the Bodhi tree', Ch. xlvi 0012, B 3 *prrattīka-bodhā hīya*, P 5537, 35 *būdākṣaittrra*, S 2471, 259 infra *bauda* 'Buddha'. Cf. *būtāsatvä* FM 25.1 (so also N 109.27) 'Bodhisattva'.

(*b*) *hajsara*, cf. Or 9609, 5 r 2 *balysāno hajsaro rahāsu* = Skt. *buddha-gocaraṃ rahasyaṃ*.

(*c*) *gūstyę* 'delivered, released' (? *gūsta* + *-ita-*, cf. BSOS x 578 on line 61). Two presents occur: (1) *gūch-* 'deliver' trans., (2) *gūs-* 'escape' intrans., past *gūta-*, P 4099, 305 *gūchāme gūva*, P 3513, 66 v 3 *gūchīde mūhū ttina bhayāna* = Skt. Suvarṇabh. 3, 46 *mocayantu ca māṃ bhayāt*; P 2022, 34 *gūsyara* = P 2956, 55 *nāraumyara* (2 pl. imperative), P 3513, 73 v 2 *gūsīde ba'ysa himāṃde* = Skt. 3, 95 *mokṣita bhontu*. P 2026, 28 *saṃtsārāna gū* 'escaped from saṃsāra', JātS. 35 v 4 *sāṭhīke gūve jīye byaudāṃdą beśe* 'you saved the merchants, they all found life', Sanghāṭa-sūtra 82 b 2 *ggūvāndā* = Tib. *phyuṅ-ṇas* 'delivered'. In nominal use occur *gūsca*, P 4099, 343 *ṣa' gūsca nairvāṇa hvīde* 'it is called *nirvāṇa* (hendiadys)', P 3513, 42 r 1 *sūttrrā pārajsye jsa byehīdą gūscya* 'in reliance upon the sūtra, they attain deliverance', P 4099, 12 *narvāṇa gūstya*, P 2029, 18 *gūscya*, Ch. ii 004, 2 r 3 *gūstya*, P 4099, 9 *gūstyai*, P 3513, 50 r 2 *gūstyi*. It is transliterated in Tibetan script *gus-kyi* (Thomas, T., i, 133; see also my note *New Indian Antiquary*, extra series, no. 1 (1939), p. 2) and *gus-sde* (see Appendix 5. 3, 4 *infra*). Etymologically we may have *vi-auk-* 'dissociate'; for *auk-*, Skt. *ok-*, see *Philological Society's Transactions*, 1936, 98 ff.

6 (*a*) *brrāva* 'clear', Ch. ii 002, 126 v 3 *byāvarji brāvi padīme* 'makes the memory clear' = Tib. 200 r 4 *dran-pa gsal-ba daṅ*, 128 r 5 *aysmu brā padīmākyāṃ ~ arvā hīvī raysā jsa*, Tib. 201 r 3 *sems gsal-źiṅ yaṅ gźuṅs-par ḥgyur-baḥi sman-bcud kyis* 'with juice of medicaments which make the mind clear'.

(*b*) *sāṃbhaudha-kāyū narmauṇā* 'cosmical and apparitional bodies, *sambhoga-* and *nirmāṇa-kāya*' (*dh* for *g*); P 3510, 9.2 *sāṃbhauga-kāyi u nirimāṇī pātca*, P 3513, 34 r 4 *saubhāga-kāya jasta ba'ysa*.

7 (*a*) *bveya* 'ray of light', P 2787, 28 *habaḍai pūra hīyāṃ bvaiyāṃ jsa* 'with rays of full moon', 30 *bvaiyyau jsa*, 69 *bvaiyau jsa*. Older *bā'ya-*; E. 14, 115 *bā'yyau jsa*. Hence we find here the intrusive *-v-*, as also in the following cases: JātS. 29 r 3 *bvāysve* 'arms' to *bāysu-*, P 2892, 151 *ysvālva* = Ch. ii 002, 14 r 2 *ysālva*, P 2893, 264 *ysvālva* (= Skt. *niśā* 'barberry'), P 3513, 46 v 2 *ysvāme* 'birth', Ch. 00266, 125 *pvāśa' bāḍa* 'autumn', JātS. 19 v 1 *paśa'-bāḍū* 'autumnal'. P 2893, 122 *rrvīysva gūrva*, 101 *rrīysva gūrva*, Ch. ii 002, 123 v 3 *rrīysva gūrvāṃ hīya ~ caṇya* = Tib. 198 v 3 *ḥbras brṅos-paḥi phye-ma* 'powder of parched rice' (*gūrva* 'grains', beside the diminutive *ggurvīca* 'gravel'). This intrusive *-u-* may explain the form *pvā'śā* 'pig's' of P 2893, 221 (so with corrected numbering, cf. BSOS ix 542, note 1) *pvā'śā tcāra* 'pig's fat' = the *pā'śa* of Ch. ii 002, 16 v 4 gen. sing. to *pā'sa* 'pig', so allowing the etymology by **parsa*, Kurd. *purs*, Lat. *porcus*, to stand.

(*b*) *ṇeva-rayseṃ*, if this is not 'taste (Skt. *raysa*) of *anauša* (*amṛta*)', it might correspond to JātS. 4 r 3 *ne' raysāyana*, 10 r 2 *ne'na raysāyana vadida* 'made of the amṛta rasāyana, elixir of immortal food' (cf. Uigur *noš rasayan*, *Türkische Turfan-Texte* vii 72, where Sogd. *nōš* = Khot. *ne'*), Ch. ii 003, 78 r 2 *ṇi* = Skt. *amrratta* 'amṛta'; for *ṇeva-*, note E 6, 11 *nei'tayīru*, N 168, 33 *nāta-tīru*. Then possibly *āya* > *eya* (cf. Ch. ii 002, 13 v 2 *ysā'yā* = P 2893, 142 *yseya*) > *e*: hence *raysāyanā* > *rayseṃ*?

8 (*a*) *grrą vāśīdi* 'preaches commandments', cf. P 2787, 132 *drrayau prrahālyā jsa grra vāśi'*. On *grra* = older *grata*, BSOS x 588; and E 2, 75 for the three *prātihāryas* of *ṛddhi*, *anuśāsanī* and *dharma-deśanā*.

(*b*) *vyārya* 'vyākṛta', P 3513, 56 v 2 *vyārāma*, P 2782, 19 *vyārye*, P 2787, 159 *vārye*, Otani 5, 4 *vyātarāte*.

10 *ḡyaśca* 'goddess' = *jaśta*, with *śc* = *śt*, infra 11 *rrāścā* = E *rruśti*, Ch. ii 002, 3 r 5 *māścā*, *māśtā* 'month', cf. also Ch. ii 002, 145 v 1

ściña = 145 r 1 *tcṭña* 'eye'. In a Skt. word, JātS. 22 v 4 *vaścarṇä* (see BSOS x 579).

11 (*a*) *bhala*°, for *bh* ∾ *b*, cf. Ch. ii 003, 53 v 1 *bhāva* 'root' = *bāva*, *bāta*, Ch. ii 004, 4 r 1 *bhahye*, *bhahyi* 'tree' = *baṃhya*, Ch. 1, 0021a, a 34 *bhaśje* 'sin' = *baśde'*, P 2958, 21 *brrāṃbhe*, Ch. ii 002, 1 v 3 *brrāṃbe*, E 24, 148 *brumbäte*, Vajr. 31 a 2 *brrūbi* (= Skt. *paurvaka-*, Tib. *sṅa-ma* 'earlier'). *bh* is written also for *h* in E 4, 130 *vyūbha* (4, 112 *bhyūbha*), and Kha. 1, 302a, B r 3 *vyūbha* = Skt. *vyūha*.

(*b*) *āṣa'* 'worthy of', P 2897. 12 *bvaujsā āṣa'ṇa na hamya*, Ch. c. 001, 905 *āṣa'ṇa-vajsama* = Tib. *dgra bcom-pa* 'arhant', P 2801, 17 *āṣaṃ'*, P 5538 A 79 *āṣa'*. The syllables *-mä*, *-nä*, *-ṇä* of older Khotanese were later replaced by *-ṃ*, which in turn might drop out. So P 4099, 16–17 *usta vī* 'finally', Ch. ii 002, 127 v 2 *ustaṃ* to *ustama-*, P 4099, 54 *prrahūja* 'pṛthagjana, lay person', E 13. 32 *prahujana* (other forms are given BSOS x 580) P 2025, 214 (and here 14 *infra*) *nārāya jasta* = P 2957, 86 *nārāyaṃ ḡyastä* 'Nārāyaṇa deva', P 3513, 77 v 1 *pajsa* = P 3510, 10.4 *pajsaṃ*, older *pajsama-* 'honour', P 3513, 76 v 4 *āva* 'desire', P 2783, 6 *āvaṃ*, P 2783, 6 *ātaṃ*, P 3513, 62 r 4 *āvama*, Ch. ii 002, 16 r 2 *gánaṃ* 'wheat', Or 11344 (8) 8 *ganama-keraa-* 'wheat-sower', P 2787, 59 *āysa baida* 'on the seat', JātS. 11 v 1 *āysaṃ*, *āysana-* from Skt. *āsana-*, JātS. 10 r 1 *vyaysaṃ*, Skt. *vyasana-*, P 2787, 86 *śq̄śa'*, 163 *śq̄śaṃ'*, E *śśāśana*, Skt. *śāsana-*, P 2787, 90; 136 *sakhāra*, Or 8212 (162) 21 *sakhārma*, E *saṃkhārama-*, Skt. *sanghārāma-*, there too *gq̄stä* < **gaustanä* 'Khotan', whence by inverse, pseudo-historic, spelling *gaustamä-deśa* for **gaustana deśa* (if it is not simply a scribal error!).

12 (*a*) *śāhają*: since alternation of *k* and *kh* occurs in Khotanese texts, as Ch. 1.0021a, a 35 *khuśala* = *kuśala*, Kha. 1. 185a, A 4 ⟨broken off⟩ *jsāṃ murkhuṭä pyenye kamalī buṣkve* ~, where *murkhuṭä*, with intrusive *r*, is Skt. *mukuṭa* 'crown'; Ch. 00267, 28 *śauka* = S 2471, 263 *aśaukha* (name of a goddess); and *h* occurs for *kh*, as in Khot. *suha* = Skt. *sukha*; and *h* stands for *k* in P 2896, 13 *madāhaña khyiha* 'in Mandākinī lake', possibly *śākhya-* (found in Ch. 00267, 18 *śākhyamauna*) has given **śāha-* and *śāha-ja-* is 'born of the Śākya', that is, *śśākyaputra-* E 2, 92 'son of the Śākya', Pali *sakyaputta*, Chinese 釋子 (K 202 *ṣī* < *śiāk*) 'Śākya-son' (Jap. *shaku-shi*, Oda, p. 800). Or 'of the Śākyas'?

(*b*) *daryejabvī*: *dara-*, *darra-*, 'broken; section,' hence 'continent', rendering *dvīpa*, in hendiadys P 2787, 117 *daryai jabvī dvīpa* = *dvīpa*,

jambudvīpa, dvīpa, P 2801, 59 *jabvī dara*, P 2897, 33 *jabvī dvīpa*, Kha 1, 13, 138 r 4 *jaṃbutīvu vätä*.

13 (*a*) *vamūrākä* 'vanquisher', on *mūr-*, cf. BSOS x 577, JātS. 32 v 2 *sānīnāṃ khenāṃ vamurāke jenāke* 'vanquisher and destroyer of the laughs of enemies', P 3513, 52 v 1 *vamurrdä yinīme* = *parimardayamānaḥ*.

(*b*) *rāysanāṃ* 'rulers', Av. *rāzan-*, Skt. *rājan-*, Sanghāṭa-sūtra *tcūrvo' dīvuo rrāyse* 'king in the four continents' (*rrāyse* = Tib. *dbaṅ-ba*); with adj. suffix *-aunda*, P 2958, 198 *jabvī ḍvīpa baida rāauysanauda* 'lord over Jambudvīpa', L 95, 1 *rāysanaudä* = Skt. *īśvara* (see *infra* B II 1 (a) 2).

(*c*) *narmṇau* for *narmauṇa*, with *ṇa* subscript to *mau*. So, too, P 2783, 86 *pūrauysa rmä* for *rāma*, JātS. 5 v 3 *bśi* corrected to *biśä*, 5 v 4 *vna* = *vina*, 6 r 2 *bdi* = *bidä*, 12 v 1 *yne* = *yane*, 13 v 4 *bde* = *beda*. Cf. also Ch. 1.002 i b, A² 6 *rhāśai* with suprascript *r* for *rahāśai* 'secret, mystic'.

16 *heṣṭāṃda* 'gave, sent', P 3513, 60 r 4 *pūjākarmai haiṣte* 'gave honour to him', P 2025, 172 *hāve he'ṣṭā* = P 2957, 60 *hāvai hūḍā* 'she gave him the . . .' (*hāva* = 'precious thing' ?).

II. Ch. 00267, 2–35

3 *āspāvi nāsaumanai* 'may we take refuge'. For the *triśaraṇa* in Khotanese note Ch. 00263, 1–3 *jasta be'ysą ārava tsāṃ: dā ārava tsāṃ: bīsaṃgi ārivą tsāṃ: bīsagījai gai āriva tsā* and P 2787, 7–8 *bai'ysa ārva jsāmanai: dā ārva tsvāmanai* ॥ *bīsaga ārava tsāmanai: cū drraina raṃnāna ārava tsvāṃdū*. In the first the 'congregation of the Bhikṣusaṅgha' is pleonastically added (*gai* = older *ggāṣa'* 'group') and in the second the *triratna* is present also.

4 *śararṇą* 'to be taken into refuge, seeking refuge', P 2910, 27 *śararaṇą satva*, P 2906, 24 *yāva śiraraṇa satta*, P 2026, 88 *śarārana pīsä*, S 2471, 23 *yāva śariṇa satva*, from Skt. *śaraṇya* (Mahāvy. 37), with intrusive *r* (see Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 34), and *rṇy* > *rṇ*, *raṇ* in Khotanese.

5 *sąrbacą dīśa'* ff. For the quarters, cf. also P 2906, 13–23 *sarbaṃdä hālaiyāṣtä, ra⟨vy⟩e pa, paḍauysye vidiśi' jsa, śe vidiśi' hāleyāṣtä, ñuhūjsaṃce vidiśi' jsa, tcūramye vidiśa' jsa, uskyāṣtä diśa', nāṣtä diśa'*.

16 *aiṇadai* 'sitting, dwelling', cf. Ch. c. 001, 870 *śāṇaṃdä śāṇa o āṇaṃdä o hūsaṃdai*, P 3513, 60 v 4 *paḍä āṇaṃdä ṇesta* = Skt. Suvarṇabh. 3, 3 *niṣaṇṇā*.

17 *mahākāraṇītta* 'mahākaruṇika'? With *-īya-* from *-ika-* replaced by *-īta-*, thence *-ītta*, or separate *tta*?

18 *śāstanābaibara-prrasādauna nāvauna raudi* 'kings of nāgas who have received the favour of the teaching', that is, Skt. *śāsana- . . . -prasāda:* °*ābaibara* is not explained.

29 *pa-rāysau* 'guides', P 2942, 7 *padā-rāysau cvau hūrīda pada śairka* 'guides, who give the good path'. For *rāys-*, cf. P 2741, 129 *kathi-rāysi* 'governor of a city'.

31 (*a*) *prrabebā*, P 2893, 22 *prrabiṃba-kāya* 'pratibimba-kāya', P 2026, 68 *prrabaibai*, P 4099, 184 *prrabebai*, E *pratābiṃbai*.

(*b*) *pāraṣaṃdā*, P 2787, 5 *pāraṣadyāṃ*, cf. Soothill, *Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms* 91b *brahma-pāriṣadyāh* 'Brahmā's people'.

35 *avihāysye* (read *ahivāysye*) 'accept', S 2471, 276 infra *ahavāysye*, Or 9609, 68 r 6 *ahivāysäte* = Skt. *adhivāsayī*, P 2787, 88 *ahä'vāysye*, JātS. 36 r 1 *ahavāysyai*, P 2787, 75 *ahavāśdä'*, E *ahävāys-* N 175, 38 *ahivāysyai* 'grant'.

III. S 2471, 252–276

252 *paramaṇḍale* 'circle', Skt., Mahāvy. 255 *parimaṇḍala*.

256 *paḍāysāña jsa*, 'beginning with,' probably imitating Skt. compounds with *-pramukha, -prabhṛti, -ādi:* *-āña* nominal suffix to *paḍauysa* 'first'.

258 *hubāsta* (*hu* written as if *hrra*) 'well-guided' or 'well presided over'?

271 *aṅṇaḍvā*, with *ḍv* for *d*, see *supra* II 16.

273 (*a*) *gara-kūvā* 'mountain-wells (?)', if this is Skt. *kūpa-* 'well'.

(*b*) *khāhvā* loc. pl., P 2893, 87 *khāhāṃ hīye ūci jsa*, P 3513, 72 r 2 *khāhi āṣaiji viysāṃji* = Skt. Suvarṇabh. 3, 84 *utsāḥ sarāḥ puṣkariṇī taḍāgāḥ*, P 2025, 101 *khyeha'* loc. sing. = P 2896, 13 *madāhaña khyiha* 'in Mandākinī lake'.

(*c*) *āṣaijvā*, E *āṣṣiṃje*.

274 (*a*) *ttājvā* 'rivers', P 3513, 69 r 4 *saṃtsārrva ttājā* = Skt. Suvarṇabh. 3, 65 *saṃsāra-nadya*.

(*b*) *aśtada* = *āstaṃna*, with *śt* < *st* and *d* < *ṃd* < *nn* (BSOS x 583)?

IV. P 2893, 7–19

This part of the roll was made difficult to read by the pasting of white paper over the text, but it could no doubt be easily removed. Many readings need to be checked.

7 (*a*) *haṣṭa-pacīḍa* plur., adj.: *haṣṭa-pacaḍa* with *-ya-* suffix of compounds, P 3513, 80 r 2 *hauda-ranya*, to sing. P 2782, 26 *hauda-raṃnī*, P 2957, 124 *hauda-raṃnya gari* 'mountain of the seven jewels', P 3513, 22 v 3 *kāma-gūṇyāṃ viṣayāṃ*, 35 r 4 *haṣṭūsą-kūlya*, 40 r 1 *ssa-byuryi* 'of 100 myriads', P 4099, 129 *dasa-vadya* 'tenfold', P 3513, 67 r 4 *dasa-vadya* = Skt. 3, 51 *daśavidha-*, Ch. ii 004, 2 r 2 *dāsau-padya*. But also *hauda-ratanīgya* Or 9609, 53 v 3.

(*b*) *ayaiṣcyāṃdi*: Skt. *adhiṣṭhā-* (1) 'set over', (2) 'bless'. Khotanese forms are quoted ZDMG 92 587 (where correct *tṛṣṭhandī* and *ayekṣāñä*).

8 (*a*) *ā'ma*, Or 9609, 54 v 4 *ā'mato* = Skt. *vihāra*, Kha vii 1, v 2 *ā'mata*, Kha 1. 92a, 1 v 5 *ē'māta* 'dwelling'.

(*b*) *mūṃjä* 'abode', P 2801, 55 *paraśva rāmä kūṣṭa ya mūṃja* 'of Paraśu Rāma where was the dwelling'.

11 (*a*) *parīja vinīyā* 'to be delivered, to be disciplined', that is, *parīja-* < *parīj-ya-* part. pass. fut. with *ya*, as *hvaña-* 'to be spoken', *khaśa-* 'to be drunken'. For *vinīyaa-*, see B VI 1. Cf. Or 8212 (162) *65 *vainīyāva parījāva satva* 'discipline and deliver (2 plur. conjunctive = imperative) the beings'.

(*b*) *harahausta* 'took (?)', cf. JātS. 19 r 4 *harahūstai* 'you removed (?)', P 2025, 115 = Ch. 00266, 66 *harahausta*.

13 *āmūha* 'dwelling', JātS. 15 v 4 *āmuhä nāsä*.

14 *ba'ysna kṣīra*, Ch. 00266, 64 *bāysaña* = P 2025, 112 *bīysanue*, Suvarṇabh. (ed. Konow) *balysanī* = Skt. *sāmantaka*, Hedin folio 1 v 3 *balysañānu*, to OPers. *vardana*, MidPers. *vālan*, NPers. *barzan*.

18 *pa*⟨*ṃ*⟩*cābhijña*, S 2471, 257 *pajābe'ña*, P 2026, 87 *pacābaiña* 'having the five kinds of supernatural knowledge'. Cf. Sogd. *pnč wkry prn 't z'wr*, Weller, *Zum soghdischen Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* (1937), p. 24.

V. P 2929, 3–13

6 *pajsaṃ āṣą'ṇą* 'worthy of honour', translating *arhant*, Kha 0013 C(2) r 2 *pajsamānä āṣaṇä*, Ch. c. 001, 905 *āṣa'ṇa-vajsama* = Tib. *dgra bcom-pa* 'arhant', Vajr. 6 a 1–2 *pajsamānä āṣa'ṇna* = Skt. *arhatā* (instr. sing.).

7 *āchāyau*, P 3513, 78 v 4 *āchāyūṃ* 'I present with', from Skt. *ācchādaya-*, Pali *acchāde-*.

8 (*a*) *ṣkui* (?), doubtful reading; it could perhaps represent Tib. *sku* '*śarīra*, body, relic', as the context requires.

(*b*) *ayīkṣyą* 'founded over', see supra A IV 7(*b*).

9 *jātta-cętti* '*jāti-caitya*, birth-shrine' at Lumbinī (Kapilavastu), supra 8 *jątta-caitta*, cf. Ch. c. 001, 852 *baudhimaṃḍā caittyā vīrā* 'on the Bodhimaṇḍa shrine'. For the eight caityas, see e.g. Trautz, *Asia Major* i 169–173 on the *Aṣṭamahāśrīcaityanāma-sūtra*.

10 *hvąṣṭą*, with intrusive *-v-*, see supra A I 7, for *haṣṭa* 'eight'.

11 *tryacaṃḍāna*, Skt. *tryacintya-* with *pariṇāma-*, as Prof. Johnston has kindly explained to me.

VI. P 2026, 64–72

66 (*a*) *damarāśau'* 'dharmarājikā stūpa', E 15, 11 *śarīrai būta u damarāśa padanda* 'asked for his relics and built stūpas', P 4099, 428 *daimarāśai'*, Ch. 1, 0021a, b 33 *damarāśą'sta sakhąrma* 'sanghārāmas with stūpas'.

(*b*) *ārñāna*, in Tib. script *'or-ñoṅ* (Thomas, T. i 321), P 2787, 94 *sakhąrma ārñąna*, Mazar Tagh b II 0067 b 2 *ąrañāṃ*, Or 9609, 5 v 3 *ārañānä* = Skt. *āraṇya-pradeśa* 54 v 4 *ārañāne* = Skt. *āraṇyāyatana*, 55 v 4 loc. plur. *ārañānuvo'*, Kha vii 1, v 2 *u ārañānä ā'mata*.

67 (*a*) *pe'mau* gen. plur., 'images,' Or 8212 (162) *24 *tcaṣu paima bīsai jista bai'ysa* 'the Buddha in the beautiful image', P 2026, 83 *pema*. From a **paimā-* < Skt. *pratimā*, with *ati* > *aī* > *ai*, *e*, cf. E *pravaita* 'pravrajita', P 2897, 26 *prravai*, Or 8212 (162) *158 *prravaiyau hīye* gen. plur., P 2893, 15 *prravaiya* plur., N 164, 8 *vauttaka* 'Upayuktaka', 171, 36 *praysīnai* 'Prasenajit', E *krauysännä* 'Krakucchanda' (hence with Leumann, *maula-*, masc. in P 2787, 74, Skt. *makuṭa*, rather than *mauli-*, against BSOS ix 77). Note the other change *-ati-* > *a*, infra B V 8. On images, see Hōbōgirin, s.v. *butsuzō*.

(*b*) *araṇā-dīśāṃ'* 'araṇya-deśa-'.

(*c*) *dīyagarau*, 77 *dīyagarāṃ* 'light house' = 'lantern', Pali *dīpaghara* (quoted by Charles J. Ogden at the meeting of the American Oriental Society in Baltimore, 1939, from a text received from Siam), Chinese 燈籠 *təng-lung* (Malay *tanglong*), see Oda p. 1271 *tōrō*.

(*d*) *pīḍā* 'picture', E 10, 19 *samu kho pīrākä pvai'ttä ttye yakṣä cu tvera pīḍe* = P 4099, 396 *samva khu pīrāka cu pvaitta ttye yakṣa cu tvara pīḍe* (E rightly rendered by Konow, *Norsk Tids. Sprogr.* xi 65).

(*e*) *bvākaḍā*, perhaps made from *bvāka* 'knowing', hence a 'memorial tablet ? ?' Here only.

(*f*) *prrasthąrmaḍā*, perhaps 'carpet, coverlet, banner (?)', if *pra-starma* with *-ą-gaḍa* > *-aḍa*, as *pajsamaḍa-* 'honoured'.

69 *aủnū* 'I bless, approve', E 5, 90 *käḍe mäśte mulśde jsa ttīyā biśśä āvunāña tta kā'ñu* 'with very great favour then all must be blessed—so it is to be thought'. Pret. *orāta*, E 23, 112 *biśśā orātāndi hamna hona gyastä balysä hvatāndi* 'all blessed (= approved) with the same speech they addressed the Buddha', P 2958 11–12 *cu buri jaṃbvī'yā rruṃdi ya harbiśai aủryāṃdā ū parau yinīra* 'whoever were kings in Jambudvīpa (adj.), all blessed him and did his commands' (*yinīra* opt. = durative past, BSOS x 593). Hence *āvun-*, *aủn-* < **āfrinati* < Old Iran. **āfrīnāti*, as *ggāndā* 'he buys' < **χrinati*, Old Iran. **χrīnāti*; and *orāta-*, *aủrya-* < **āfrita-*, Old Iran. **āfrīta-* with the usual shortening in second syllable of compound of preverb and verb (as *pamāta-*, *pamya-* < **patimuχta-*, *ārsta* < **ārusta-*): Av. *āfrīnāmi*, Sogd. *''prywn*, Mid.N.Pers. *āfrīn* 'blessing', Manich. MidPers. *'pryn*, Parth. *'frywn*, Oss. *arfä*.

VII. P 4649, 6–8

8 *uhā'*, unexplained; since *u*, rather rarely, takes the place of *ā*, *āhya* in P 2834, 49 might be compared: *ū ttiña āhya aủna* 'and being in that abode (*āha*)', 51 *ttū pūrā ttaña āhya tia tta pāḍā* 'that son in the *āha*, she so reared', E 6, 3 *hvanaino āhu haṃbaste* 'he composed, built, a house of words'.

VIII. P 2942, 5–7

5 *jsīnī* = *ysīnī* 'entrusted', with *-v-* before *-au* 'them'.

7 *padā-rāysau* 'guide', see supra A II 29.

IX. P 2900, 1–3 (Sanskrit text)

1 *cūttirā* 'four' = *catur-*, cf. P 2787, 25 (Khot. text) *cutturi-bhāgā* '*caturbhāga*', 93 *cūttāra-vīdha* '*caturvidha*', 154 (Sanskrit text) *cūttara-śatta* '*catuḥśata-*'.

3 *badrrụsya*, with *usya* as from an *-u* stem, cf. Śikṣāsamuccaya, Introd. p. xv note 4 *bhikṣusya*.

X. Tibetan

The chief difference between the Narthang and Derge editions lies in the Derge reading *dbyaṅs* = Skt. *svara*, and Narthang *dbyiṅs* = Skt. *dhātu*. Since *nam-mkhaḥ* = Skt. *gagana* and *ākāśa*, a translation of Tibetan *nam-mkhaḥi dbyiṅs* into Sanskrit Ākāśadhātu was possible, but the Tibetan in Text XI *gḥa-gḥa-na-sva-ra*, and the Khotanese

P 2893, 16 *gaganasvarä* show that the Derge edition is correct with its *dbyaṅs* 'sound'.

XIII

The Chinese list of guardians of Khotan contains the same group of eight as the Khotanese and Tibetan texts. But no. 3, which should correspond to Khot. *gaganasvarä* is unexplained. A variant to the second character is given in the notes as 羝. K 902, 211, 506 A would give *ku-iang-küe* < **kuo-ịang-kịak* (羝 = 公 戶 K 475, 82 = *ku* < *kuo*). Hence possibly **gayana-* from *gagana-* but the final syllable remains obscure.

B. Theology and Legend

The contents are largely of Indian origin, but a small amount of Khotanese indigenous matter is incorporated.

I. *Buddhas*

1. Buddhas of the Ten Regions.

(1) AKṢAUBA Ch. 00267, 5 'Akṣobhya', in the East. Elsewhere P 3513, 5 v 2 *akṣubha*, Or 9609, 55 r 6 *akṣubhyä*, Bhadrak. 461 *akṣubhyau*, P 2910, 3 *akṣauba*, 7 *akṣuba*, P 2742, 15 *akṣāba'*, S 2471, 231 *akṣāba*, P 2906, 13 *ahä:kṣaubhä*. His abode is in Ch. 00267, 4 *abīryavi*, S 2471, 230 *abīrada*, E 15, 47 *abhäratä kṣeträ'* 'Abhirati', see Hōbōgirin s.v. *Ashuku*. Tib. *mi-ḥkhrugs* = Akṣobhya.

(2) RAHNĄKAUTTA (with *au* for *ai*) Ch. 00267, 6 'Ratnaketu', in the South. S 2471, 232 *rahnaketta*, P 2910, 9 *rahnakaittą*, Or 9609, 55 r 5 *ratnaketu*, 6 *ratanakīyä*, P 3513, 5 v 3 *ratnakettä*.

(3) ARMYĀYI Ch. 00267, 7 'Amitāyus', in the West. Or 9609, 4 r 5, 55 r 6 *armätäya*, E 14, 10 *armätäyä*, P 3513, 5 v 4 *armyäyä*, S 2471, 233 *aramyäya*, 8 *arimyäya*, Aparim. 12 b 1 *ärmäyä* ⟨*ja*⟩*stä*, Bhadrak. 358 *amitäyur*.

(4) DAUDŪBE'SVARA Ch. 00267, 9 'Dundubhisvara', in the North. Or 9609, 55 r 7 *duṃdubhisvarä*, 4 r 5 *dundubhisvarä*, P 2026, 62 *dädäbe'svarą-räja*, S 2471, 234 *daudavesvera*, 11 *daudąvesvari*, P 2742, 22 *daudavesvarä*, P 2910, 16 *daudūbaisvara*. Cf. Suvarṇabhāsa (ed. Nobel) 1, 3.

(5) BADIŚRĪ Ch. 00267, 10 'Bhadraśrī', at the Zenith. P 2906, 22 *bhadrraśrrī*, P 2910, 25 *badrraśrrī*, P 2742, 30 *badrrąśrrīrī*, S 2471, 20 *badrraśarī*, 235 *badaśarī*.

(6) VERAUCI Ch. 00267, 11 'Vairocana', at the Nadir. Bhadrak. 231 *vairaucaną*, E *vairocana*, Kha 1, 119, 29 r 2 *veraucanā nāma gyastaṣṣai*,[1] P 3513, 6 v 3 *veraucaṃ*, Ch. ii 004, 2 v 3 *vairaucā* (*ā* for *aṃ*) S 2471, 236 *āra-verąca*, P 2906, 23 *viraucaṃ*, P 2742, 31 *verauca*, Ch. 1, 0021a, a 1 *āra-verūci*, Chin. 毗盧遮那 K 714, 579, 911, 647 *p'i-lu-ṭṣə-na* < *b'ji-luo-tśi̯a-nâ*, 盧舍那 K 579, 863, 647 *lu-ṣə-na* < *luo-śi̯a-nâ*, 隨樓延 K 1009, 572, 235 *suei* [2]*-lou-ien* < *zʷie̯-lə̯u-i̯ān* (where *-i̯-* = foreign *ž*, see infra B VII 2),[3] see Hōbōgirin, s.v. *butsu*, p. 192b.

(7) DIRṆAIDARĄ Ch. 00267, 13 'Dharaṇīdhara', in an intermediate quarter (*vidiś*). P 2910, 18 *darąṇaida*, S 2471, 14 *dharāṇadarā*, P 2906, 6 *dairnedirā*, Bhadrak. 410 *dharaṇidharan*, 670 *dharaṇindhara* (not in Weller, *Tausend Buddhanamen des Bhadrakalpa* 1928, nor Oda). A Bodhisattva *Dharaṇīdhara* is named in the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra, see also Oda p. 1219, 持地 (*dizi*) *jiji* 'holding the earth'.

(8) ŚAUTTAIDRAI Ch. 00267, 13 'Śāntendriya',[4] in an intermediate quarter. P 2906, 5, S 2471, 19 *śauttaidrai*, P 2906, 21 *śautteṃdrrai*, P 2742, 29 *śauttrraidrrai*. Tibetan *dbaṅ-po źi*, see Oldenburg, *Sbornik izobraženii* 300 *burχanov*, *Bibliotheca Buddhica* v, no. 156, Clark, *Two Lamaistic Pantheons* (1937) vol. i, p. 60.

(9) CIṂDAPRRABA Ch. 00267, 14 'Candraprabha', intermediate quarter. P 2742, 28 *cadrraprabha*, P 2906, 20 *caṃdaprrabhā*, 5 *caṃdi-prabha*, P 2910, 22 *cadrraprraba*, Ch. c. 001, 991 *cąndrraprabhā gyastaṣṣai*. As the name of a man Divy. *Candraprabha*, Oda p. 1044 *sendaraharaba*.

(10) NĀRĀYI Ch. 00267, 14 'Nārāyaṇa', intermediate quarter. Bhadrak. 267, 342 *nārāyąṇau*. As the name of a deva, JātS. 20 v 3 *nārąyaṃ gyastā*, Ch. 00266, 214 *nārāya jasta*, Ch. 1, 0021a, a 14 *nārāya*, E 24, 104 *nārąyanā*.

2. ŚĀKHYAMAUNA Ch. 00267, 18 'Śākyamuni', centre, seated on a white lotus.

[1] *gyastaṣṣai* 'devaputra' is found also Ch. c. 001, 991 *cąndrraprabhā gyastaṣṣai*, 981 *mahiśvarā gyastaṣai*. Similarly Viśvakarman, Jap. *bishukatsuma* is both deva and devaputra, Hōbōgirin, s.v.

[2] Pelliot, *T'oung Pao* 1933, 94 ff. treated of 隨 *suei* < *zʷie̯*, to represent the first syllables of *vairambha*, *vaiśālī*, *viśvabhu*, (Pali) *verañjā*, *viśākhā*, and the *bi* of *śibi* and *ve* of *uruvelā*, and conjectured a fricative pronunciation of *v*, such as *zvĭ* or *žvĭ*.

[3] Cf. also 由延 K 253, 235 *iu-ien* < *i̯ə̯u-i̯ān* **yužan*, Skt. *yojana*, beside 由旬 K 253, 845 *iu-sün* < *i̯ə̯u-zi̯uěn*, Jap. *yu-en*, *yujun* (Oda, p. 1757, 1760, and Pelliot, *T'oung Pao* 1933, 94 ff.).

[4] As an epithet of Avalokiteśvara, *śāntendriya* occurs in the Suprabhāta-stotra 24 (ed. Minayev, *Zapiski vostočnago otd'elenia* 1887).

3. S 2471, 259, a Buddha called *vaiṇḍūrye-rāka-dūmaketta* 'Vaiḍūryarokadhūmaketu'.

4. Local Buddhas of Khoṭan.

(1) *brrūya bīsai jasta be'ysa*, P 2026, 64 'the Buddha dwelling in Brrūya'.

(2) *khāṃhyape' vī jasta be'ysą*, P 2026, 64 'the Buddha in Khāṃhyape'', S 2471, 60–1 *khāhyepe vī bīsai jasta beysa*.

II. *Bodhisattvas*

1. The group of eight tutelary bodhisattvas (the names are given first from Ch. 00267, 19–24):—

(*a*) In the Tuṣita heaven (19 *ttūṣyą' baviña*).

(1) ĀRYĀ MAITTRAI 'Ārya-Maitreya', E 2, 79 *māttrai*, 23, 113 *mittrai*, 23, 165 *mitrai*, 4, 151 *maittrai*.

(2) ĀRYĀVALĀKATTAIŚVARA 'Ārya-Avalokiteśvara', P 3510, g 1 r 3 *āryāvalokyatteśvarä*, Ch. c. 001, 995 *āryāvilokitteśvarä*, S 2471, 68 *āryāvalākyedeśvari*, Ch. 1, 0021a, a 10 *valākäteśvarä*, Kha 1, 309b, 3 B 2 *avalokitteśvara*. Khotanese translation is given in the Adhyardhaśatikā prajñāpāramitā (= L 94, 39)[1] *ūyāme vī rrāysanaudä* 'having mastery over the survey'. On this *ūyāme* note that the verb *ŭy-*, *uyy-* occurs also in P 3510, d 2 v 2–3 *gaṃbhīrya ⟨ha⟩javattevīje pārąme vī tsumaṃcā ṣṭąna haḍi vā sątta tta uye*, ibid. g 3 r 1–2 *ttuśā haḍi vā sątta tta uyyąñä*, ibid. a 5 r 2 *ttye haḍi vā sątta tta ūyąñä*. The form *vūy-* occurs Or 9609, 27 v 2 *vūyätä uysdätä* = Skt. *avalokitaḥ* (hendiadys). On the meaning of *avalokita*, see E. J. Thomas, *History of Buddhist Thought* (1933) 189 note 1.

(3) ĀRYĀ MIJĀŚŪRĪ 'Ārya-Manjuśrī', Kha ii 29, 8 r 5 *maṃjuśrī*, 9 r 4 *āryāmaṃjuśrī*, Godfrey 3 B 4 *maṃjuśrīna alysānaina*, P 3513, 56 v 4 *maṃjūśrrī*, Kha 1. 13, 144 v 2, 4 *mąñuśrī*, 11 *mañuśrī*, Kha 1. 158, 18 *majiśrrī*, P 3513, 83 v 4 *majāśrrī*, S 2471, 95 *majūśūrrī*, Kha 1. 13, 135 r 2 *mąnyuśrī*, 136 v 1 *manyuśrrī*. An etymology is offered in the verses P 3513, 43 v 1–2.

kuṣṭa ysautta kąme ṣā' myāṃja śirā
samāhāṃ śamatha ṣi' saṃ maṃjūśrrī

(4) ĀRYĀ KṢATTIGARBA 'Ārya-Kṣitigarbha'. Kha 1. 158, 18 *kṣi'ttigarbhi*, P 3510, 9. 9 *kṣa'ttagarba*, P 3513 83 v 4 *kṣattagarbha*.

(5) ĀRYĀ ĀKĀŚAGARBA 'Ārya-Ākāśagarbha', S 2471, 70 *āśagarbha*.

(6) ĀRYĀ BE'ṢAJARĀYI 'Ārya-Bhaiṣajyarāja'. P 3513, 83 v 2

[1] Correctly here, but the syllables are wrongly divided in the later edition in the *Journal of the Taisho University* 1930 vi–vii, *Die nordarischen Abschnitte der Adhyardhaśatikā-prajñāpāramitā*, p. 60.

bhaiṣajarāja, Kha 1. 158, 20 *bhaiṣajirāji*, P 2783, 33 *bhaiṣajirrāji*, P 2893, 9 *bhaiṣajyarāja*, S 2471, 68 *baiṣąjarāya*. For *y* < *j*, cf. also P 3513, 8 r 4 (in a proper name) °*nakṣatrra-rāyä*, Or 11252 (4) A 6 *yauvarāyi*, Mazar Tagh 116, 1–2 *yauvarāyānā*, E 14, 75 *svarṇapakṣarāyä*, Ch. c. 001, 1051 *svarṇapakṣarāyąna rrumdyau jsa*. Similarly in the Prakrit of the Kharoṣṭhī documents,[1] 661, 1 *khotana maharaya rayatiraya hinajha*.

(7) ĀRYĀ SAMATTABADRA 'Ārya-Samantabhadra'. P 3513, 53 r 4 *samaṃttabhadrrā*, S 2471, 3 *samattrrabądrrą* P 2910, 16 *samaṃttabadrrą*.

(8) ĀRYĀ VIJRRAPAUṆĄ 'Ārya-Vajrapāṇi', E 2, 99 *vaśärapānä*, 5, 8 *vajrapāṇu*, Ch. c. 001, 933 *vajrrapąṇä*.

(*b*) The eight Bodhisattvas as residents in the Khotan land.

Khotanese (P 2893)		Tibetan	
Bodhisattva	His Abode	Bodhisattva	His Abode[2]
. . . . .	. . . . .	vajrapāṇi	śoṅ-pya (311)
. . . . .	bisanąña	maitreya	hbas-no-ña (311), bi-si-mo-ña (15)
bhaiṣajyarāja	banāovā	bhaiṣajyarāja	ḥbah-no-co (311), ba-no-co (16)
samaṃttabhadrra	ttula sagapālāṃ	samantabhadra	saṅ-ga-po-loṅ *of* to-la (311), dge-ḥdun-skyoṅ (16), mdo-lo (59)
kṣitigarbha	ñąnagīrai	kṣitigarbha	ñon-gyir (15), ñon-bgyir (15), ye-śes-ri *in* ḥdro-tir (15, 311)
ārāvalaikitteśvara	jūsña	'ar-ya ba-lo	ḥjusma (311), ḥod-can (15)
maṃjāśrrī	kāśavi * * * śela	mañjuśrī	par-spoṅ-byed (15), spoṅ-byed *in* hgeḥu-te-śan (15)
māṇabhāva	kā * *	ma-ni-bḥa-ba	ḥgeḥu-te-śan (311)
āra kāśagarbha	sakāya-gīra	ākāśagarbha	sa-ka-ya-ka-ri (77), skoḥi-broṅ (311)

The stūpa of the Buddha Kāśyapa's relics, the Sya-sku vihāra (Thomas, T. i 318) was in Źugs-ṅam (or ḥdam). The Khotanese name should perhaps be read *kāśavi śarīrā śela* 'in the śarīra-śālā, relic chamber, of Kāśyapa'; hence the Tibetan *sya-sku* may have preserved a part of some form of the name Kāśyapa with *sku* = *śarīra* 'body, relics'.

Māṇabhāva, Tib. *ma-ni-bḥa-ba*, another name for *Maṇibhadra*, Suvarṇabh. *Māṇibhadra*, occurs also in the list S 2471, 65–70 *āryā maitrai, samantabhadha, baiṣąjarāya, āryāvalākyedeśvari, kṣadagarbhi, vajrraripauña, āśagarbha, majūśrrī, māṇabhāva*.

2. ASŪLAKA *baudhasattą* P 2942, 6. The name recalls that of the Yakṣa attendant on Vaiśravaṇa: *'ā-jul, 'ā-ju-la* (Thomas, T. i 194).

[1] *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, ed. Boyer, Rapson, Senart, Noble.

[2] The numbers refer to the pages of Thomas, T. i.

III. *Devas*

1. A definite group of eight: devas, nāga, and devīs. The names given first are from P 2893. The group is found in Khot., Tib., and Chinese.

(1) VRRĪŚAMAṂ 'Vaiśramaṇa'. Ch. 1, 0021a, a 9 *vrrīśamä ḡyatsa*, P 4649, 7 *vrrīśama laukapālā*, P 2896, 43 *vrrīśama yakṣāṇa rrūda hīye* 'of Vaiśramaṇa, King of Yakṣas', Kha 1, 103, B 6 *vrraiśama*, P 2896, 30 *vrrīśąmaṃ*, Ch. c. 001, 957 *vaiśṛmąṇä mistä rre*, Or 9609, *27 r 6 *vaiśśramaṇä mästä yakṣānu rre*, P 2900, 2 (Skt. text) *vrrīśämaṇḍasya ttathāgatasya* (*ṇḍ* for *ṇ*, see supra A I 4 (b)), P 2022, 57 *vyīśamä* (*y* graphic alternation for *rr*), E 25, 119 *vīśramanu*; Sogd. *βr'yšmn*, Vessantara-jātaka 920, 931, 935, Khot. in Tib. script *be-śa-ra-ma-ni* (Thomas, T. i 310), Chin. 毘沙門 K 714, 846, 609 *p'i-ṣa-mən* < *b'ji-ṣa-muən*, Jap. *bishamon* (Hōbōgirin, s.v.), Uigur *bisamin* (*Türk. Turfan-Texte* vii p. 21). The metathesis in Khotanese and Sogdian is of the type discussed by M. Grammont, *Traité de phonétique* (1933) 339 ff.

(2) SAṂÑĪ 'Sanjaya', Suvarṇabhāsa (ed. Nobel, p. 91) *saṃjñāyaś ca mahāsenāpati*, var. lect. ABDE *saṃjayaś*, F *saṃjñāyasva*; P 2900, 3 (Skt. text) *sañasya* gen. sing., Khot. in Tib. script *sa-ñe* (Thomas, T. i 310), in Tib. translation *ḥdu-śes-can* (ibid. 20 = Narthang ed., Gośṛṅga-vyākaraṇa 342 b 3), *miṅ-can* 'having a name', *yaṅ-dag śes* 'thoroughly knowing' (Suvarṇabh. p. 85), cf. Mongol, Kalmyk, *sain medekči* 'knowing well'. Chinese, Soothill, *Dictionary* p. 339a 訕若 K 849, 938 *ṣan-ẓo* < *ṣan-ńźiak*; p. 308a 珊若 (= 蘇干, *san* < *sân*); Candragarbha-sūtra 散脂 K 767, 1215 *san-ṭṣi* < *san-tśi*, Sūryagarbha-sūtra 僧兒耶 K 1047, 12, 226 *səng-ər-ie* < *səng-ńźię-i̯a* (Taishō ed. vol. 13, quoted BEFEO 5, 257). The name of the Nirgantha teacher in Buddhist texts is Skt. *sañjaya nirgantha*, Pali *sañjaya*, Khot. E 22, 177 *saṃñai nāma* (2, 26 *sacai* = *saccaka?*). For the treatment of *ñc*, *ñj* note Kharoṣṭhī Dharmapada B 37 *paja* = Skt. *pañca*, A²4 *kuñaru* = Skt. *kuñjarā*. In Khot. *saṃña*, *saña* = Skt. *saṃjñā*; *praña* = Skt. *prajñā*; Kha. 1. 13, 144 v 11 *mañuśrī* = Skt. *mañjuśrī*.

(3) APARĀJAI[JA]TTA 'Aparājita', P 2900, 2–3 (Skt. text) *aparājittasya*. The Tibetans interpreted it as *apara-ajita* 'not overcome by others' instead of *a-parā-jita*, hence *gźan-gyis mi-thub-pa* (Thomas, T. i 97). But in this group Tib. has (Derge ed.) *lha mi-pham-pa*, (Narthang ed.) *mi-ḥpham-pa* 'not conquered' (Thomas, T. i 20); Chin. Candragarbha-sūtra 難勝 'hard to overcome' (Taishō issaikyō, vol. 13,

p. 368, col. 1, l. 13 = BEFEO 5, 268). See also Hōbōgirin, s.v. *ahatsurashita.*

(4) GAGANASVARĀ. This, as noted supra A X, gives the correct interpretation of Tib. *gha-gha-na-svara* (Thomas, T. i 310) and translation in the Derge *nam-mkhaḥi dbyaṅs.*

(5) SVARṆAMĀLA. Khot. in Tib. script *su-gar-na-ma-la* (Thomas, T. i 310; is the *g* due to a Khot. pronunciation of Skt. *v* ?), with translation in Tib. *lha gser-gyi phreṅ-ba-can* 'god having golden garland', and *gser-phreṅ* 'gold-garland' (Thomas, T. i 20 97). Chinese 金華鬘 *kin-χua-man* 'golden garland' in Candragarbha-sūtra (Taishō ed. vol. 13, p. 368, col. 1, l. 15).

(6) GRRAHAVADATTI *nāvāṃ rre* 'king of nāgas', Ch. 00267, 26 *grahą'vidatią* P 2787, 41 *grrahavadatti nāvauna rrūṃda*, Ch. 1, 0021a, a 16 *grrahavadatta*, P 2893, 28 *grahavada nātāṃ re*, S 2471, 268 *grrahadatta.* It was interpreted by Skt. *gṛha* 'house' and *avatapta* 'burnt' in Tibetan (Derge ed.) *khyim-ḥćhig* (Narthang ed.) *khyim-ćhig* 'house-burning" and in Chinese 熱舍 'burning house' in the Candragarbha-sūtra (ibid. 368, col. 1, l. 15), a nāgarāja. In Tibetan transliteration (Thomas T. i 310) *ḥgra-ha-bad-ta* (read *ba-da-ta* ?) and in Chinese 吃利呵婆達多 (with variant 祇 in the first syllable) K 332, 527, 414, 753, 956, 1006 *k'i-li-χo-p'o-ta-to* < *k'i̯ə̯t-lji-χâ-b'uâd-d'ât-tâ* (variant K 879 *k'i* < *g'jię*) = Skt. **gṛhāvatapta*, in the Sūryagarbha-sūtra (Taishō ed. vol. 13, p. 294, col. 2, l. 3 and 294, col. 3, l. 2 = BEFEO 5, 256, 258 translation). This is further confirmed by the transliteration of *avatapta* in the name *Anavatapta.* The Chinese uses the same **b'uâd-d'ât-tâ* in 阿那||| K 1, 647 *a-na-p'o-ta-to* < *â-nâ-b'uâd-d'ât-tâ*, beside the shorter 阿耨達 K 1, 945, 956 *a-nou-ta* < *â-nu̯-d'ât* and **â-nu̯-b'uâd-d'ât* (see Akanuma, *Indo bukkyō koyūmeishi jiten*, s.v. *Anotatta* p. 45, Hōbōgirin, s.v. *anokudatsu*). The name is used of both the lake and its nāga. Skt. *anavataptaś ca nāgarāja* (Suvarṇabh. p. 91), Tib. *'a-ḥdaḥ-bad* (Thomas, T. i 320), in translation *ma-dros*, Pali *anotatta.* Khot. *anūvatattu nāgu* and *anūvatattā* [1] in E 14, 75 has the Prakrit *anūva-* < *anava-*, as in the Chinese **â-nu̯-b'uâd* < *anūva-* (or *anova-* ?) This change is attested in two forms of the Kharoṣṭhī Dharmapada (ed. Senart pp. 225, 226, ed. Barua and Mitra p. 22): The fragment reads *aṇuvaṭhidacitasa* and *aṇuvaṣudacitasa* corresponding to the Pali Dhammapada 38 and 39 *anavaṭṭhitacittassa* and *anavassutacittasa.* For a copy of the original fragment which has not been published in facsimile I am indebted to a letter from M. Jean Filliozat of 11th April,

[1] The form printed in BSOS ix 69 is unattested, being due to an ambiguous apparatus criticus.

1938. A similar change took place also in Khot. *pakṣūvātī* (N 68, 44) where we find *ūvā* < *avā* < *apā*, Skt. *pakṣapāta*. According to Professor Thomas (Acta Or. 12, 58; 13, 44 ff.; and T. i 318, note 11) the name *Anavatapta* was also associated with the name *Anuta*, that is, the Čer-čen river, and possibly with the name *navoteyaṃmi* of the Kharoṣṭhī documents.

(7) AṂGŪŚA', S 2471, 262 *agūśa'* in the list of *jaśta* 'devīs', Tib. (both Derge and Narthang) *lcags-kyu-can* (Thomas, T. 20, 97) and *lcags-kyu* (ibid. 310) 'having an iron hook'. To this should correspond in the Chinese list of the Candragarbha-sūtra (vol. 13, p. 368, col. 1, l. 16) 阿那緊首 K 1, 147, 369, 898 *a-na-kin-ṣou* < *â-nâ-ki̯ĕn-śi̯ə̯u*, that is, **aṅkiśu* for **aṅkuśi*, the name of a 天女 'devī'. The Skt. form is then likely to have been *Aṅkuśavatī*.

(8) STHĀNĀVA̤, S 2471, 262 *sthą̄ną̄va*, Ch. 1, 0021a, a 16 *sthą̄nāva*, Tib. *lha-mo gnas-can* 'goddess having a place' (Thomas, T. i 20) and in transliteration *sta-na-ba-ti* (ibid. 310). The Chinese which should correspond in the Candragarbha-sūtra (loc. cit. l. 16) is 他難闍梨 K 223, 651, 527 *t'a-nan-ṣə-li* < *t'â-nan-źi̯a-lji*.[1] On *-va* < *-vatī*, see *infra* on *Revatī*, B V 8.

2. Other devas (the names are given from the list in Ch. 1, 0021a):—

(1) ŚAKRRA, Ch. 0048, 22 *śakrrą̄na brraha'mānāna* gen. pl., Kha 1. 124, 1, 4 *śakkrā brahmą̄nā* (so with *kk*), E 25, 218 *śśakkrā*, et passim.

(2) BRRĄHMAU, Kha 1. 309b, 3 A 1 *brrahma*, S 2471, 255 *brrahamą̄na*, JātS. 38 r 1 *brahmāne*, Or 9609, 4 v 7 *brahmāna rrunde* = Skt. 1, 14 *brahmendras*, Ch. c. 001, 943 *brahmą̄nā gyastā*, Kha 1. 124, 1 r 1 *brrahmāṃ*, P 2787, 39 *bramhāṃ* (with *mh*).

(3) NĀRĀYA, E 24, 104 *nārāyana-*, JātS. 20 v 3 *nārą̄yaṃ gyastā*, Ch. 00266, 214 *nārāya jasta*, P 2957, 86 *naraṃda agvihasti khū nārāyaṃ ḡyastä* 'he went forth unconquerable like Nārāyaṇa the deva'. As a Buddha name, Ch. 00267, 14 *nārāyi jasta be'ysą*, see supra B I (10). Sogd. *n'r'y'n* in the Vessantara-jātaka 912, 930, 935; *n'r'y'n βγy* 'Nārāyaṇa the deva' 919.

(4) MIHAIŚVARÄ, P 2801, 4, 5, 7 *mahaiśvara* (edited BSOS x 366 ff.), Ch. c. 001, 981 *mahiśvarä gyastaṣṣai* (= devaputra), P 2900, 2 (Skt. text) *mahi'śurasya* gen. sing., Agnean 370, 5 *mahiśvar̲*, Sogd. "δδβγ Vessantara-jātaka 930.

(5) SKAṂDHA 'Skanda', Ch. c. 001, 986 *skąndhā a'ysą̄nai mistā hīnāysä* 'Skanda-Kumāra the great general' (quoted BSOS viii 790) =

[1] For *ṣə* < *źi̯a* which is not in Karlgren I am indebted to Professor Haloun. The fan-ts'ie is 視遮.

Tib. *sde-dpon gźonu.* Agnean also uses the form with aspirate *dh:* 370, 5 *skandhakumār.*

(6) VARŪṆÄ, JātS. 38 r 1 *lokepālo varūṇe.* As a Buddha name, Bhadrak. 255, 555 *varuṇau.*

(7) TCĀRA LĀKĀPĀLE 'the four lokapālas' who are also the 'four great kings'. Or 9609, *27 r 6 *vaiśśramaṇā, dhṛttirāṣṭrā, vārūlei, virūpākṣā* = Skt. p. 64, *vaiśravaṇa, dhṛtarāṣṭra, virūḍhaka, virūpākṣa;* S 2471, 256–7 *vrrīśama, vīrrulai, vīrrupākṣa, dadarāja.* My friend Ilia Gerševič has informed me of the Sogd. *βr'wr'k, βyr'wr'y,* the name of a man, Virūḍhaka, in a tale.

(8) CŪTTIRÄ-MAHĀRĀJA P 2900, 1 (Skt. text), see (7).

(9) BAIŚVÄMARA P 2900, 2 (Skt. text): is it Viśvamitra ?

(10) BĪNĀYEKA P 2900, 3 (Skt. text), Skt. *vināyaka* is named among the *laukika-devatāḥ* in Mahāvy. 3165, Tib. *log-ḥdren.*

(11) ŚA'MA *būta-rāja,* S 2471, 265, 'Yama, king of demons (bhūtas),' E 25, 45; 175 *śamä rrundi.*

(12) BRRAHASPA, S 2471, 259 'Bṛhaspati'; as a planet name, E 25, 202 *bṛhaspatä grahä.*

IV. *Nāgas*

The lists vary: I give them here according to S 2471, 267 ff.:—

1. GRAHAVADATTI, see supra B III 1 (6).

2. NADA 'Nanda', Ch. 00267, 26 *nadi,* E 25, 219 *nandä nāgä.*

3. UPANADA 'Upananda', Ch. 00267, 26 *upanadi,* E 25, 219 *vanandä,* Mahāvy. 3278 *nandopanandau.*

4. SĀGARA 'Sāgara', Skt. Suvarṇabh. p. 162 *sāgara* (as a *nāgendra*), Chin. 娑伽羅 K 846, 342, 569 *so-kia-lo* < *sâ-g'ia-lâ,* Mahāvy. 3238.

5. 'ELAPATTA 'Elāpattra', E 13, 161 *elapatṛ,* Tib. *'e-laḥi ḥdab* (Thomas, T. i 63), the nāga of Gandhāra, Mahāvy. 3271 *elāpattro nāgarāja.*

6. MYACALENU (subscript *ya* and *u* seem to have been at times confused by the scribes; *nu* is not quite certain: *-u* = 'and'?), Skt. Pali *Mucilinda* (Dīgha-nikāya iii 204, Waldschmidt, *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Sūtras* (1932) p. 175).

7. SŪMAPAUÑA Ch. 00267, 26 *sūmapauña,* Tib. *sum-dpon* with the legend of the nāga's origin (Thomas, T. i 120).

8. TTAŚATTARA noted here only S 2471, 269.

9. BŪJSYAJA, Ch. 1, 0021a, a 16 *bujsaju* (*-u* = 'and'), Ch. 00267, 26 *būjsaja,* Ch. ii 001, 2 *būjsaṃja.* Not noted outside Khotanese.

10. ṢANĪRAKA, also Ch. 00267, 26. As a man's name Achma 3

ṣanīraki; without *-ka* P 2027, 9 *pyarä ṣau ṣąnīra* 'the father the *ṣau*-official,[1] Ṣanīra', Or 11252 (2) 16 *bikinąña ṣanīri* 'Ṣanīra of Bikināña'. Cf. also in a Tibetan document *śi-nir* as the name of a Khotanese (JRAS 1930, 56). Or 9268 A, a r 12 *ṣṣanīrā*.

11. HŪLŪRA, and Ch. 00267, 26, Mahāvy. 3279 *hulluro nāgarāja*, Tib. *hu-lor*, in the Tibetan Sūryagarbha-sūtra *hulura*, see Thomas, T. i 107 and Laufer, *Klu ɔbum bsdus pai sñiṅ po* (1898) p. 118.

12. NĀGARĀJA *malaida-śāsanābhaprrāptta* P 2893, 18 'the nāga kings who have accepted the teaching of Malaida'. Note the Skt. form *śāsana* with *s*; Khot. uses *śśāśana* with *ś*. On *Malaida*, see infra Appendix, 2.

V. *Devīs*

The devīs are given according to the list in S 2471, 262–4 :—

1. AGŪŚA', see supra B iii 1 (7).

2. STHĄNĄVA, ibid. (8).

3. ŚAKHĪMA, Ch. 00267, 27 *śakhīmaṃ*, Ch. 1, 0021a, a 15 *śakhīmä*. Not noted outside Khotanese.

4. ŚARĪMĀ *dīvye* only here S 2471, 263. Cf. Bharhut, *sirimā devata?*

5. AŚAUKHA, Ch. 00267, 27 *śauka*.

6. CĄMĄṆḌA 'Cāmuṇḍā', Ch. 00267, 27 *caumauṇyą*. Chin. 匝門支 K 1020, 609, 1212 *tsa-mən-tṣĭ* < *tsâp-muən-tśię* (Clark, *Two Lamaistic Pantheons* i 129, ii 176). Cāmuṇḍā is one of the seven divine mothers (Soothill, *Dictionary* 12a). The *tś* < *ť*, palatalized *t*, is used for the Indian retroflex *ḍ*.

7. HĀRRVA 'Hāritī', Ch. 00267, 28 *hārrva*, Ch. c. 001, 964 *hārva mista gyastā buvāṃ māta* = Tib. *ḥbyuṅ-poḥi ma-mo phrog-ma* 'Hāritī, great goddess, mother of demons (bhūtas)', Or 9609, 4 v 7 (in a rubbed passage) ⟨*hā*⟩*rāva dyūvānu ūśahānu māta* = Skt. 1, 13 *hāritī bhūtamātā*. Here **hārātī* > *hārāva* with the usual fem. *-a* (< *-ā*) for Indian *-ĭ*, and *v* replacing *t*, as in E 25, 3 *kṛvä yuggä* 'Kṛta yuga' (see BSOS ix 542, x 572). In *dyūva-* is found the Khot. equivalent of Old Iran. (Old Pers.) *daiva-* 'demon'. The nom. sing. is probably preserved in Khot. *dyū*[2] < **daivah*, cf. *rū* = *rūvä* (Skt. *rūpa*), a suggestion which Dr. Henning had also made to me before I found *dyūvānu*. For *-aiva-* > *yū*, cf. *byūrra-* '10,000', Av. *baēvar-*, MidPers. *bēvar*, and add to the evidence in BSOS viii 121 and ix 73 the following

[1] On *ṣau*, see BSOS x 599–600.

[2] I should not have published the etymology quoted from me by Konow, *Norsk. Tids. Sprogr.* xi 55.

passage: P 4099, 412 *kṣaṣṭä ysāra śāyi* 'sixty thousand Śākyas' = E 6, 87 *kṣei' byūrru śśāya* 'six myriad Śākyas'. The word *ūśahānu* is gen. plur. of *ūśahāraa-* from Skt. *ojohāra-* 'taking away strength', as in E 25, 421 *būta ūśahārā* 'strength-stealing demons': *-ānu* < *-ārnu* < *-ārānu*, for which cf. *tcvīnä* P 3513, 74 v 1 = Skt. *caturṣu*, and *tcuīnu* (so to read BSOS x 581) beside Suvarṇabh. 30 b 5 *tcuīrnu*. The Skt. adj. occurs Jātakamālā 8 (ed. Kern. p. 41, l. 14) *ojohārāḥ pañca yakṣāḥ*. Note also Jātakastava 15 (BSOS ix 857) *ojomuṣāṃ rakṣasām*.

8. REVA 'Revatī', Ch. 00267, 28 *raivi*, Chin. 梨婆坻 K 527, 753, 984 *li-p'o-ṭṣ'ī* < *lji-b'uâ-d'i*, a demoness concerned with medicaments for children (Oda, p. 556). For *-a* < *-atī*, cf. *sthānāvą*, supra B III 1 (8) = in Tib. script *sta-na-ba-ti*, P 3513, 25 r 4 *sādhūma nąma bhūmä* 'the stage Sādhumatī' (Acta Or. 11, 42), Ch. 0048, 15 *dharmāsainäva mistä* 'great general of the Law' = *dharma-senāpati*; medially E *pratābiṃbai*, P 4099, 184 *prrabebai*, Skt. *pratibimba-*.

9. DAṢA' *būma dīvye* 'firm earth goddess, *dṛḍhā pṛthivī-devatā*', Ch. 00267, 28 *drainḍa būma dīvya*. But translated in the Suvarṇabhāsa, Or 9609, 55 v 3 *styūda śśaṃdye dīvata* = Skt. p. 121 *dṛḍhā pṛthivī-devatā*, Ch. 1, 0021a, a 10 *būma dīvya ḡyaśca*.

10. ŚŪKHUṆA, only Ch. 1, 0021a, a 15 with *śakhīmä*.

11. KATHA DĪVYE 'goddess of the city', Ch. 00267, 28 *kathi dīvya*.

12. KŪṢḌI DĪVYE 'goddess of the palace', Ch. 00267, 28 *kūṣḍi dīvye jaśta*.

13. RĀJA DĪVYE *jaśta* 'goddess of the kingdom', Ch. 00267, 28 *rāja dīvya*, Ch. 1, 0021a, a 15 *jīvą-sabhava rāja dīvya jaścā*. Here *rāja* 'kingdom' is from Pkt. *rāja-* Skt. *rājya*, as in Kharosṭhī documents *raja-* 'kingdom' beside *raya-* 'king', see supra B II 6.

VI. *Naivāsikas*

1. P 2929, 5–6 *nīvąysva āysdąrą dęvattą parvąlā* (quoted with two errata in BSOS x 602 note 1), Ch. 00267, 30 *ṣacū kītha bīsā navāysvą devattą parvālā* S 2471, 253 *kāka nīvāysva devatta paravālā*, P 4649 nivāysvā *uhā'*. On *naivāsika*, see BSOS viii 902 note 2, and, earlier, Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, 1930, 254–5, for Uigur and Agnean. The nominal form *nivāsika-* 'resident' also occurs in Sanskrit as e.g. in the Mahāmāyūrī[1] list of Yakṣas, verse 33: *Kharapostā mahāyakṣo bhadraśaile*

[1] Ed. Oldenburg, *Zapiski vostočnago otd'elenia* 1897–8, studied by Sylvain Lévi in connection with the Chinese and Tibetan versions, *Journ. Asiat*, 1915, *Le Catalogue géographique des Yakṣa dans la Mahāmāyūrī*. One name in this text, verse 72 *vaikṛtika* the yakṣa of Gandhāra was compared by Lévi with the Av. *vaēkərəta*, but has been overlooked by recent writers on Zoroastrian problems. For *-postā*, read probably *-posto*?

nivāsikaḥ 'Kharaposta the great yakṣa resident in the Bhadra mountain'. Here in Khot. *nivāysva* (*-va* < *-ika-*), we have probably the derivative adj. *naivāsika*, and hence a case of loss of vṛddhi vowel, as also E 24, 120 *mudgalyāyanu*, Ch. c. 001, 853 *maudgalyāyaṇā* = Skt. *maudgalyāyana*, P 2958, 3 *vīnīyaa-*, E *vaineyaa-*, *vainaiya-*, *veneyaa-*, Skt. *vaineya-*, E *mittrai*, Skt. *maitreya*, E *vīśramana-*, Skt. *vaiśramaṇa*, P 2956, 62 *mithūna-darmā*, Skt. *maithuna-dharma*, E *gūtama*, beside E *gauttama* = Skt. *gautama*, Ch. ii 003, 45 v 4 *vittala* = Skt. (Mahāvy. 4376) *vetāḍa*, E *vaittāḍa*. This probably also explains Kuchean *sintāp*, Skt. *saindhava* (rather than van Windekens' explanation, *De indo-europeesche Bestanddeelen in de Tocharische Declinatie* (1939) p. 14).

2. S 2471, 271 ff. *ga aṅṇaḍvā devatta paravālā* 'the guardian deities resident in mountains', if *ga* is for *gara* or *garvā*. Here too are the deities of mountain-wells (?), springs, pools, and rivers.

3. *mahābala paravāle* 'the guardian Mahābala'.

4. Natural powers sun, moon, planets, stars, presidents of the years, S 2471, 266 ff. For the *salye bāyā devatta paravālā*, cf. also Or 11252 (1) a 1 *dvāsi salya bāyā* 'presidents of the twelve years (of the animal cycle)', ed. BSOS viii 924 ff.; Domoko A 4, 1 *salya bāyai*, sing.

5. *daśāpālā jastau*, Ch. 00267, 29 and *dīśāpāla* Ch. 1, 0021a, a 15, Skt. *diśāpāla* 'guardian of the quarters'.

6. *Yakṣa dīśamūka* 'the yakṣa Daśamukha'.

7. S 2471, 270–1 *ca ttā nāma na hvava ṣte* 'who are not addressed by name' (taking *ṣte* as equivalent of the plural *ṣṭāre*). Otherwise fem. 'she who has not been addressed by name'.

8. Homage to sanghārāmas and their images, P 2929 and P 2026, where the list of appurtenances is given. Since Skt. *pratimā* 'image' became Khot. *pe'ma*, *pema*, see supra A VI 67 (a), the similarity of sound to that of the name of the city Phema, as in Or 11344 (9) 2 *phemma*, Kha ii 3, A 1 *phemmāṣṭa* 'to Phema', Or 11344 (8) B 2 *phema*, Or 11252 (16) A 6 *phemma*, Staël-Holstein roll 10 *phimāna kamtha*, Tib. *phye-ma*, Chin. 媲摩 *p'i-mo*[1] < *p'iei-muâ* (cf. K 722, 593), may have led to the association of the story of the image with this city, as related by Hüan Tsang (see transl. Beal ii 322).

VII. *Khotanese Legend*

The only allusion so far noted in the Khotanese texts to the legend of the foundation of Khotan is contained in Ch. 1, 0021a, a 9–10.

[1] Fan-ts'ie 匹詣 = *p'i* < *p'iei*.

The legend is preserved in the Tibetan *Gośṛṅga-vyākaraṇa* and the *Li-yul-gyi lo-rgyus* 'Annals of Khotan' (Thomas, T. i 17 f., 99 ff.): Vaiśravaṇa found the child Sa-nu 'earth-breast' = Skt. *go-stana*, who had been suckled by a breast arisen out of the earth, and bestowed him upon the King of China (*rgya*), named in the Narthang edition Cha-yaṅ and in the Derge Ca-yaṅ. The allusions are as follows :—

1. *Vrrīśamā ḡyasta* 'Vaiśramaṇa deva', see supra B III 1 (1).

2. *aśū'* 'Aśoka', P 2798, 129 *aśū' nāma re* (see BSOS x 592 note 1), 'a king named Aśoka,' P 2958, 8, 25, 44, 87 *aśū'*, 90, 91, 106, 118 *iśu'*. The Chinese has 阿育 K 1, 1130 *a-ü* < *â-i̯uk*, Jap. *a-iku*, with *i̯* representing a foreign *ž*.[1] Chinese has also 阿輸柯 K 1, 1327, 414 *a-ṣu-ko* < *â-śi̯u-kâ*. Tib. *a-źu-ka-su-ma* (read *ka-⟨ku⟩-* ?), the name of a queen, would represent 'Aśoka-kusuma' (Thomas, T. i 131). As a Buddha name occurs Bhadrak. 233, 313, 400, 551 *aśaukau*; of a sthavira, E 23, 93 *aśśauku*. The tree is named Ch. ii 002, 11 r 3 *aśaukā* = Skt. *aśoka*. *'A-śo-ko-śi-la* is the name of a nun (Thomas, T. i 133). Khot. *ś*, later *ś'* (= *ž*) for Pkt. *-j-* < Skt. *-c-* is found elsewhere, as in *āśirī* 'ācārya'.

3. *cayaṃ rre* 'King Cayaṃ', Tib. *ca-yaṅ*, *cha-yaṅ*, not noted elsewhere.

4. *ṣvīdā hūrrākā* 'giver of milk', alluding to the earth-breast (*go-stana*) provided by the goddess of earth.

5. *būmā dīvya ḡyaśca*, see supra B V 9.

6. *mahāsaṃma* 'Mahāsammata', as the remote ancestor of the kings of Khotan, Or 8212 (162) 20 *mahāsaṃma rāṃda vī*, E 14, 124 *rre mahādevā mahāsamatā tteri dāru jutāndā* 'King Mahādeva and Mahāsammata lived so long'; see Akanuma, loc. cit., s.v. Mahāsammata, and Malalasekara, *Pali Proper Names*.

VIII. *Places*

1. *gaustamā-deśa ranīje jīnāve* Ch. 1, 0021a, a 11 and ibid. *gāsta raudā* 'king of Gostana' beside *hvatana-* 'Khotan', Kharoṣṭhī documents *khotana*, see BSOS ix 541 on Skt. *gaustana-deśa*. Add to that note[2] also P 2739, 12 *ttayi-pū yūttyeni kūhi: jinave* representing the full Chinese phrase 大寶于闐國 K 952, 702, 1317, 1194, 480

[1] Cf. in the Milinda-pañha, Chinese 迦葉維 K 342, 225, 1265 A *kia-ie-uei* < *ka-i̯äp-wi* '*Kāśyapīya', 拘夷 K 484, 186 *kū-i* < *ki̯u-i* 'Kuśi', see Pelliot, *Journ. Asiat.* 1914, *Les noms propres du Milinda-pañha*, Demiéville, *Les versions chinoises du Milindapañha*. Note also 延 K 235 *ien* < *i̯ān* for *žan* = Skt. *-jana*, *-cana*, supra B I (6).

[2] Yet a second correction is needed in the passage quoted there in note 1: read *baudasattū rāṃdā* 'bodhisattva and king'.

ta-pau ü-t'ien kuo < *d'âi-pâu ji̯u-d'ien kʷək*, where *kūhi:* and *jīnave* form a hendiadys.

The 'river of jade', described by *X*uei-lin of Kashghar (Jap. *Erin*) in *Taishō issaikyō* vol. 54, p. 375, col. 3, 山有玉河 'the mountain has a river of jade', and identified as the Skt. *śailodā* between the *Vakṣu (= Oxus) and the Sītā (= Tarim), by Sylvain Lévi,[1] has been noted in one Khotanese text: Or 8212 (162) 16 *ranījai ttāja baida āvāysa śūstai* 'he established dwelling-places upon the river of precious stones'. The modern names of the two rivers of Khotan are similar: *qara qaš* 'black jade' and *yürüng qaš* 'white jade'.

2. Abodes of the Bodhisattvas, see supra B III 1 (b).

3. *brrūya:* P 2026, 64 *brrūya bīsai jasta be'ysa*, S 2471, 62 *brrūya bīsai jasta beysa*. Is this the *phru-ño, phru-ña* of Tibetan texts (Thomas, T. i 53, 118)? An interchange of *ñ*, *n* and *y* seems possible. Cf. Kharoṣṭhī documents *nina* 'Niya', Khot. Or 11252 (32) 16 *nine;* P 2790, 43 *nī̯ña yū̯nä tcū-lyehsä:* 'Yun tsu-lyegs of Nīña', Chinese 泥壤 K 659, 788 *ni-ẓang* < *niei-ńźi̯ang*; Khot. *phaṃnā-ja-* adj., Tib. *pha-ña* (Thomas, T. i 135); Khot. *sūmapauña*, Tib. *sum-pon*.

4. *khāṃhyape'* P 2026, 64; S 2741, 61 *khāhyepe*. Not noted elsewhere. The *-pe'*, *-pe* might correspond to the *-pya* of Tib. *śoṅ-pya*, the abode of Vajrapāṇi (Thomas, T. i 311).

5. *ṣacū kītha* Ch. 00267, 30 'Ṣa-ṭṣou', frequent in the documents.

6. S 2471, 254 *bīsa hrrūva ysīmāttala gaṇḍye śalaba*: apparently place names, but unidentified. Is *bīsa* = *bisanāña* or *gaṇḍye* = the *gandha* of *gomasala-gandha*, written 乾陀 K 299, 1011 *k'ien-to* < *g'iän-d'â* in the Chinese Sūryagarbha-sūtra (vol. 13, p. 294, col. 3, l. 4)?

APPENDIX

Certain relevant information remains to be added here.

1. *ćar-ma* (Thomas, T. i 105), *ćhar-ma-ḥjo* (JRAS 1930, 63) correspond to Khot. S 2471, 289 *tcarmi*, P 2025, 4 *tcarmaja*, P 5537, 76 *tcarmają*, 9 *tcarmaja prramāha idrraprradīpa higāña*, P 4099, 439 *tcaramaja prramāha maledapraña*; Chinese 贊摩 K 1026, 593 *tsan-mo* < *tsân-muâ* (Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, p. 232).

2. *maleda, malaida*: these two words seem to represent the Khot. forms, from Pkt., of the name *Menandros*: P 2893, 18 *malaida-śāsanābhaprrāptta* 'having accepted the preaching of Malaida', and P 4099, 439 *maledapraña*, the name of the prior of the Tcarmaja

[1] *Études asiatiques publiées à l'occasion du 25e anniversaire de l'école française de l'extrême orient* ii 43.

monastery. Nearest to the Greek word is the Kharoṣṭhī inscription (ed. Konow, p. 134) *miṇaṃdra*. In Buddhist Sanskrit occurs *milandra*.[1] The Chinese 彌蘭 K 618, 512 *mi-lan* < *mjię-lân* would represent **milana* or **milanda*.

3. *par-mog*. In Tibetan *ḥgum-tir-gyi par-mog ḥjin-sen* 'Jinasena, the *par-mog* of Ḥgum-tir' (Thomas, T. i 127 = *Asia Major* ii 263–4); and *par-mog no-geḥdra-sig* 'the *par-mog* Nāgendrasiṃha'.[2] The Khotanese texts use *prramāha* in similar contexts: P 4099, 439 *tcarmaja prramāha maledapraña* 'Maledapraña principal of Tcarma', Or 8212 (162) *155 *drūttīrai prraumāha' ttathāgatta śrībhadra* 'the Tathāgata Śrībhadra principal of Dro-tir'; other forms in P 2786, 74 *prramauha*, Mazar Tagh a. iv. 00169, 4 *prramuhāṃ*. All represent Pkt. from Skt. *pramukha* with common Khotanese changes. This is the *par-mog* of Tibetan texts: Tib. *o* = Khot. *au*, *u* and *g* = Khot. *h*, as in *ro-je-gre-ga* 'Rājagṛha' (Thomas, T. i 322) and *sig* = Khot. *sīha*, on which see note 2 on this page.

4. Certain names of places in the Khotan region end in Tibetan script in *-jo*, *-ḥjo*. A list is given in *Asia Major* ii 265 and the passages can be seen in the translations in Thomas, T. i: *yo-zo-ḥjo*, *zer-ro-ḥjo*, *ta-ke-ḥjo* (Thomas, T. i 131), *po-blo-na-jo*, *ḫo-roṅ-jo*; also *ḫaṅ-ḥgu-jo*, *ḫaṅ-gu-jo* (ibid. 309, 101), *ćhar-ma-ḥjo* (JRAS 1930, 63). The clue to their interpretation is given by the last: Khot. *tcarmaja* beside *tcarmi*, in Tib. script *pha-ña* (Thomas, T. i 135), Khot. *phaṃnā*, *phaṃnāja*, *birgaṃdaraja-* beside *birgaṃdara-*, Tib. *be-rka-ḥdra* (ibid. 135) show an adj. suffix *-ja*. This is the common Khot. *-ja* seemingly borrowed from Skt., Pkt. *-ja* 'arising from'. For such a wide extension in the use of an originally foreign suffix, one may compare the Armenian use of the originally Iranian suffix *-akan*. Examples of Khot. *-ja* are: Achma 3 *phaṃnāji sinili* 'Sinila of Phaṃnā', ibid. *birgaṃdaraji ṣanīraki* 'Ṣanīraka of Birgaṃdara', P 2787, 149 *prravāraṇaja* 'concerned with the pravāraṇā ceremony', Ch. ii 003, 84 r 5 *kikija arva* 'medicaments made as a kalka', E 5, 78 *saṃñaja* 'consisting of saṃjñā', P 3513, 82 v 4 *hadrrūṣaja kalahāra* 'contentious quarrels', 84 r 1 *aysmyaja āra; ttaradaraja āra; biśā'ja āra*, 20 v 1 *tcṃajā dhāttā*

[1] Lüders, *Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā des Kumāralāta* (1926) p. 34, note 7

[2] This name and *no-geḥdra-śil* would be in Khotanese **nāgendrasīha* and **nāgendraśīla*. They are in a document published in Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains*, p. 403. For *sīha* = Pkt. *sīha*, Skt. *siṃha*, cf. also the names P 4099, 432 *devedrraśūrasīha* 'Devendra-śūra siṃha and P 2027, 11 *nāgaidrrārmāsīha*'; and for *nāgendra*, cf. Or 8212 (162) *58 *nāgaidravarrda* 'Nāgendravardhana'. The form *sinhā* occurs in Kha 1, 56, 1 B 3, and as a Buddha name *sīhau* Bhadrak. 223.

'dhātu of the eye', 20 v 3 *tcą'mają aysmū*,[1] 20 v 4 *gvają aysmū, haysgajä aysmū*, P 2787, 117 *sūhaja ąmai jsa*, Ch. ii 002, 136 v 4 *harīyaja*, Vajr. 43 b 1 *vīpākajā*, Ch. ii 003, 46 v 2 *grahaja āchā* 'diseases due to ravishers', JātS. 30 r 2 *bāysvaje hauve* 'strength of arm'. The suffix is thus added alike to Iranian as to Indian words in Khotanese. Hence *zęr-ro-ḥjo* is the adjective of relation to the personal name of the *'a-ma-ca za-ro* (Thomas, T. i 129).

5. *Names of Monasteries*

(1). Or 8212 (162) *134 *viśe'sagrārmī dvīle sīvadākarauca* 'the knower of two piṭakas, Sīvadākarauca of Viśe'sagrārmī (= Viśa-sangrāma-ārāma)'. For *'ārma* < *ārāma*, cf. *sakhārma, sakhāra*, older, E *saṃkhārama*, see supra A I 11(*b*), with loc. sing. *saṃkherma, sakhyerma*. This can be recognized in the building of Vijaya-sangrāma called in Tibetan *bźaḥ-saṅ-gre-re-ma* (Thomas, T. i 123), *bźa-saṅ-gre-ma* (ibid. 317).

(2). P 2787, 89 *vīṣṇavakrrārma sakhāra* 'Viṣṇu-vikrama-ārāma sanghārāma'.

(3). *gus-sde-re-ma* (Thomas, T. i 132). The name was given to the monastery in allusion to the fact that the builder's mother had attained *nirvāṇa* (*thar-par źugs-nas*). Hence it is easy to recognize the Khot. *gūsta-* 'deliverance, nirvāṇa', see supra A I 5(*c*), in *gus-sde*, and again a form of *ārāma* in the second part.

(4). *gus-kyi 'or-myoṅ-nag* (Thomas, T. i 133), *'or-ñoṅ* (ibid. 321 f.) is the building of Vijaya-sangrāma, so named in allusion to the fact that many of his female retinue attained *nirvāṇa* (*thar-pa skyes*). Hence here again *gus-kyi* is Khot. *gūscya* 'deliverance, nirvāṇa' with *ārñāṃ* 'wild spot', see supra A VI 66(b) and *New Indian Antiquary*, extra series no. 1, p. 2. The Tib. *-nag* would indicate a derivative in *-ka*.

(5). *karāṃ*. In Ch. 1, 0021a, b 32 *śau karāṃ* 'one karāṃ', 23 *ḍrrai-sse karāna* 'three hundred karāna', in which I had conjectured a division of a city (Acta Or. 14, 258 ff.), the number suggests rather a building or part of a complex of buildings. One other passage containing the word has been found: P 2787, 90 *vīṣṇavakrrārma sakhāra kītha kārāṃ nūvara mąñadi pastai ūśrrīvye* 'be ordered to erect[2] the sanghārāma Viṣṇuvikramārāma like a new *karāna-* in the city'. Since so many other expressions of the Tibetan documents concerning

[1] *aysmu* = *vijñāna* here.

[2] *ūśrrīvye*, inf. to a verbal base *ūśrrav-* 'erect', from Pkt. **uśrav-* = *ussav-*, *ūsav-*, Skt. *ucchrāpaya-*, causal to *ud* with *śray-*.

Khotan have been found, it is worth repeating here the suggestion of BSOS viii 923 note 1, that *karāṃ*, the nom. sing. in later Khot. to a base *karāna-*, is preserved also in the *ka-roṅ* of the name *ḥjaḥ-mo-ka karoṅ* (Thomas, T. i 117), the first Sarvāstivāda monastery in Khotan, although the first part of the name has not yet been noticed elsewhere.

6. *kāṭhaiśä* P 2906, 31 ; Ch. 00327, 5 *tcairthūśī*, Or 8212 (186) A 9 *tcerthuśī*, proper names, recall those in Tibetan sources ending in *śi*, as *ser-the-śi* (Thomas, T. i 126), *ka-the-śi* (ibid. 127), *ḥba-la-śi* (ibid. 127), *li ku-chi-śi* ' the Khotanese Ku-chi-śi ' (JRAS 1930, 64).

7. Names in *-o-ña*, *-oṅ* in Tibetan documents.

The Khot. suffix *-āna*, *-ānya*, *-āña* was briefly noticed in BSOS x 603. Many place names ending in *-āña* occur in the unpublished Khotanese texts, such as Or 11252 (2) 7 *vīṃgulāña haskadharmä* ' Haskadharma of Vīṃgulā ', ibid. 19 *phaṃñaspāñi sivi* ' Siva of Phaṃñaspā ', Mazar Tagh c. 0017, 2 *sakāñä* [1] *ṣanīrā* ' Ṣanīra of Sakā '. The *-salāña* of Mazar Tagh a. 1, 0033, 5 *aśnesalāña*, Or 11252 (2) 14 *dumesalāña* recall in Tibetan script *ḥbru-so-lo-ña* (Thomas, T. i 100). The name *su-stoṅ-ña* (Thomas, T. i 127) was named from the pleasant tidings of Ārya-Vairocana's coming. Hence **susta-* would have been intended as a later form (or pronunciation) of *svasta-* which occurs in Ch. c. 001, 977 *svastakarmä be'mañe* (hendiadys) = Tib. *bde-legs* ' good fortune ', from Skt. *svasti*. For *va* ∾ *u*, note such spellings as P 2900, 2 (Skt. text) *mahi'śura-* ' Maheśvara ' or P 5538 b 49 (Skt. text) *sūpamī* ' *svapāmi*, I sleep '. Then *su-stoṅ-ña* is explained by **svastāña* ' concerned with good tidings '. The Khot. form *-āṃ* < older *-ānä* is to be seen in the name of the monastery *na-mo-ḥbu-gdoṅ* (Thomas, T. i 133), named after the donor *na-mo-bod* ' Namobuddha ' a name occurring in Or 11252 (2) 4 *namaubudä*. Hence *na-mo-ḥbu-gdoṅ* = **namaubudāṃ*.

8. *paṃjalaa-* ' bell-metal '.[2] In Ch. ii 002, 9 r 1–2 *paṃjilīña bājinaña* = Skt. *kāṃsa-pātre* ' in a vessel of bell-metal ', Tib. *ṃkhar-baḥi snod* ; Kha 1. 58a, 1 A 3 *ysīrru paṃjalau padaṃdu yanä*, Kha 0013 C, 10 A 2 *paṃjalīnai*, Ch. ii 002, 146 v 3 *paṃjalīnai* ∽ *bujsvārä jsa* ' with a mortar of bell-metal ', Tib. *khar-baḥi btun-bus*. Does this

[1] Is this the place contained in the title *sakarāja* ' King of Saka ' (Luders, *Zur Geschichte und Geographie Ostturkestans*, p. 255, l. 7) ? The name of Yarkand in Chinese 莎車 (Herrman, *Atlas of China*) K 847, 1187 *so-ku* < *suâ-kj*^{w}*o*, Ptolemy σοῖτα, var. lect. σοιγα, σαγα bears considerable resemblance.

[2] In English ' bell-metal ' is an alloy of about four parts of copper to one of tin.

throw light on the name of Khotan in Tibetan ? Here *li* = (1) ' bell-metal ', (2) ' Khotan ', whence a hypothetical Skt. *kaṃsa-deśa* has been made. We have also *ḥu-then-gyi khar-lṅa-ldan-gyi groṅ-khyer* ' the city khar-lṅa-ldan of Khotan '.[1] Did the translators take first a native Khotanese **paṃjalaa-* as ' bell-metal ', hence arriving at *li* or *khar* in Tibetan, then secondly did they take **paṃja-* as ' five ', Khot. *paṃjsa*, and so arrive at *lṅa* ? Or was *khar* here ' a fort ' ? Has the Chinese reference to " five cities " in the country any reference to a name beginning with **paṃja-* ? More evidence is needed to decide these problems. It may be added that a personal name *paṃjamaki* occurs in Or 11344 (2) 11.

9. *bi-śa-ja-ya*, the name of the daughter of Vijayakīrti (Thomas, T. i 132) may perhaps represent a Khotanese *viśa'-ysāya* ' born of the Viśa' family ', with *ysāya* fem. of the participle *ysāta-*, *ysāva-*, *ysāya-*[2] ' born ', as Ch. 00266, 119 *nā kidarrvā*[3] *ysāya* ' a wife born among the Kinnaras '.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA TO BSOS x 599 ff.

(1) P 601, verse vi : read perhaps *sa* **bīśe pīḍai* ' he wrote out all '.

(2) P 601, verse vii b : strike out the initial *cu*.

(3) For *ttāgutti* add, (*a*) Thomas fragment 7 A a3 *pheṃmai ttāgutti na* ; (*b*) Or 11344 (8) A 3 *birgaṃdara spaśari ttāgutti vī* ; (*c*) (1) 14 *sudiva ttāgutti tsve* ; (*d*) Or 11252 (18) a 2 *ttāgutta hvāṣṭa*.

(4) P 2958, 218 *ttąhttavadą pada* ' the road leading to Ttąhtta '. (with *-vadā* in composition = *pandāva-*), seems to contain a *ttąhtta* equivalent to *ttāha'tta* ' Tibet '.

(5) P 604. I should now prefer to explain the Sogdian as *tnγwt* ' Tangut '. Elsewhere we have in Arabic script Rašīduddīn تنكقوت, Abulghāzī تانكقوت, Juvainī تنكوت (see Radlov, *Kudatku Bilig* xxvii, xxxii, xlv, Minorsky, *Ḥudūdu l-'Ālam*, p. 232) ; in Turkish, *tangqut* (Pelliot, *T'oung Pao* 1930, 338) in the Oγuz-name. In Mongol *t'ngγwt* **tangγut* (*Sagang Secen*, ed. Schmidt p. 84), Manchu *tanggôt* (*Sagang Secen*, Manchu version, ed. Haenisch, p. 52). The Sogdian text is now available in Henning, *Sogdica*, pp. 8 ff. The Tanguts would suit the position of the word in the Nāfnāmak.

[1] More details are given by Professor Thomas in *Asia Major* 2, 255 ff.

[2] For *-y-*, *-t-*, *-v-* see BSOS x 572.

[3] For the forms of *kinnara* in Khotanese, see BSOS x 583.

Indo-Iranica

Par J. Duchesne-Guillemin

1. v.-p. *a-sa-a da-a-ru-u-va.*

Cette expression se lit à la ligne 41 de la Charte de Suse et désigne l'un des deux matériaux, avec l'argent, qui ont été importés d'Égypte pour servir à la construction du palais de Darius.

Le second terme en est relativement clair. Son premier signe est très endommagé, mais on reconnaît, même sur la reproduction, de quoi justifier la lecture du P. Scheil. Celle-ci est reprise notamment par M. Benveniste, *BSL.*, XX, iii, p. 132 : *dāru*^{v} , équivalent de skr. *dā́ru-* " bois ". On verra qu'elle doit être préférée à celles de MM. König et Herzfeld.

Le premier terme a prêté à des conjectures diverses. Dans l'article cité, M. Benveniste, partant d'abord de l'idée qu'à côté du nom de l'argent pouvait figurer — sans que ce soit obligé — un autre nom de métal, a envisagé un moment de retrouver ici l'av. **asan-* " fer ", pers. *āhan* etc. (dont il avait traité, *MSL.*, 23, p. 132–3, à propos du mot pašto *ōspana*). Mais, cette hypothèse ne rendant pas compte de la présence de *dāru*, son auteur l'a rejetée aussitôt et a noté seulement, pour terminer, que l'on serait tenté de retrouver en *asa* un nom de bois.

J'ai été d'emblée confirmé dans la voie ainsi indiquée en me rappelant le type de locution d'av. *tištryō . star-* " étoile appelée Tistrya- ", *vispe . aire . razurā-* " forêt appelée tous les Aryens " etc. L'expression *asă dāru* se décomposait de la même façon en " bois appelé *asa* ". Restait à identifier ce bois.

Pour ce faire, nous avons, à la suite de M. Herzfeld, *Altpersische Inschriften*, 1938, p. 299, fait appel à l'avestique *asan-* " pierre ", forme qui devait être commune à la plupart des dialectes iraniens, puisque le vieux-perse est isolé avec son traitement de l'ancienne palatale (skr. *aśan-*, gr. *ἄκμων* etc.). Mais, que la forme *asan-* ait été usitée aussi en Pars comme nom commun, ainsi que le suppose M. Herzfeld, est plus difficile à admettre, et je ne crois pas non plus admissible le reste de son interprétation. Il lit, en effet, contre le P. Scheil, à l'initiale du second terme, le signe *sa*, malgré le manque de place et malgré les traces suffisantes de *da*. Cela lui donne, moyennant une interprétation, possible en soi, de la finale du mot, *asā sāruva*

" pierre de plomb ", avec un 2e terme dérivé de av. *srva-* " plomb ". Le contrôle direct de cette lecture, quand j'ai prié M. Contenau de le faire, était impossible, la section assyriologique du Louvre étant en cours de réorganisation. Puis, la guerre est survenue avant que les caisses aient été rouvertes. Mais je crois inutile d'attendre davantage pour publier le résultat d'une recherche qui, en ne retenant qu'une partie de l'interprétation de M. Herzfeld, aboutit à une solution complète.[1]

Puisque le matériel provenait d'Egypte, il était naturel de rechercher, en prenant pour point de départ à titre d'hypothèse, l'interprétation " bois appelé pierre ", quel bois ce pays était susceptible de fournir à l'Iran, quel bois méritant d'être appelé " pierre ". Or, le seul bois que l'Egypte, qui n'en produit aucun, puisse exporter est celui qu'elle-même faisait venir des sources du Nil : l'ébène. Les textes égyptiens le désignent par *hbn-* (cf. Erman-Grapow, *Wörterbuch der Aegypt. Spr.*, 2, p. 487 : *hbnj*, dont le *j* est négligeable [2]), mot qui a passé dans l'hébreu biblique חֶבְנִים, הובנים, dans le grec ἔβενος et le latin (*h*)*ebenus*. La forme grecque, qui remonte à Hérodote, montre par son esprit doux qu'au temps d'Hérodote, c'est-à-dire au temps de Darius, le mot sonnait à peu près exactement comme celui par lequel les Hébreux et les autres sémites contemporains désignaient la " pierre " : hébr. אֶבֶן, aram. אַבְנָא etc.

Cette coïncidence, provoquée par l'amuïssement du *h-*, fournit la clé de l'expression qui figure à Suse. C'est cette coïncidence, en effet, qui a produit une confusion dans l'esprit des gens qui transportaient l'ébène (dans notre hypothèse) d'Egypte en Susiane. Pour eux, qui à coup sûr devaient parler une langue sémitique, ce bois qui leur était livré avec son nom d' **eben*, et qui avait la dureté du roc, c'était évidemment le " bois de pierre ".[3] C'est cette interprétation — involontaire et peut-être inconsciente — qui a été transposée par les Iraniens des régions limitrophes de la mésopotamie en termes de leur

[1] J'ai été aidé de façon décisive, dans cette petite enquête, par mes collègues de l'Institut oriental de l'Université de Liége, MM. B. van de Walle et H. F. Janssens. — Mentionnons, pour épuiser la courte bibliographie du sujet, l'interprétation de M. König, *Mitt. d. Vorderasiat. Ges.*, xxxv (1930), p. 64 : *āsā dāruva* " chambranles de bois ", avec un *ā-* initial non justifié et un *āsā*, ainsi créé, rattaché à skr. *ātā* " cadre, chambranle " au méprise de la phonétique : en aucune position un *s* vieux-perse ne peut répondre à un *t* sanskrit. Du reste, le radical de skr. *ātā* est attesté en iranien, dans av. *qiθyā-* " poteau " ! — Nous retiendrons cependant quelque chose de l'article de M. König, voyez ci-dessous in fine.

[2] Selon MM. Van de Wallé et J. Capart.

[3] Comme nous disons " bois de fer " pour désigner vulgairement le tek.

langue : *asa dāru* ; et c'est enfin cette expression iranienne (non perse) [1] qui a passé dans l'inscription achéménide.

Les déguisements superposés sous lesquels je propose de retrouver le nom de l'ébène dans *asa dāru* pourraient il faut l'avouer, inspirer quelque méfiance, si un recoupement ne nous était fourni par le témoignage d'Hérodote.

On lit en effet, au §97 du IIIème livre des *Histoires*, que les Ethiopiens, à qui le Roi des Rois avait imposé un tribut en nature, le payaient, tous les trois ans, sous forme d'or, d'ivoire, de jeunes garçons et de "deux cents billots d'ébène" (διηκοσίας φάλαγγας ἐβένου).

C'est de cet ébène-là, importé du haut-Nil en Susiane viâ l'Egypte et les régions du commerce sémitique, que l'inscription achéménide nous restitue la mention. Et sans doute l'argent importé en même temps que lui — et mentionné avec lui — servait-il (selon un usage rappelé par M. Kōnig, œuvre cité p. 65) à y faire des incrustations.

2. av. *xšnau-* "se réjouir" etc.

La racine d'av. *xšnau-* "prendre plaisir à, se réjouir de" est abondamment attestée en iranien, non seulement dans l'Avesta mais en pehlevi et à l'époque moderne : pers. *xušnūd* "content" etc. — mais on ne lui connaît pas de correspondant, ni en sanskrit ni dans aucune autre langue.

Bartholomae, faisant état de la forme *snut* du Fr. (v. *Altir. Wörterb.* s.v.) et interprétant — à juste titre — le *x-* comme secondaire, pose un iranien **snu-*. C'est l'impasse.

Sans doute, le groupe initial *xšn-* peut reposer sur **sn-* (comme *xštāt* "il se tenait" représente **stāt*), mais elle peut aussi continuer un ancien **ĝn-*, comme dans v.-p. *xšnā-* "connaître" **ĝnō-*. Dans ce cas, il reste à rendre compte de l'*s-* du Fr. : ce sera une forme due à l'analogie de cas comme ceux que signale Bartholomae lui-même, *Grundriss* §33 : av. *vasna-* en face de v.p. *vašna*, av. *yasna-* en face de pers. *ǰašn*, ou il s'agit d'une ancienne palatale, **ḱ* ou **ĝ*.

Av. *xšnau-*, etc., peut donc reposer sur **ĝnu-*. Dès lors s'impose

[1] Appelons-là mède, s'il faut lui donner un nom. J'avais pensé que la confusion avait pu aussi être seulement le fait des scribes — certainement eux aussi des Sémites — chargés de rédiger la Charte : en constituant le texte iranien, ils auraient, au lieu de transcrire simplement — tant bien que mal — le terme **eben* "ébène", substitué à ce mot, comme aux autres, son équivalent iranien (ou plutôt l'équivalent de son homonyme sémitique). Mais, dans ce cas, c'est au terme vieux-perse : *aθanga-* qu'ils aurait recouru, plutôt qu'à celui des autres dialectes.

le rapprochement avec gr. *γάνυμαι* " se réjouir ". Le détail morphologique et phonétique s'expliquera comme suit. On a affaire à une racine **gā-w-* qui fournit, d'une part, un verbe à suffixe dental, de l'autre un verbe à infixe nasal. Le premier est représenté dans lat. *gaudeo*, gr. *γηθέω*, tokh. A B *kāt-k*.[1] Du second, seul le moyen était connu : **gə-n-u-* > gr. *γάνυμαι*. L'iranien nous restitue l'actif, qui devait être (au singulier) **gə-n-éu-*, d'où provient, avec syncope de *ə* prétonique comme dans av. **ptā* " père ", ir. **šnau-*, etc., représenté par av. *xšnau-*, pers. *xušnūd* etc.

3. skr. *várpas-*, skr. *rūpá-*.

Dans le skr. *várpas-* " ruse, stratagème ; forme extérieure " sont confondus, selon Walde-Pokorny, p. 276, deux mots distincts. L'étymologie donnée par Schrader, *KZ* 30, p. 481 et Wood, *IF* 18, p. 13 sq., et reproduite par W.-P., ibid., ne fait état que du premier sens : on suppose une évolution sémantique à partir d'une signification " Krümmung, Winkelzug " et l'on rapproche gr. *ῥάπτω* "coudre ensemble ", *ῥέπω* " se pencher, s'incliner ", alb. *vrap* " allure rapide " et lit. *verpiù* " filer ". C'est par soi-même peu convaincant, et cela laisse intact le problème posé par le second sens, " forme extérieure," qu'il s'agisse ou non d'un mot distinct.

On est en mesure, depuis les découvertes tokhariennes et hittites, de fournir une explication plus satisfaisante et qui est complète. Le tokharien possède en effet (en agni comme en koutchéen) le verbe *warp* " enclore ", que M. Benveniste, *Tokharien et indo-européen* (*Festschrift Hirt*), p. 235, a rapproché de hitt. *warpa tiya* " envelopper " et d'av. *varəp-*.[1] Le terme skr. *várpas-* au sens de " forme extérieure " prend place tout naturellement à côté du terme iranien, d'autant mieux que la même racine, sans l'élargissement *-p-*, donne notoirement au sanskrit un autre terme, *varṇa-*, qui désigne l'enveloppe, la forme extérieure, l'apparence, la couleur etc."

Quant au sens de " ruse, stratagème ", il est inutile de poser pour lui un mot distinct, avec une étymologie propre (qui serait celle que cite W.-P.), puisque ce sens ce déduit aisément de celui de " forme

[1] Avec traitement *ā* d'une ancienne diphtongue à premier élément long, comme dans A B *kāk* " appeler, hurler " en face de B *śauk* " id.", lit. *kaukiù* (étymologie de M. Van Windekens, *Mémoire inédit*), ou dans B *yśāmna* " chez les hommes " etc. en face de *śaumo* " homme ". Cela dispense de poser, pour le seul tokharien, une forme aberrante **gā-dh*, comme le fait Van W., *De indoeuropeesche Bestanddeelen* . . . Louvain, 1940, p. 22.

extérieure, apparence" : il n'est que de songer, pour trouver des parallèles à une telle évolution sémantique, aux verbes hébr. בגד et מעל "tromper" en face des noms בגד et מעיל "vêtement", et aux divers sens de la racine *lbs* en arabe : "se vêtir ; dissimuler, altérer, rendre une chose confuse pour quelqu'un," cf. J. L. Palache, "Over Beteekenisverandering der Woorden in het Hebreeuwsch en Andere Talen," tirage à part des *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Genootschap voor de Joodsche Wetenschap in Nederland*, vi, p. 21.[1]

En donnant l'étymologie de *várpas-* "forme extérieure", on fournit du même coup celle d'un terme qui en a depuis longtemps, à bon droit, été rapproché, skr. *rūpá-* "forme extérieure, beauté, etc."

Ce mot est cité par Brugmann, *Grundriss* [2], i, p. 260, comme exemple du traitement de **wr̥̄* initial. A vrai dire, aucun des faits allégués n'est sûr : v. isl. *þruðr* "force", rapproché de lit. *tvírtas*, est expliqué autrement chez W.-P.; d'après Noreen, *Laut.*, p. 216, par **trew* "prospérer" ; m. h. a. *rūte* "carré" < **qʷtrū-tā* (cf. **qʷtwr̥̄-* dans gr. τετρώκοντα, lat. *quadrāginta*) est une étymologie douteuse, non retenue par W.-P. ; **swekrū* de **swekwr̥̄* est lui-même hypothétique ; lit. *klúpoti* "s'agenouiller" est d'une racine qui n'offre nulle part trace de *l̥̄* (cf. W.-P., p. 473). Et il y a des exemples contraires, cités par Brugmann comme tels.

Par conséquent, il est téméraire de rapporter *rūpá-* à un **wr̥̄p-*, d'autant plus que la racine *wer* d'où dérive le synonyme *várpas-* qu'on vient de voir n'offre nulle trace d'un élargissement par **ə* : **wer-ə-*, **wr̥̄-*. En revanche, le suffixe en *u* est bien attesté : skr. *vṛṇóti*, av. *vərənavaiti*, skr. *varútra-* "housse" (gramm.), *varūtár-várūtha-*, gr. ῥῦμα "protection" hom. ῥύσθαι "protéger, sauver etc." Dès lors, on peut se demander si *rūpá-*, au lieu de représenter un **wr̥̄p-*, ne reposerait pas plutôt sur **wr̥w-p-*. Ceci devait donner régulièrement, conformément au traitement *ru*, *lu* de **wr̥*, **wl̥*, qui est aussi bien attesté que l'est mal celui de **wr̥̄*, **wl̥̄* (cf. Brugmann, ibid.), une forme **ruw-p-*, qui rendrait bien compte de *rūpá-*.

4. av. *raēθ-* "mourir".

Pour expliquer av. *raēθ-* "mourir" et ses correspondants, W.-P., p. *401, a posé une racine **leit(h)*. Mais, la variante en **-th-* ne repose, nous allons le montrer, sur aucune forme réelle. Le tokharien B *lait*

[1] M. Benveniste annonce qu'il reviendra ailleurs sur ce mot.

[2] Article que m'a fait connaître M. J. H. Kramers, qui a eu l'obligeance d'en demander pour moi une copie à l'auteur.

" passer, trépasser, transmigrer ", A *let* " fortgehen, herabfallen ", (étymologie de M. Van Windekens, *Mémoire inédit*) est à cet égard dans le cas de v. norr. *līða* " aller, disparaître, périr etc.", all. *leiden* et *leiten*, v. norr. *liðinn* " Tot ", *lēiði* " Grabstätte ", v.h.a. *leita, leitī* " funus, exequiae " m.h.a. *bileite* " enterrement " et des autres formes germaniques.

L'avestique *raēθ-*, seul, paraît impliquer une ancienne aspirée. Or, ce n'est qu'une apparence. En effet, examinons successivement toutes les formes de ce verbe, nous n'en trouverons aucune où *θ* ne puisse être regardé comme secondaire.

Le verbe n'a pas de présent radical, mais seulement un thème *iriθya-*, où un ancien **t* devait donner *θ* devant *y* ; les formes de participe parfait *irīriθušąm* et *irīriθušō* ne prouvent pas plus que v. p. *gāθum* etc. l'existence d'un ancien **th*: elles sont analogiques de cas comme nom. sg. **irīriθwąs-* qui comportaient le traitement régulier de **-tw-* devant voyelle ; *irista* est ambigu ; il reste en tout et pour tout la pseudo-forme *irīriθāne*, p. 35, qui est deux fois fautive en face de ce qu'on lit un peu plus haut, p. 24 : *irīritānahe*. Bartholomae a corrigé la finale *-ne* en *-nahe* ; il faut également substituer au *θ* le *t* de la forme qui est a priori, puisque sa désinence est correcte, la meilleure.

En conséquence, il faut poser un avestique *raēt-*, donc un indo-européen **leit*.

Accessoirement, rien n'empêche plus, au point de vue phonétique, de rattacher ici les mots grecs λοίτη "τάφος", λοιτεύεν· θάπτεν Hés. Mais c'est une autre question, d'ordre sémantique, que de savoir si ces significations se rattachent directement à celles de v. norr. *lēiði* " Grabstätte ", etc., ou seulement à l'acception générale d'all. *leiten*.

5. av. *°nakaθwa-*.

Ce mot ne figure qu'en second terme du nom propre *tīrō. nakaθwa-*. Bartolomae, *Altir. Wb.*, a remarqué sa ressemblance avec skr. *nakṣatra-* " astre " mais sans l'étudier plus avant. Or, cette remarque tire son intérêt du fait que *tīrō* est précisément un nom d'astre, attesté par ailleurs en ir. sous les formes *tīr*, etc., cf. A. Götze, *KZ.* 51, p. 146 sq.[1] Notre composé se comprend littéralement " ayant Tir pour astre " (c'est-à-dire " né sous le signe de Tir, placé sous l'invocation de Tir ").

[1] Sans doute, M. Götze n'a pas réfuté la remarque de Nöldeke, *Persische Stud.*, i, p. 417 sq., selon laquelle le nom *Tīr* n'aurait jamais été appliqué à une planète (Mercure) s'il avait auparavant désigné une étoile. Mais le fait est qu'il a été confondu avec *Tištrya-* " Sirius ".

Au point de vue de la forme, *nakṣatra-* et *nakaθwa-* ne sont évidemment pas superposables. Mais ils ont une partie commune, la syllabe *nak-*, qui justement se retrouve dans le seul mot auquel on puisse faire appel pour tenter, avec une chance nouvelle, l'étymologie de l'énigmatique *nakṣatra-*, à savoir skr. *nāka-* " voûte céleste ".[1] Les noms indien et iranien de l' " astre " dériveraient indépendamment, en tant que les " célestes " d'un ancien indo-ir. **nak-* " ciel ". Cette hypothèse semble corroborée par un fait tokharien, sur lequel elle est de nature à jeter auparavant quelque lumière.

Pour traduire skr. *deva-* " dieu ", le tokharien se sert du mot B *näkte* A *ñkät, ñäkt*. Puisque *deva-* signifie littéralement " céleste ", ce n'est peut-être pas par hasard que l'on accole à ce terme, en dehors du nom du Buddha- (B *pud-*, A *pta-*), ceux de deux astres. Cela se produit dans les expressions B *meṃñäkte* (= *mañ ñkät*) " dieu-Lune (ou astre-Lune ?) " et B *kauṃñäkte* " dieu-jour, dieu-soleil (ou astre soleil ?) ".

L'hypothèse d'un emprunt à l'indien ou à l'iranien est exclue par le *ñ*, dont la palatalisation garantit un ancien *e*.[2]

On serait donc en présence, finalement, d'une racine **neq* " ciel, voûte céleste " limitée — jusqu'à plus ample informé — à l'indo-iranien et au tokharien. Le fait, loin d'être isolé, prendrait place au côté des quatre de même espèce que j'étudie ailleurs.[3]

Le suffixe tokharien, en *t*, serait particulièrement comparable à l'initiale au moins du suffixe iranien **tva-*.

[1] Les nombreux essais — tant indigènes qu'européens — d'étymologie de *nakṣatra-* sont rappelés par Macdonell-Keith, *Vedic Index*, s.v. Le moins invraisemblable est celui par **nak-kṣatra-* " régnant sur la nuit ". Aucun ne fait usage de skr. *nāka-*.

[2] Du même coup est exclu aussi l'emprunt à gr. *ἄνακτ-*, auquel avait songé Schrader-Nehring, *Reallexikon der idg. Altertumsk.*², i, p. 406, dans la seule tentative qui ait été faite de donner l'étymologie du terme tokharien. Outre la palatalisation de *ñ*, elle n'expliquait pas la chute d' *a-*, et enfin le fait d'un emprunt grec en tokharien était — et serait encore — unique en son genre.

[3] Dans mes *Tocharica*, § 125 à 129.

Recherches sur l'étymologie des deux dialectes tokhariens

Par A. J. van Windekens

La découverte du tokharien en Asie Centrale à la fin du siècle précédent était une grande surprise pour les indo-européenistes. Dès lors, on pouvait s'attendre à une élaboration grammaticale rapide des textes trouvés, élaboration, qui aurait indiqué en même temps la position de cette langue dans la famille i.-e.

Cependant, il n'en est rien : seulement en 1931, E. Sieg, W. Siegling, et W. Schulze publièrent leur *Tocharische Grammatik*,[1] où se trouvent étudiés les fragments du dialecte A. Du dialecte B, il n'y a pas même une grammaire descriptive : tout ce que nous en possédons, c'est le recueil de quelques textes, publié par S. Lévi en 1933.[2] D'autres manuscrits de cette branche tokh., qui se trouvent à Paris, Berlin, Tokio, restent inédits jusqu'à présent.

De même que pour la publication des textes et l'étude grammaticale descriptive, le progrès était extrêmement lent, les recherches sur la grammaire comparée du tokh. ont connu une certaine fatalité : le décès de l'illustre linguiste A. Meillet, qui avait déjà esquissé un travail comparatif du tokh., les a interrompues pour longtemps. Aussi pensons-nous avoir rendu un service assez important aux études tokh. comparées en publiant notre mémoire : *De Indo-Europeesche bestanddeelen in de Tocharische declinatie*,[3] où nous avons passé en revue les désinences casuelles du tokh., dans ses deux dialectes A et B.[4] Dans une introduction (pp. 10–70) nous avons donné une esquisse des conditions phonétiques. De nombreux thèmes y ont été analysés, et de beaucoup nous avons indiqué l'origine i.-e. Quoique cet essai soit incomplet par le fait, que nous n'avons pu y utiliser les formes des textes non publiés, il contient le résultat de notre enquête comparative au sujet de tous les fragments connus. Il nous a servi de base pour l'étude, que nous présentons ici, et dans laquelle nous

[1] Göttingen, 518 pp.

[2] *Fragments de textes koutchéens*, Paris, 161 pp.

[3] Nrs. 21–2 de *Philologische Studiën, Tijdschrift voor classieke Philologie, Teksten en Verhandelingen*, Louvain (rue de la brabançonne, 88), 1940, xv + 159 pp.

[4] Nous nous abstenons de toute discussion au sujet des appellations de tokharien, koutchéen, agni, etc. L'emploi, que nous faisons des termes : tokharien, dialecte A, dialecte B, est donc purement conventionnel.

nous sommes efforcé également de prouver l'origine i.-e. de plusieurs mots tokh. Nous renvoyons donc constamment à notre travail (abréviation : *Toch. decl.*).

1. A. **yask-*, B. *yask-* " mendier " (§ 83, p. 48) [1]

Le thème **yask-* se trouve en A dans la forme *yāṣṣuce* " mendiant ", qui correspond à B. *yaṣṣūca*.

Tâchons d'identifier le thème, tel qu'il s'observe dans *yask-*. Nous y reconnaissons immédiatement i.-e. *i̯ek-* " parler " (*WP.*, i, pp. 204–5 [2]) : v.-h.-all. *jëhan* " dire, parler ", all. *Beichte* " confession ", lat. *jocus* " plaisanterie ", ombr. *juka, juku* (pl.) " discours solennel, prière ".

Pas de difficultés pour le sens. Il n'y en a non plus pour la concordance phonétique : tokh. *y* représente i.-e. *i̯* (*Toch. decl.*, § 79, p. 39) ; tokh. *a* = i.-e. *e* (*ibidem*, § 39, p. 27) ou *o* (*ibidem*, § 33, p. 24). La gutturale a disparu, sans doute par dissimilation (*ibidem*, § 150, pp. 69–70) avec celle, que renferme le suffixe verbal *-sk-*, comme c'est aussi le cas pour A. *trisk-* " résonner ", qui est apparenté à gr. τριγμός " cri aigu ", et pour B. *wesk-* " dire, parler ", qui ne peut être séparé de gr. ἔπος, lat. *vox*. skr. *vácas-*, etc.

En ce qui concerne les formes A. *yāṣṣuce*, B. *yaṣṣūca*, nous nous contentons d'en expliquer les changements dans le thème lui-même. En A, la voyelle apparaît comme *ā*, qui remonte vraisemblablement à i.-e. *ē* (*Toch. decl.*, § 43, p. 28) ou *ō* (*ibidem*, § 36) du degré allongé. En B, nous trouvons *a* pour *ā* de *yāṣṣuce* : phénomène assez commun en B (*ibidem*, § 32, pp. 23–4 ; § 37, pp. 25–6).

Notons, en terminant l'étude de ce thème tokh., que *-ṣṣ-* dans A. *yāṣṣuce* et B. *yaṣṣūca* constitue l'état de palatalisation du suffixe *-sk-* (*S-S-S.*, § 494, pp. 407–8). Les suffixes A. *-uce*, B. *-ūca* nous semblent un peu bizarres. Nous n'en saurions donner une explication satisfaisante.

2. A. *yoṃ* " trace, vestige " (§ 83, p. 49)

Il s'agit dans cette forme d'un représentant d'i.-e. *ei-* " aller ", dans le degré zéro *i-* ou le degré faible *ī*. Nous trouvons ce dernier, muni de l'élargissement *-ā-*, dans skr. *yā́ti* " aller, rouler ", av. *yā'ti*

[1] Les paragraphes et les pages, qui se trouvent auprès des formes étudiées en titre, renvoient à la *Tocharische Grammatik* (cf. *supra*) (abréviation : *S-S-S.*).

[2] A. Walde, J. Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1927–1932 (abréviation : *WP.*).

" idem ", skr. *yāna-* " route, véhicule ", lit. *jóju, jóti*, let. *jâju, jat* " rouler ", v.-sl. *jadą, jachati* " idem " (*WP.*, i, p. 104).

En fait, tokh. *yoṃ* correspond à i.-e. *iā-* : *y* = i.-e. *i̯* (cf. 1, A. **yask-*, B. *yask-* " mendier ") ; *o* = i.-e. *ā* (*Toch. decl.*, § 31, p. 23).

La finale *-ṃ* rend i.-e. *-n* (+ éléments syllabiques en finale, tombés par l'accent, cf. *Toch. decl.*, § 16, pp. 11–12) (*ibidem*, § 92, p. 45) ; cf. skr. *yāna-* " route, véhicule ".

Quant à l'évolution sémantique, que l'on y compare gr. ἴχνος, ἴχνιον vis-à-vis du même thème verbal (*e*)*i-* " aller " (*WP.*, i, p. 104), ou av. *paδa-*, arm. *het*, lit. *pėdà*, qui expriment la même idée, vis-à-vis d'i.-e. *ped-/pod-* " pied, *marcher* " (*WP.*, ii, p. 24).

3. A. *yçalm-* (§ 58, p. 34), B. *yçelme* " amour, plaisir sensuel " [1]

Dans *yç-* nous voyons i.-e. *i̯agh-* " souhaiter, désirer, poursuivre ". Ce sens général se rencontre dans B. *yçelmetstse* " désireux, souhaitant ", qui dérive du substantif *yçelme*, dont, comme dans A. *yçalm-* (p. ex. nom. pl. *yçalmañ*, cf. *S-S-S.*, § 44 *d*, p. 25) le sens est un peu spécialisé : cf. i.-e. *u̯en-* " souhaiter, désirer, *aimer, être content* ", dans skr. *vánati* " souhaiter, *aimer* ", lat. venus " *amour, plaisir sensuel* " (*WP.*, i, pp. 258–260).

I.-e, *i̯agh-* est représenté dans v.-h.-all. *jagōn* " chasser, poursuivre ", skr. *yahu-, yahva-* " faisant des mouvements sans relâche ", *pra-yakṣati* " désirer, poursuivre ", gr. ἱχανάω " désirer ", etc. (*WP.*, i, pp. 195–6).

Tokh. *y* = i.-e. *i̯* (cf. 1, A. **yask-*, B. *yask-* " mendier ", 2, A. *yoṃ* " trace, vestige ") ; i.-e. *a* a disparu en syllabe ouverte, après avoir passé en *ā* (*Toch. decl.*, § 29, p. 22 ; § 21, pp. 16–18) ; tokh. *ç* rend i.-e. *gh* devant *e* (cf. B. *yçelme*), qui en A est déjà devenu *a*, comme il arrive souvent (cf. 1, A. **yask-*, B. *yask-* " mendier "). Ce traitement *ç* d'i.-e. *gh* est normal (*Toch. decl.*, § 123, p. 59 ; § 129, p. 60).

Le suffixe *-m*(*e*) remonte à i.-e. *me/o* (*ibidem*, § 99, pp. 49–50) ; *-e* y est secondaire (*ibidem*, §§ 159–162, pp. 75–7) ; *-el-* (A. *-al-*), dont nous avons déjà expliqué la voyelle, rend i.-e. *-el-* (*ibidem*, § 102, p. 51).

Il faut donc reconstruire pour les formes tokh. : i.-e. *i̯aghelme/o*.

4. A. *rape* " musique " (§ 3, p. 2)

Il y avait en i.-e. le verbe *rebh-* " se mouvoir, jouer " : irl. *reb* " jeu ", *rebrad* " jeu d'enfants ", *rebaigim* " jouer ", all. (Suisse)

[1] S. Lévi, *Fragments de textes koutchéens*, p. 160.

räbeln " être furieux ", m.-h.-all. *reben* " rêver, être confus ", etc. (*WP.*, ii, p. 370), qui nous semble être l'origine de A. *rape* " musique ".

Au point de vue de la sémantique, il n'y a aucun obstacle qui empêche de rattacher la forme tokh. à i.-e. *rebh-*. En plus, le traitement en tokh. des différents sons de ce thème, est normal : tokh. *r* = i.-e. *r* (*Toch. decl.*, § 101, p. 51) ; tokh. *a* = i.-e. *e* (cf. 1, A. **yask-*, B. *yask-* " mendier ", 3, A. *yçalm-*, B. *yçelme* " amour, plaisir sensuel ") ; tokh. *p* > i.-e. *bh.* (*Toch. decl.*, § 108, p. 53) ; pour *-e* en finale, cf. 3, A. *yçalm-*, B. *yçelme* " amour, plaisir sensuel ".

5. A. *lyäm* " lac " (§ 83, p. 50)

Ce substantif continue i.-e. *lei-* " verser, couler " : v.-sl. *lbją* " verser, goutter ", lit. *lėju, lėti* " idem ", alb. *l'um, l'ume* " courant ", cymr. *lliant* " fleuve, mer ", etc. (*WP.*, ii, p. 392).

Le degré fort s'aperçoit dans A. *lewaṃ* " humide " (*S-S-S.*, § 67, p. 37), dont *l* = i.-e. *l* (cf 3, A. *yçalm-*, B. *yçelme* " amour, plaisir sensuel "), et *e* = i.-e. *ei* (*Toch. decl.*, § 53, p. 31) ou *oi* (*ibidem*, §§ 53–5, p. 31). Le degré zéro ou faible apparaît dans A. *lyi* (*S-S-S.*, § 67, p. 37), qui a le même sens que *lewaṃ* et aussi dans *lyäm* " mer ", dont l'évolution sémantique correspond parfaitement à celle que nous trouvons dans alb. *l'um, l'ume* " courant ", cymr. *lliant* " fleuve, mer ", etc. (cf. *supra*) : i.-e. *i* (*ī*) devant voyelle, s'y rend par *y* (*Toch. decl.*, § 45, p. 29). Le suffixe *-äm* rappelle celui de gr. λειμών " endroit humide, prairie ", de lat. *limus* " boue, limon ", d'alb. *l'um, l'ume* " courant ", etc. En effet, i.-e. *m* (+ autres éléments) en finale se rend par tokh. *-m* (cf. A. *yçalm-*, B. *yçelme* " amour, plaisir sensuel "). La voyelle *ä* y joue son rôle caractéristique : elle y forme une syllabe (*Toch. decl.*, § 21, pp. 16–17).

6. A. *war* (§ 83, p. 50), B. *were* " odeur " [1]

Nous sommes d'avis que ces mots tokh. remontent à i.-e. *u̯er-* " faire attention à, regarder " : gr. ἐπὶ ὄρυνται (3 pl.) " viser " (Hés.), lat. *vereor* " respecter, honorer ", got. *war(s)* " prudent ", v.-h.-all. *bewarōn* " conserver ", etc. (*WP.*, i, pp. 284–5).

Le thème verbal i.-e. *bheudh-* " faire attention à, remarquer ", a connu la même évolution de sens en parthe et en sace : parthe *bwy* " odeur ", *χwmbwy* " odorant ", *bwd'c'r* " parfum ".[2] Il y a

[1] *Ibidem*, p. 155.

[2] A. Ghilain, *Essai sur la langue parthe. Son système verbal d'après les textes manichéens du Turkestan Oriental*, Louvain, 1939, p. 65.

ensuite le sace *būd-* "sentir", *buçça* "odeur", *busa* "idem".[1] Mentionnons aussi l'arménien, qui possède *boyr* "odeur".

L'explication phonétique de A. *war*, B. *were* vis-à-vis d'i.-e. *χer-* est assez facile : tokh. *w* i.-e. *u̯* (*Toch. decl.*, § 81, p. 40) ; tokh. *r* > i.-e. *r* (cf. 4, A. *rape* "musique") ; A. *a*, B. *e* > i.-e. *e* (cf. 3, A. *yçalm-*, B. *yçelme* "amour, plaisir sensuel", 4, A. *rape* "musique").

Le dialecte A paraît avoir eu un autre représentant encore du même prototype i.-e., notamment *wār-* "s'éveiller" (*S-S-S.*, p. 468), qui ne se trouve qu'au parfait : de là l'allongement, qui est un procédé i.-e. (*Toch. decl.*, § 73, p. 37).

7. A. *wärce* "faible, ayant besoin de" (§ 82, p. 48).

En i.-e., il y avait le thème verbal *eu-* "avoir besoin de, vide" : skr. *ūná-* "ne pas suffisant, vide", av. *ūna-* "idem", arm. *unain* "vide", lat. *vānus* "vide, vain", etc. (*WP.*, i, pp. 108–9).

Dans la forme tokh., *w* correspond au degré zéro *u* (*Toch. decl.*, § 48, p. 30) ou *ū* du degré faible (*ibidem*, § 50, p. 30). Cependant, il se peut bien, que *w* rend i.-e. *eu* ou *ou*, à en juger d'après A. *wärts*, qui est l'équivalent de B. *aurtse* "large" (gr. *εὐρύς*, skr. *urú-* "idem"), et d'après B. *auṣpa* "plus", qui revêt en A la forme *waṣpā* (*Toch. decl.*, § 226, p. 107).

Quant à (*w*)*ärce* : *ä* = i.-e. *a* (*ibidem*, § 29, p. 22), *o* (*ibidem*, § 35, p. 25), *e* (*ibidem*, § 40, p. 27) ; pour *r*, cf. 4, A. *rape* "musique", 6, A. *war*, B. *were* "odeur" ; tokh. *c* rend i.-e. *t* (*ibidem*, § 114, p. 55) ou *d* palatalisés (*ibidem*, § 113, p. 56) devant *-e*, qui est secondaire (cf. 3, A. *yçalm-*, B. *yçelme* "amour, plaisir sensuel", 4, A. *rape* "musique", 6, A. *war*, B. *were* "odeur"). On doit donc reconstruire pour le suffixe : i.-e. *a/o/ert-* ou *a/o/erd-*.

8. A. *wsok* "gai" (§ 51 *c*, p. 30), B. *wāṣmo* "ami, amical"[2]

Nous croyons y voir i.-e. *u̯es-* "manger, se réjouir, être gai" : got. *waila wisan* "manger, se réjouir", *gawizneigs* "participant à la joie de", v.-pruss. *wessals* "gai", v.-sl. *veselŏ* "idem" (*WP.*, i, pp. 307–8).

Pas de doute donc pour l'accord sémantique. Et voici l'explication phonétique : dans A. *wsok*, i.-e. *e* a disparu, après avoir passé en *ä* (*Toch. decl.*, § 40, p. 27 ; § 21, pp. 17–18) ; *s* = i.-e. *s* (*ibidem*,

[1] Sten Konow, *Saka Studies*, *Oslo Etnografiske Museum Bulletin* 5, Oslo, 1932, pp. 127–8.

[2] S. Lévi, *Fragments de textes koutchéens*, p. 154.

§ 87, p. 43). Dans le suffix *-ok*, *o* peut représenter i.-e. *o* (*ibidem*, § 33, p. 24) ou une diphtongue en *-u* (*ibidem*, §§ 56–62, pp. 32–3), tandis que *k* remonte à une gutturale non palatalisée (*ibidem*, §§ 117–137, pp. 57–62). Dans la forme *wāṣmo* du dialecte B, il y a un autre vocalisme, notamment *ā*, qui continue i.-e. *ē* ou *ō* (cf. A. **yask-*, B. *yask-* "mendier") du degré allongé. Nous y trouvons aussi *waṣmo*, où *ā* est devenu *a* (*ibidem*). Notons toutefois que l'allongement doit peut-être être attribué à la compensation, causée par la chute entière ou partielle de la syllabe finale (*Toch. decl.*, § 16, p. 12).

Le suffixe *-ṣmo* se trouve aussi comme *-ṣamo* dans *waṣamo* : *ṣ* = i.-e. *s* palatalisé devant *e* (*ibidem*, § 88, p. 43), qui a passé en *a* dans *waṣamo* (cf. 3, A. *yçalm-*, B. *yçelme* "amour, plaisir sensuel", 4, A. *rape* "musique", 6, A. *war*, B. *were* "odeur") et qui a disparu dans *wāṣmo* (*waṣmo*) (cf. *supra wsok*). Pour *-m-*, cf. 3, A. *yçalm-*, B. *yçelme* "amour, plaisir sensuel", 5, A. *lyäm* "lac"). La finale *-o* est secondaire, tout comme *-e*, que nous avons rencontré dans plusieurs d'entre les formes étudiées (*Toch. decl.*, §§ 159–162, pp. 75–7).

9. A. *çur-* "avoir soin de, s'intéresser à" (p. 471)

Nous croyons avoir affaire ici à i.-e. *qeu-* "faire attention à, examiner, sentir" : skr. *kaví-* "sage, rusé", gr. κοέω "remarquer", lat. *caveo* "prendre garde", got. *hausjan* "entendre", etc. (*WP.*, i, pp. 368–370).

La forme tokh. remonte au degré fort normal *qeu-* : car *ç* = i.-e. *q* devant *e* (*Toch. decl.*, § 132, p. 61) ; *e* a disparu, sous l'influence de l'accent, comme dans B. *sintāp* > skr. *sāindhava-*, la diphtongue *āi* est devenue *i* (*ibidem*, § 16, p. 14). Cette mutilation, qui s'est produite naturellement au moment où les diphtongues en question n'étaient pas encore contractées en *o* (*eu*) (*ibidem*, §§ 56–62, pp. 32–3) ou *e* (*āi*) (*ibidem*, §§ 53–5, p. 31, ; § 59, p. 32) (parlé théoriquement pour cette dernière, puisqu'il s'agit d'une forme du dialecte B) dans le dialecte A, se comprend aisément pour notre cas, lorsqu'on considère les formes du thème *çur-*, où la diphtongue se trouvait dans la syllabe antipénultième : il y a *çuratār*, *çural*, *çurām*. La première *çuratār* (3 sg. med.-pass. ind. prés.) remonte à une forme à trois syllabes, car *-tār* correspond à thr.-phryg. *-τορ*, lat. *-tur*, etc. ; dans *çural* et *çurām* la syllabe finale est tombée : *ā* (compensation, cf. *Toch. decl.*, § 16, p. 12) l'atteste dans *çurām* "soin", tandis que l'adjectif verbal *çural* a naturellement comme origine i.-e. *-le/o-*. Enfin *r* = i.-e. *r* (cf. 4, *rape*

" musique ", 6, A. *war*, B. *were* " odeur ", 7, A. *wärce* " faible, ayant besoin de ").

10. A. *sākär* " éminent, le meilleur, digne " (§ 14, p. 10) [1]

S-S-S. (p. 476) sont d'avis que A. *sākär* (= skr. *bhadra*) est un dérivé du verbe A. *sāk-* " rester, rester en arrière ". Nous avouons humblement que nous ne savons comprendre l'évidence de cette théorie, qui d'ailleurs est proposée sans aucun argument. Mieux vaudrait de rattacher A. *sākär* à lat. *sacer* " dédié à un dieu, saint ", fal. *sacru(m)*, osq. *σακορο* " idem ", germ. *sah-* " conclure un traité " (*WP.*, ii, p. 448). Il n'y a donc pas de difficultés sémantiques ni phonétiques, comme nous le prouverons de suite : *s* = i.-e. *s* (cf. 8, A. *wsok* " gain ", B. *wāṣmo* " ami, amical ") ; *k* remonte à la gutturale *k̂* (*ibidem*, § 117, p. 57) ou *q* (*ibidem*, § 125, p. 59) ; *ā* apparaît en syllabe fermée, comme dans A. *lyām* (cf. 5, A. *lyām* " lac ") ; *r* = i.-e. *r* (cf. 4, A. *rape* " musique ", 6, A. *war*, B. *were* " odeur ", 7, A. *wärce* " faible, ayant besoin de ", 9, A. *çur-* " avoir soin de, s'intéresser à "). Le type originel était donc i.-e. *sakre/o*, dont la syllabe finale a disparu en tokh., tout comme dans B. *aikare*, *aikre*, A. *ekro* " malade ", le même mot que lat. *aeger* (*Toch. decl.*, § 54, p. 31) (*-e* et *-o* sont secondaires, cf. *Toch. decl.*, §§ 159–162, pp. 75–7). Enfin *ā* résulte de la compensation (*ibidem*, § 16, p. 12).

11. A. *nut-*, B. *naut-* " périr " (p. 446)

En i.-e. le thème *nāu* : *nəu-* avait un double sens : " mort, cadavre ", et " harceler, faire périr ", cf. lit. *nõvyti* " idem ", let. *náwét* " tuer ", v.-sl. *naviti* " fatiguer ", *navb* " cadavre ", got. *naus* " idem ", *naups* " danger, contrainte ", v.-h.-all. *nōt* " danger, tristesse " (*WP.*, ii, p. 316).

En tokh. il y a d'abord A. *nut-*, B. *naut-* " périr ", dont la forme du dialecte A. *nut-* représente le degré faible *ū* (*Toch. decl.*, § 50, p. 30) ou le degré zéro *u* (*ibidem*, § 48, p. 30), et dont B. *naut-* rend le degré fort *āu* (*ibidem*, § 62, p. 63) ; *n* = i.-e. *n* (*ibidem*, § 91, p. 45) ; *t* rappelle la dentale i.-e. de got. *naups* et de v.-h.-all. *nōt* (*ibidem*, § 110, p. 55 ; § 112, pp. 55–6).

En second lieu il y a A. *nwām* " malade " (*S-S-S.*, § 83, p. 50) à degré faible ou zéro (cf. *supra*) *-w* devant voyelle (cf. 7, A. *wärce* " faible, ayant besoin de ", 8, A. *wsok* " gai ", B. *wāṣmo* " ami,

[1] Skr. *bhadra*.

amical"). Pour *-m* du suffixe, cf. 3, A. *yçalm-*, B. *yçelme* "amour, plaisir sensuel", 5, A. *lyām* "lac"; *ā* est peut-être le résultat de l'allongement (cf. 8, A. *wsok* "gai", B. *wāṣmo* "ami, amical").

12. A. *mkālto* "petit, jeune" (§ 68, p. 38)

Se basant sur lit. *móžis* "petite chose", *mãžas* "petit", *mãžinti* "rendre petit", alb. *móδule* "petit pois", *WP.* (ii, p. 228) reconstruisent i.-e. *maĝ(h)-*, ou *māĝ(h)-* "petit".

La forme tokh. appartient à la même famille: *m* rend i.-e. *m* (*Toch. decl.*, § 98, p. 49); i.-e. *a* est devenu *ā* et est tombé en syllabe ouverte (cf. 3, A. *yçalm-*, B. *yçelme* "amour, plaisir sensuel"); *k* représente i.-e. *ĝ* (*Toch. decl.*, § 119, p. 58) ou *ĝh* (*ibidem*, § 121, p. 58).

Dans le suffixe *-lto*, *l* remonte à i.-e. *l* (cf. 3, *yçalm-*, B. *yçelme* "amour, plaisir sensuel", 5, A. *lyām* "lac"); *t* = i.-e. *t* (*Toch. decl.*, § 110, p. 55), *d* (*ibidem*, § 112, pp. 55–6), *dh* (*ibidem*, § 114, p. 56); pour *-o*, cf. 8, A. *wsok* "gai", B. *wāṣmo* "ami, amical".

En ce qui concerne *ā*, cf. 5, A. *lyām* "lac", 10, A. *sākār* "éminent, le meilleur, digne".

13. A. *mrāc* (§ 83, p. 49), B. *mrāc* "tête" [1]

Gr. βρεχμός, βρέχμα "front, crâne", ags. *brœgn*, *brœgen* "cerveau, cervelle", indiquent i.-e. *mre* + élargissement en gutturale-nasale (*WP.*, ii, p. 314). Tokh. *mrāc* rappelle certainement i.-e. *mre-* (pour *m* = i.-e. *m*, cf. 12, A. *mkālto* "petit, jeune"; pour *r* = i.-e. *r*, cf. e.a. 4, A. *rape* "musique", 6, A. *war*, B. *were* "odeur", etc.; *ā* constitue l'allongement dû à la compensation, cf. 8, A. *wsok* "gai", B. *wāṣmo* "ami, amical", 11, A. *nut-*, B. *naut-* "périr"). Seulement, le suffixe *-c* ne peut représenter i.-e. *gh*: il n'y a que *t* (*Toch. decl.*, § 111, p. 55), *d* (*ibidem*, § 113, p. 56), *k̂* (*ibidem*, § 118, p. 57), *q* (*ibidem*, § 126, p. 59) palatalisés, qui se rendent par *c*. Dans les éléments de la finale, tombés par l'accent, il y avait donc *e* ou *i* comme initiale (*ibidem*, § 16, pp. 11–12, § 146, pp. 67–8).

La forme tokh. originelle avait donc une dentale (*t*, *d*) ou une gutturale (*k̂*, *q*) comme élargissement; *m* des autres langues ne s'y aperçoit pas.

[1] E. Leumann, "Über eine unbekannte Literatursprache Mittelasiens," *Mémoires de l'académie impériale de St. Petersbourg*, VIII série, "classe historico-philologique," Tome IV, Nr. 8, 28 p. La forme *mrācne* (locatif) se trouve 64 *e*, p. 16.

14. A. *mrosk-*, B. *mrausk-* " renoncer au monde, en avoir un dégoût " (pp. 456–7)

Ce terme bouddhique n'est en réalité que la transformation sous l'influence de la pensée religieuse de l'Inde d'un thème purement i.-e., notamment *mauro-* " faible, triste ", qui se trouve dans gr. *ἀμαυρός, μαυρός,* " faible ", *ἀμαυρόω, μαυρόω* " affaiblir ", v.-nord. *meyrr* " doux ", russ. *(na)chmúritb* " avoir le regard sombre ", tch. *chmouřiti* " être triste ", etc. (*WP.*, ii, p. 223). Le sens s'est adapté donc aux idées de la doctrine bouddhique au sujet de la douleur de l'existence humaine, du renoncement aux misères de cette terre, etc.

Pour *m* = i.-e. *m*, cf. 12, A. *mkālto* " petit, jeune ", 13, A. *mrāc*, B. *mrāc* " tête " ; pour *r* = i.-e. *r*, cf. e.a. 4, A. *rape* " musique ", 8, A. *war*, B. *were* " odeur ", 10. A. *sākār* " éminent, le meilleur, digne ", etc. ; i.-e. *au* se rend en A. par *o*, en B. par *au* (*Toch. decl.*, § 58, p. 32). Signalons que la metathèse de *r* s'observe assez souvent dans les deux dialectes (*ibidem*, § 149, p. 69).

Le suffixe *-sk-* correspond naturellement à *-sk-* de l'i.-e., qui donne aux thèmes verbaux l'aspect inchoatif-itératif (cf. 1, A. **yask-*, B. *yask-* " mendier ").

Mani's Last Journey

By W. B. Henning

THE most detailed account of Mani's last days is contained in the Coptic "Narrative on the Crucifixion" (Polotsky, *Man. Hom.*, pp. 42 sqq.). As I had occasion to point out before,[1] this "Narrative" had been quoted by the Christian Jibrā'īl b. Nūḥ in his anti-Manichaean book which was still available to al-Bērūnī (*Chronology*, 208^{19-22}).

During the brief reign of King Hormizd [2] Mani went to Babylonia,[3] where he stayed until the accession of Bahram I. After some time he left Babylonia and slowly travelled down the River Tigris, visiting his communities on the way. He reached Hormizd-Ardašīr (Ahwāz, Sūq al-Ahwāz), one of the four chief towns of Susiana, from where he started on a journey to the north-eastern provinces of the Sasanian empire. But he was forbidden to go there and compelled to turn back to Susiana. From Hormizd-Ardašīr he journeyed to Mesene, thence up the River Tigris in a boat to Ctesiphon. From the capital he went to "the Pargalia", where he was joined by *Baaт*. He travelled to Kholassar, and from this town he reached Belapat, where he was destined to die. The route taken by him on the journey from Kholassar to Belapat is not known, as there is a gap in the manuscript. While the situation of "the Pargalia" remains unsettled,[4] that of Kholassar (Khalasar) [5] is well defined by a comparison of the itinerary given by Isidorus Kharacenus with the Arab geographers (journey from Ctesiphon to Holwan):—

Isidorus.[6]	*schoeni.*	*Arabs.*[7]	*fars.*
Seleucia		al-Madā'in	
		Baghdad . . .	7
		an-Nahrawān . .	4

[1] *OLZ.*, 1935, col. 224.

[2] His surname "the Brave" (MPers. *nēv*, cf. *BSOS.*, IX, p. 848, n. 3; the ideogram *ṭb* misread *ṭag* by Markwart, *Catalogue*, p. 19) has been mistranslated in the *Homilies*, 42, 18 ("the *good* king": the MPers. word has both meanings).

[3] *Man. Hom.*, 42^{26}, ^{30}: "the Assyrians." Cf. *Cephalaia*, 186^{26}, "Babylon the city of the Assyrians" = 187^{11} "the country of the Assyrians". See further Nöldeke, *Tabari*, 15, n. 3, Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité Man.*, 146, n. 1. Also Sogdian *swryk* = Babylonian, *ZDMG.*, 90, p. 16.

[4] Unconvincing Schaeder *apud* Polotsky, *Man. Hom.*, p. 44, n.

[5] Cf. Schaeder, ibid.

[6] *Stathmoi Parth.*, 2/3.

[7] To Baghdad: Ya'qubi, *k. al-buldān*, 320^{16} sq., Qudamah, 193^{15} (etc.); to Holwan: Ibn Khurdadbih, 18^{14}–19^{8}, Qudamah, 197^{17} sqq., Ibn Rustah, 163^{13} sqq.

Isidorus.	*schoeni.*	*Arabs.*	*fars.*
Artemita-Khalasar	15	دير سرما . . .	4
		Dastagerd . . .	8
End of Apolloniatis (33 sch. fr. Seleucia) . .	18	Jalūlā	7
		Khāniqīn . . .	7
		Qaṣr Šīrīn . . .	6
Khala	15	Ḥolwān . . .	5
	48		48

Since the distances given agree exactly for the whole of the journey, they are likely also to agree for any part of it. Hence Artemita [1] is to be identified with the دير سرما (بيزمه , بارما) of the Arab Geographers, half-way between Baghdad and Dastagerd. A further point is provided by the similar description of that town: διὰ μέσης δὲ ταύτης ῥεῖ ποταμὸς Σίλλα (Isidorus) = *wayaḫtariquhā nahr*^{un} *kabīr*^{un} (Ibn Rustah, 163^{18}). We owe to Isidorus the information that this Greek city of Artemita νῦν μέντοι καλεῖται χαλάσαρ.[2] It is unlikely that Mani travelled from Kholassar to Belapat (*Bēlābād, Bēth-Lāpāt* = *Jundaišābūr, Vahi-Andiok-Šāpuhr*,[3] between Susa and Šuštar) by the same way he had come, i.e. *via* Ctesiphon, the Tigris, Mesene, Ahwāz. This would have involved a considerable detour. That he preferred a more direct route, striking across the plain at the foot of the Persian hills, is suggested by the following Parthian fragment [4] (*T ii D 163*, hitherto unpublished) [5] :—

Col. A

(1)](b)wyd[

(2) hr]wyn b(r)['dr'n

[1] On H. Kiepert's map (*Formæ orbis antiqui, fol. v, Syria, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Armenia*) Artemita is placed too far to the north-east. For further information see the text accompanying his map, p. 7, col. a. The number given by Strabo (500 *stadia*), although clearly rounded off, agrees well with Isidorus. 500 *stadia* are 88·8 kilometres (55½ miles), 15 parasangs at 5,940 metres are 89·1 kilometres. The LXXI *mp.* given by the *Tab. Peut.* should be corrected in LXI *mp.* (= 90·3 kilometres = 508 *stadia*). Isidorus's schoenus is here evidently the same measure as the Arabic parasang (while in Persia proper 4 sch. equal 3 par.).

[2] In spite of this statement one might consider the Arabic name a corruption of, say (*Karkhā*) *d'Artemita* > **Dartemita* > **Dartemida* **Dartedima*. Such a form, if thought to contain *dair* " monastery ", could be spelt دير تيدما, دير تادما etc.

[3] Cf. Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, pp. 381 sq. As stated *BSOS.*, IX, 843, the name contains " Antiochus ", not " Antiochia ".

[4] A small piece from the centre part of a page. Text written in two columns. There is nothing to show the original sequence of the columns; instead of ABCD as given here it might have been CDAB.

[5] [Restorations], (damaged or doubtful letters).

(3) [. . .]sy' gw(x)['y oo ms pty]g
(4) '](w)$\underline{h}$ w'cyd kw pd $\underline{h}$w
(5) (j)m'n [kd] qy(r)[b](kr) 'c
(6) ($\underline{t}$)[y]spw[n] (š)hry(s)[t'n] 'zgd
(7) ['wš] 'd (b)'t [šh](r)d'r
(*lines missing*)

Col. B

(8) kw mrym[']ny 'w m[n w'xt ?]
(9) kwš byd pd t[
(10) 'g'm ny 'w(r) byd w'c[-
(11) 'w[
(12) hyrz'$\underline{h}$ h.[
(*lines missing*)

Col. C

(13) '](r)g'wy(ft) oo 'w
(14) [*about* 7]r 'dgd 'b'w
(15) [kd] (')ndr (gw)x'y pd bytddyy
(16) (*broken off*)
(17)]m 'b'w wjydg
(18) g](w)xy
(*lines missing*)

Col. D

(19) 'b](r)wm[y' ?
(20)]$\underline{t}$ oo 'wd[
(21) b(w)[d hym ? oo] (')wm prw'[n . .]
(22) 'bjyrw'ng 'c dw'dys
(23) 'mw(c)[g ']wd prw['n] (?w)hmn
(24) ky gr[. . .](rd)'rb[. .] br . .
(25) wyfr'[št h](y)m oo (kd) 'w$\underline{h}$

It is difficult to give a connected translation of so fragmentary a piece. "[A] .... becomes .... all the brethren [asked Mani: come[1] to] Gaukhai. [Further, Pate]cius thus relates: at that time when the Pious One (i.e. Mani) left the city of Ctesiphon and together with King Bāt ..... [B] .... that Mar Mani [said] to me: do not come[2] again with his ..... time, then tell ..... he should

[1] Some such word could perhaps be recognized in]*sy'* (if complete). Cf. *sy-* "to appear" or "come", Ghilain, p. 91. *sy'* might be 2nd sing. subj.

[2] This passage is not clear; one should have *m' 'wr*.

leave ..... [C] ..... majesty. He entered[1] [? Kholassa]r,[2] then when [he was staying] in Gaukhai in Bēth-Derāyē .... then the Elect .... Gaukhai .... [D] .... And I was ..... and I announced[3] .... in front of [several[4]] disciples[5] from among the Twelve Teachers, and in the presence of Wahman (?) who[6] ..... When thus ...."

The restoration of]*g* (line 3) into [*pty*]*g* = Patecius is supported by the text published below, where he is quoted as the authority for the events leading up to Mani's imprisonment. As the *muḥaddith* for a rather wonderful story he seems to be mentioned also *Man. Hom.*, 91[11], together with Mar Ammō (if the restitution of *πατη*[*κιος*] is possible). The latter and another of the Twelve, *'wz'y* = Copt. *"Oζεος*,[7] are responsible for the relation of the events connected with Mani's death, *Mir. Man.*, iii, p. 17, Schmidt, *Manifund*, p. 28.

The name of Ctesiphon occurs here for the first time in an Eastern Manichaean text. The spelling[8] is the same as in Pahlavi (*tyspwn*, *Šahr. Iran*, 21: see Markwart, *Catalogue*, pp. 60 sq.). "King Bāt" is of course the *Baατ*[9] of the "Narrative" who therein is mentioned three times: 44[22] (journey from Ctesiphon to Kholassar), 45[5] (from Kholassar to Belapat), and 46[13]. The latter passage indicates that Mani's relations with Bāt furnished one of the pretexts for Mani's imprisonment. Bāt, it appears, had seceded from the state religion

[1] *'dgd* (= Sogd. *tγt-*) supplies the preterite to *'dyh-* (cf. Sogd. *tyš-*), cf. *'zgd*: *'zyh-*.

[2] Very doubtful. To fill the gap it would be necessary to restore [*hwl's'*]*r*.

[3] Not clear. In proper Parthian "I announced" should be *'wm wyfr'št*, while *wyfr'št hym* should mean "I have been announced". But cf. MPers. *kēšān nibištēnd* "who wrote" (*ZII.*, ix, 241, n. 1), and similar lapses.

[4] A numeral is missing.

[5] The etymology proposed by Herzfeld, *Altpers. Iss.*, p. 53, for Parthian *'bjyrw'ng* fails to account for the final *-w'ng*, which certainly cannot be explained from *-pānak* (as Bartholomae assumed, *Zair. Wb.*, p. 165; this would be *-b'ng*). I prefer to find in *'bjyrw'ng* the middle participle of *upa/abi* + *grab* "to grasp, learn"; cf. *pdgyrw-* and (as to *g/j*) *'bg'm-*: *'bj'm-*, *hngft*: *hnjft*, etc.

[6] I have not succeeded in finding the correct restoration of the relative clause.]*rd'rb*[, of which *rd* is uncertain, suggests [*šh*]*rd'r*, or possibly [*s'*]*rd'r*, but *b* does not seem to be separated. If we restore [*šh*]*rd'r*, *gr*[would be a complete word. However, one hesitates to invent a *Gar-šahrdār* (a king of Gharchistan, or a *kōfdār*, Markwart, *Catalogue*, pp. 69 sq.). The restoration of *ky gr* [*šh*]*rd'r b*[*wd*] would not take into account the last word, which might be *br'd*. Sentences such as *ky gr šhrd'r bwd br'd* or *ky gr šhrd'r b't br'd* are grammatically unsatisfactory. One *wḫmn* appears as the addressee of one of Mani's epistles, *k. al-fihrist*, 336[23], ed. Fluegel.

[7] Allberry, *Man. Psalm-book*, 34[13]. By a coincidence *ὄζεος* is also a place-name in Coptic = OPers. *uv(a)ž(iy)a-*, Man.MPers. *hwjyg*, Syr. (*Bēth*) *Hūzāyē*, etc.

[8] A point (turning *p* into *f*) may have been lost in the Parthian fragment.

[9] The spelling suggests *b't* (or *b't*) in the Syriac original. Cf. *b't'* *ZDMG.*, xliii, p. 395[7] = *bṭ'*, ibid., 394[9], 396[9] (a bishop of Lāšom).

and joined the Manichaeans. Furthermore, Mani had been ordered to come into the presence of King Bahram in the company of Bāt, who, however, had wisely preferred to leave Mani when approaching the royal residence, Belapat. To judge by the title given to him in the Parthian fragment (*šahrdār*), Bāt must have been a sub-king and a person of some consequence. He was hardly a Persian, but possibly a Babylonian or an Armenian.[1]

No such place-name as *bytddyy* is known to me. Probably we have to add a point to the second *d*: the resultant *bytdryy* is plainly a slightly irregular [2] spelling of Syriac *byt-dry'* = *Bēth-Dərāyē*, in Arabic *Bādarāyā*. Together with *Bēth-Kusāyē*, Upper, Middle, and Lower *Nahrawān*, *Bēth-Dərāyē* (which was a Nestorian bishopric from not later than A.D. 420 onwards) formed part of the Sasanian province of *an-Nahrawānāt*,[3] or *Bāziǰān-Khosrou* (?),[4] to the east of Ctesiphon on the left bank of the Tigris. The name has survived in the modern *Badrai*, on the Persian frontier, due north of an-Nukhailat, about thirty miles distant from the nearest point of the Tigris. The ruins of *Bēth-Kusāyē* (*Bākusāyā* in Arabic) which usually appears coupled with *Bēth-Dərāyē*, are to the south-east of Badrai, on the river of Changulak.[5]

The name of the town or district of Bēth-Dərāyē which Mani visited was *gwx'y* (*gwxy*) = *Gaukhai*. This is evidently the same as Syriac *gwky*,[6] Mandaic *g'wk'y*, Ar. جوخى or جوخا. The latest effort to determine the exact position of this district was made by Schaeder

[1] A century later, the *nahapet* of the *Sahairunik'* bears the name of *Bat*. He played a rôle in the political life of Armenia after the murder of King Pap. For further references see Huebschmann, *Arm. Gr.*, 32, and Justi *s.v.*

[2] The normal spelling of the ending *-āyē* is *-y'* in Syriac, *-'yy'* in Mandaic, but *-'y* or *-'yy* in Jewish Aramaic. The peculiar spelling *-yy* cannot be ascribed to the type of Aramaic used by Mani, as the few available scraps suffice to show (see Burkitt, *Rel. of the Man.*, pp. 111 sqq.). In loan-words *-'y* replaces Aram. *-āyā*, as e.g. in *hrwm'y*. Cf. also Man. MPers. *myšn'yg'n* "Mesenians" = *mēšnāy-īg-ān* with a Persian suffix (as in Pahl. *HRWM'DYK*); in Pahl. both forms occur: *myšn'y Pahl. Vd.*, 1^{10}, and *myšn'dyk'n*, *Gr.Bd.*, 207^{4}.

[3] Maqdisi (Muqaddasi) 133^{16}. Elsewhere this term is applied to the three districts of Nahrawān only (Ibn Khurdadbih 13^{17}, Qudamah 235^{11}).

[4] Ibn Khurdadbih 6^{12}. On the institution of this province by Khosrou I, see Noeldeke, *Tabari*, p. 239.

[5] Cf. Sachau, *Ausbreitung des Christentums in Asien*, pp. 28 sq.

[6] E.g., *Acta St. Maris*, 67^{1}, ed. J.-B. Abbeloos. In an earlier article (*Orientalia*, v, p. 85) I unfortunately followed Fluegel's identification of Jōḫā with *Coche* (one of the towns of al-Madā'in) without having inquired further into the matter. Most authors correctly distinguished the two localities (Le Strange, *Lands of Eastern Caliphate*, p. 42; Sachau, *loc. laud.*; p. 29; and others). According to Schaeder Jōḫā stands for *Coche* as well as *Gaukhai*. It seems to me now that it *always* refers to Gaukhai.

(*Islam*, xiv, pp. 22 sq.), according to whom Gaukhai (*Jōḫā*) lay in the centre of Mesene. His theory, however, is not favoured by the statement in the Parthian fragment that Gaukhai lay in Bēth-Dərāyē, i.e. considerably more to the north. According to Yaqut *s.v.* "*Jōḫā* is the name of a river on which an extensive *kūrah* is situated in the Sawād of Baghdad. . . . .[1] And it (= river) lies between Khāniqīn and Khūzistān". The latter sentence gives an excellent definition [2] of the situation of Bēth-Dərāyē. The rather vague term "Sawād of Baghdad" covered Bēth-Dərāyē, but excluded the regions of Mesene which were counted to either Wāsiṭ or Baṣra.

Apparently *Gaukhai* was originally the name of a river in Bēth-Dərāyē, preferably the river of Badrai itself, which with a number of small streams loses itself in the swamps to the north and north-east of Kut-el-Amara. From the river this swampy region also took the name of Gaukhai. Occasionally, a Nestorian bishopric of Gaukhai is mentioned (Sachau, ibid., p. 29) which probably was identical with the bishopric of Bēth-Dərāyē. Mas'udi, *Tanbīh* 36[15], mentions "the land of Gaukhai" as comprising Bādarāyā and Bākusāyā (and another district). Ibn an-Nadīm (*k. al-fihrist*, 340[2]) states that the founder of some obscure sect was a native of Gaukhai, "from a village on the Nahrawān (canal)," i.e. from Lower Nahrawān, the district immediately bordering on Bēth-Dərāyē in the west. We also find the name of Gaukhai applied to the whole region of the swamps which accompanied the lower course of the Tigris, roughly from Kut-el-Amara to Qurna, particularly by the source common to Ibn Rustah (95[12, 20]) and Mas'udi (*Tanbīh* 40[13, 16], 54[1]). However, both authors say that in their time these swamps had long since ceased to exist and turned into a desert; for during the reign of Khosrou Aparwēz the Tigris had left its old bed in Gaukhai and chosen a new channel through the province of Kaškar, and new swamps had formed between Wāsiṭ and Baṣra.

[1] I have left out the following clause: "On its eastern bank are the two districts of Rādhān." This statement cannot be reconciled with the remainder of Yaqut's article (nor, for that matter, with anything else). Le Strange (ibid., p. 35) defines *ar-Rādhānāni* as "the district round al-Madā'in which stretched eastward from the Tigris to the Nahrawān canal". In the Sasanian division of Babylonia Upper and Lower Rādhān formed one *kūrah* with Ctesiphon, Kalwādhā (near Baghdad), Nahr-Bīn, etc. (Ibn Khurdadbih 6[6–8]). Maqdisi (54[1], 115[5]) counts ar-Rādhānāni to Samarra, not, however, to Baghdad. Therefore, these two districts lay to the north of Baghdad, probably near the Nahr Rādhān between the Shatt al-'Aḍaim and the Diyala (cf. Syr. *Rādhān*, Sachau, ibid., p. 56).

[2] But a miserable one if *Jōḫā* were *Coche* (as was assumed by Fluegel, *Mani*, p. 122, and is still maintained by Schaeder, ibid., p. 23, n. 2, for Yaqut's article). It would be like saying: Westminster lies between Bristol and Yorkshire.

We may assume that the name of Gaukhai properly belonged only to the northernmost part of the original swamps, but that its use was extended to cover the whole, perhaps erroneously, perhaps in view of the absence of another comprehensive term for the whole of the region.

Comparing the Parthian text with the Coptic "Narrative", one can hardly escape the conclusion that Mani's journey to Gaukhai took place after his last visit to Ctesiphon, i.e. while travelling from Kholassar to Belapat. The absence of any reference to Gaukhai in the description of his journey up the River Tigris from Mesene to Ctesiphon indicates that the name of Gaukhai had a less wide application in the third century than later on, and that it was employed only for the middle reaches of the river of Badrai. The itinerary Kholassar-Badrai-Belapat shows that Mani travelled overland by the shortest imaginable route, probably following the ancient high-road from Sardes to Susa (ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ βασιληίη, Herodotus, v, 52) the last part of which was used also by Alexander in his march from Babylon to Susa through Sitakene, 331 B.C. Owing to the decline of Susa and the other cities of northern Khūzistān this most important highway of the Achaemenian empire fell into disuse in later centuries, except possibly for the last two or three stages. In Muslim times one travelled from Baghdad to Sūs (and further on to Jundaisābūr = Belapat) via Wāsiṭ, reaching the ancient road probably at Ṭīb (13 leagues from Sūs).[1]

The object of Mani's last journey was to pay a farewell visit to his communities before his death, which he felt approaching (cf. *Man. Hom.*, 44[17] sqq.). The commencement of the Parthian fragment suggests that from Gaukhai he had received an especially urgent invitation. Close bonds united the prophet and the communities of Gaukhai; for in all probability[2] Mani was a native of Gaukhai. It was only

[1] See the itinerary *apud* Ibn Rustah, 188[13–15].

[2] Cf. Schaeder, ibid., p. 23. Gaukhai is mentioned in the opening words of the chapter on the Manichaeans in the *k. al-fihrist* (328[1]) where one expects to find the name of Mani's birthplace stated. However, the decisive words are hopelessly corrupted. Fleischer's restoration of the text (accepted by Fluegel in his edition, and followed also by me, *Orientalia*, v, 84 sqq.) is no longer tenable. It involves (1) a wrong name, *Qunnā* instead of *dair Qunnā*, (2) the existence of a "bishop of the Arabs" in Gaukhai in the third century (an absurdity), (3) the misstatement that originally Mani had been a Christian bishop (similar although less pretentious fabrications are occasionally found in purely Christian sources, e.g. *Chronicle of Siirt*, cf. Sachau, ibid., p. 38, and Bar Evrāyā, *Hist. of the Dynasties*, 129 *u.* ed. Salhani). Although the correct restitution of the passage eludes me, I should like to propose النهربان من نهر جوخى (= *an-Nahrawān*) in the place of العربان من اهل جوخى. According to al-Beruni (*Chronology*, 208[7–8]), who quotes Mani's own writings, the prophet was born in the

fitting that the last place Mani visited before his death was the one from which he had started on his life's journey.

I take this opportunity to publish another Parthian fragment (*T ii D* 163) which belonged to the same book as the text given above, and to republish the Middle-Persian fragment *M* 3 which was first made available by F. W. K. Müller (*HR.*, ii, pp. 80 sqq.). Since the first edition the page of *M* 3 has been completed through the discovery of a small scrap (*T i D* 51) which originally formed part of it.[1]

T ii D 163

Recto page, second column [2]

(1)]wxyb(y)[y]d

(*Two lines left blank*)

(2) ms ptyg 'n nyš'n dyd

(3) ['w]d w'c['d] wyn'm kw

(4) (qy)rbkr ']'(b)r pdr'št

(5) 'wd cw[nd] (r)wc ṯygr

(6)]t 'wm

(*lines missing*)

Verso page, first column [3]

(7) p(d)m(w)[g]wzrg .[

(8) dyrd [ ] kw p(ṯ)

(9) 'ḏrg'wyf(t) pd [?š']'(h)yg'n

(10) br fr'x 'dyhyd u 'zyhyd

(11) 'dy'n qyr(d)[y](r)[4] mgbyd (')[d]

(12) 'dy'wr'n ky [pr](x)'št prw'n

(13) š'ẖ 'nd[yš'd [5]] u rsk

(14) ']wd n(b)[yn ?

Translation: "Furthermore, Patecius[6] saw another[7] sign and

village of مردينو on the upper كوثى canal. However, the canal of Kūthā lay far to the west, between the Euphrates and the Tigris. It is tempting to restore كوخى and explain it as a transcription of *Gaukhai* peculiar to al-Beruni. As to مردينو (otherwise unknown), this is obviously corrupt and should be brought into agreement with *'brwmy'*, the name of Mani's birthplace according to Theodor bar Konay (see Schaeder, ibid., p. 23, n. 3); hence to be read برومیا or برومیه ?

[1] See *ZDMG.*, 90, p. 9.

[2] The first column is missing.

[3] The second column is missing.

[4] Only the point on top of the *r* is visible.

[5] Or possibly *'nd[yšyd]*.

[6] On the spelling of this name in MPers. see Schaeder, *Iranica*, p. 69.

[7] *'n* = *'ny* is very rare, cf. *BBB.*, *s.v.*

spoke (thus): I see[1] that the Pious One (i.e. Mani) has got up and for several days the Tigris ..... (*lacuna*) ..... garment .... great .... held .... that majestically he enters and leaves[2] the wide Royal (?)[3] Gate. Thereupon Kerdēr the Magbed (Mōbed) planned with his friends who served before the king, and .... jealousy and cunning. . . ."[4]

M 3

(*Recto*) (1) 'md kš 'n nwhz'dg (2) 'yg trkwm'n 'wd kwštyẖ (3) d(h).r[5] 'wd 'bzxy' 'y p'rsyg (4) '[mwšt] bwd hym oo 'wd š'ẖ (5) n'n xwrdn bzm bwd oo 'wš (6) dst 'hnwnc ny šwst oo u (7) 'dyd hynd ps'nyg'n 'wš'n (8) gwpt kw m'ny 'md 'wd pd (9) dr 'ystyd oo 'wd š'ẖ 'w (10) xwd'wn pyg'm prystd kw (11) 'yw zm'n p'y d' 'n xwd 'w (12) tw ''y'n oo 'wd xwd'wn 'b'c (13) 'w 'yw kwstg 'yg wyng nšst (14) oo d' š'ẖ dst šwst oo cy (15) xwdyc 'w nhcyhr prnptn bwd (16) oo 'wd 'c xwrn[6] 'wl 'xyst (17) 'wš ds[t][7] 'yw 'br sg''n (18) b'nb(y)šn 'bgnd oo

[1] The wording seems to suggest that the story was told in the form of a prediction by Patecius. The muddle in the tenses may be due to mistranslation from Syriac.

[2] Probably = "he passes through the gate." Read *'rg'wyft.*

[3] Partially illegible word. Probably the name of one of the gates of Belapat. The passage evidently refers to the imprudently ostentatious entry into the capital by Mani. Cf. *Man. Hom.*, 45[11] sqq.

[4] Cf. *M* 4 *b* 15 *āz nabēn . . . āvarždōg wadisgār* "cunning Greed . . . malicious Lust" (a remarkable translation of the word *nbyn* in this passage was given by Schaeder, *Urform*, p. 116, n. 1: *nbyn* = NPers. *nābīn* !). But possibly "the cunning of the Greed" would be a more correct rendering, as in other passages *nbyn* is a substantive: *ws* [. . . .] *'xš'dyft oo nbyn 'wt* [. . . . .] *'c mrdwhm'n wynyd* [ ] *'wd pt'wyd* "He experiences and suffers much distress, malice and . . . from the side of mankind" (*M* 295 *R* 5–7); *nbyn 'wd dybhr pdmwxt qyf'ẖ qhn'n msyšt 'd hrw yhwd'n* "Caiaphas the High Priest and all Jews clothed themselves in malice and wrath" (*M* 734 *R* 7–9). One could derive *nabēn* from Parthian *dab* (*Mir. Man.*, iii, and *BSOS.*, IX, p. 82, where also *dbyn*), assuming the sporadic interchange of a voiced plosive with the nasal of the same group. Such interchange is well attested for the labials (mostly in words containing a nasal sound), for example Pahl. *angumēn*: Pers. *angubīn*, Pahl. *mang*: Pahl. and Pers. *bang*, MPers. *-manǧ*, NPers. *munǧ*: Oss. *binjā* (see *Sogdica*, p. 45), Saka *bīysma* (Bailey, *BSOS.*, VIII, p. 120): Av. *maēsman*. A case in point is provided by the place-name *Mandalī* (between Badrai and Khaniqin) from MPers. **Vandanīg*, **Bandanīg* (Arab Geogr. *Bandanīǰīn*, etc.: see Le Strange, *op. laud.*, emendations to the second printing), where we have *m* from *b*, and *l* from *n* (cf. *r* from *n* in MPers. *χwamr*, etc.). It is more difficult to find cases of *d/n*. There is, of course, MPers. *nbyg* (Sogd. *npyk*), if from OPers. *dipi-*, to fall back on; cf. also the case of Pers. *panām*.

[5] *dh'r? dhwr?* The reading *dbyr* (Andreas) is hardly correct. One should have the Iḍāfah between *k-* and *dbyr*. More likely *d . . .* is a personal name.

[6] Muller: *xwrdn*. There is a break in the paper after *w*, but I do not believe a letter has been lost.

[7] The reading *rs*[*n*] is incorrect; no point has broken off.

'wd yk (19) 'br k(y)[r]dyr [1] 'y 'rdw'ng'[n] 'wd (20) pr'c ['w] xwd'wn 'md oo '[wš] (21) [p]d sr (sx)wn 'w xwd'wn 'wẖ (22) gwpt [2] [kw] (m)' (dr)[y]st̲ 'wr oo (23) ['wš xwd'w]n 'b'c gwft̲[sic] kw (*Verso*) (24) cym r'y tyswm wynst ooo (25) 'wd (š)'ẖ gwft kwm swgnd xwrd (26) oo kwt pd 'yn zmyg ny hyl['](')n (27) rs[yd] [3] oo 'wš pd xyšm 'w x[wd']wn (28) 'wẖ gwpt̲ kw 'yy pd cy (29) 'b'yšn hyd oo k' ny 'w (30) k'ryc'r šwyd 'wd ny nhcyhr (31) kwnyd oo b' 'wh'y 'yn bšyhkyẖ (32) r'y 'wd 'y [4] drm'n bwrdn r'y (33) 'b'yšn hyd oo 'wd 'ync ny (34) kwnyd oo 'wš xwd'wn pswx 'wẖ (35) d'd kw (mn) pd 'šm'ẖ tyswc (36) ny wyns[t] oo (cym) myšg kyrbgyy (37) kyrd pd 'šm'ẖ 'wt'n pd (38) t̲whmg'n oo 'wd ws 'wd pr(h)yd (39) bng 'y 'šm'ẖ kym dyw [5] u (40) drwxš 'cyš b (') [bwr](d) oo 'w[d] (41) ws bwd hynd oo k[ym] 'c (42) wy(m)'ryẖ 'xyzn'd [h](y)nd oo u (43) ws bwd hynd ky[m] tb (44) 'wd rrz 'y cnd (s)['']rg [6] 'cyš (45) 'n'pt̲ oo 'w[d ws bwd] hynd [7] (46) [k]y 'w mrg md 'wmy[š'n . . . .

Translation: " . . . . . [Mani] . . . . came [viz. to the audience of King Bahram I] after he had [called together] [8] me, Nūḥzādag [9] (= Bar-Nūḥ) the interpreter, Kuštai, D . . ., and Abzakhyā [10] the Persian. The king was at his dinner-table [11] and had not yet finished his meal.[12] The courtiers entered and said (to the king): Mani has come and is standing at the door. The king sent this message to the Lord (i.e. Mani): wait a moment until I can come to you myself.

[1] The second letter is clearly *y* (thus also Müller and Andreas), certainly not the lower part of *n*. There is a gap in the paper above *k* (therefore might be *x*). One letter is missing before *-dyr*. The restoration of *kndyr* (Salemann), or *xydyr* (Andreas, *apud* Barr, *Pahl. Ps.*, p. 133), is therefore excluded.

[2] Seen by Müller; now no longer visible.

[3] Or rather *rs*[*yy*] ? Space insufficient for *rs*[*ydn*] (Salemann).

[4] Copyist's mistake for *'yn*.

[5] Not *dyw*['*n*]. Cf. *ZII.*, ix, 232[6–8].

[6] *s*[*r*]*dg* is equally possible (*sārag* from Av. *sarəδa-*, *srdg* = Pahl. *sltk*).

[7] Still seen by Müller, now broken off.

[8] *bwd hym* = 1st pers. pl. (incorrect *ZII.*, ix, p. 244).

[9] Obviously the name of Mani's interpreter; hitherto translated "first-born" (in MPers. *nxwryg*, in Parthian *nwxz'd*).

[10] On Kuštai and Abzakhyā see Schaeder, *Gnomon*, ix, p. 343. In the *k. al-fihrist* ابزخيا (not ابزاخيا) should be read in the place of ابراحيا (the mysterious خبرهات ibid., 336[23], [24], 337[8] is clearly none other than Gabriab, جبرهاب).

[11] *bazm būdan* is a compound verb (correctly rendered by Marr, *apud* Salemann, *Man. Stud.*, p. 61; the translation proposed by Andreas *apud* Lentz, *ZII.*, iv, p. 282, hardly meets the case: *šāh* is certainly not a genitive). *nān χwardan* does not mean "to eat bread", but "to eat", as Hebrew *ākal lāḥām*, NT. ἄρτον ἐσθίω, etc.

[12] Lit. "had not yet washed his hands".

The Lord again sat down to one side of the guard[1] (and waited there) until the king should have finished his meal when[2] he was to go hunting.

"The king rose from the table,[3] and putting one arm round the Queen of the Sakas[4] and the other round Kerdēr[5] the son of Ardawān, he came towards the Lord. His first words to the Lord were: You are *not* welcome.[6] The Lord replied: what wrong have I done? The king said: I have sworn not to let you come to this country.[7] And in anger he spoke thus to the Lord: Eh, what are you good for since you go neither fighting nor hunting? But perhaps you are needed for this[8] doctoring and this[8] physicking? And you don't do even that!

"The Lord replied thus: I have not done you any wrong. Always I have done good to you and your family. Many and numerous were your servants whom I have [freed] of demons and witches.[9] Many were those whom I have made rise from their illnesses. Many were those from whom I have averted the numerous kinds of ague.[10] Many

[1] Salemann: "window(?)," Andreas: "tent" (*Festgabe f. Th. Nöldeke*, 1916, p. 6). But "tent" is *wiyān* in MPers., i.e. *wy'n* (to the examples collected by Andreas: Parth. *wd'n*, Arm. *vran*, Pahl. Ps. *wyd'n*, Jewish Persian *by'n*, I have added NPers. *gayān*, *Mir. Man.*, iii, p. 908; [*w*]*yd'n* should be read also in Pahlavi, in the place of *xān*, *Ayādgār-i-Zarērān*, 32/33). With *wyng* from *wyn-* "to see", cf. Arm. *dēt* "guard", *ditak* "watch-post"; one also could point to MPers. **gōšag* "spy" if from *gauš-* "to hear" (and not from *gauša-* "ear").

[2] The use of *cy* (normally = "because") is not clear; possibly mistranslation of Syr. *mā d²-* (cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gramm.*, p. 179)?

[3] *χwaran* here probably = "banquet", etc. (rather than "tent"), cf. *BSOS.*, X, p. 509.

[4] Usually translated: "queen of the hounds." The correct rendering has at least been considered by Salemann, *Man. Stud.*, p. 102.

[5] Salemann "quiver", Andreas "steed".

[6] i.e. the reversal of the usual formula of greeting (when receiving a friend): *dryst 'wr* (or *pd drwd "y-*, or *dryst wys'y*, all in *Mir. Man.*, ii, where p. 313, n. 8, an incorrect translation has been given; *wys'y* probably "enter, come", from *wys-* = Av. *visa-*, *Air. Wb.*, p. 1326) = Pahl. *drwdst LPMḤ* (*Ard. Vir.*, 10⁷) = Aram. *'ty bšlm*. With the negation also in Pahlavi, *Ayādgār-i-Zarērān*, 51.

[7] An evasive answer!

[8] The use of the Persian demonstrative pronoun gives the phrase a perceptibly contemptuous note. The king, who apparently was not very broadminded, does not seem to have been in sympathy with his father's efforts at raising the medical standard in his lands. Under Shapur I Greek and Indian scientific books, especially medical treatises, were translated into Persian (*Dīnkard*, 412¹⁷ sqq., ed. Madan). Like Mani and his adherents, medical science fell a victim to the reaction which under Bahram set in against Shapur's liberal and enlightened government.

[9] i.e. healed through exorcism.

[10] Pers. *tab u larz*.

were those who were at the point of death,[1] and I have [revived] them. . . ."

Both fragments mention *Kerdēr*, the *Kardel* of the Coptic texts, the man whom the Manichaeans considered the chief instigator of Mani's downfall. His identity with the famous *Krtyr* of the Pahlavi inscriptions (first suggested by Polotsky, *Man. Hom.*, p. 45, n. 2) can now be taken for granted (the spelling of his name in Man. MPers. and Parth. agrees closely with that in the inscriptions). We owe to Professor Herzfeld a sketch of the life of *Krtyr*, whom he has identified with *Tansar*, the reorganizer of the Zoroastrian church (*Archaeolog. Hist. of Iran*, pp. 100 sqq.). In the recently discovered Great Inscription of Šāpūr I[2] (from about A.D. 262)[3] *Krtyr*, still with the comparatively modest title of *ēhrpat* (line 33 : *krtyr ZY 'yhrpt*), is mentioned for the first time, and for the last time he appears in the Paikuli inscription (from about A.D. 294). From the fragment *M* 3 we learn that the name of his father was *Ardawān*[4]; that *Kerdēr*[5] was his personal name (and not a title) can no longer be in doubt.

That the king who appears in the fragment *M* 3 was Bahram I[6] (and not Shapur, as assumed by F. W. K. Müller and others) is proved by the unfriendly tenor of the whole conversation and, of course, by the rôle played by Kerdēr. The *Sakān-Bānbišn*, "Queen of the Sakas," who also participated in the conversation, was the wife of the then ruling *Sakān-Šāh*, or prince-governor of the south-eastern part of the Sasanian empire. Under Shapur, *Narseh* (his youngest son) had held that position, and *Šāpuhrduχtak* had been his *Sakān-Bānbišn* (*sk'n MLKT'*). The advent of King Bahram I probably

[1] Lit. "who came to death". It would probably be incorrect to understand the phrase as laying claims to the ability of resurrecting the dead.

[2] In my second paper on this inscription, contributed to the forthcoming *Jackson Memorial Volume*, I have discussed this passage in some detail.

[3] Cf. *BSOS.*, IX, p. 845.

[4] His name indicates that he was born during the reign of Ardawān, the last Arsacid king, i.e. not before A.D. 213. Hence, Kerdēr may have been born in about A.D. 232, so that he was thirty years of age when Shapur concluded his Roman war, forty-five when he fought against the Manichaeans and caused Mani's imprisonment, and a little over sixty at the time of Narseh's accession to the throne. According to Herzfeld, ibid., p. 101, he served already under Ardašir I; as far as I can see this is not said in the published inscriptions.

[5] The original meaning of the word *kerdēr* is something like "efficacious" or "energetic": cf. *BSOS.*, IX, p. 84 (the etymology proposed there is to be cancelled). I fail to see any connection with *kardarigan*, *qardupatu* (?), *oropasta*, or *qahramān*; on *qahramān* from **karθra-* (Lagarde) = Arm. *kah* = NPers. *kāl-* see now *Sogdica*, pp. 56 sq.

[6] Cf. *ZDMG.*, 90, p. 9.

brought a change, and we may assume that the appointment of his eldest grandson Bahram to the post of Sakān-Šāh dated already from the beginning of his reign (A.D. 273–4).[1] It is therefore likely that the Sakān-Bānbišn mentioned here was the wife of the later King Bahram III.

The text of *M* 3 purports to be an eye-witness account of the conversation, rendered by Mani's interpreter Nūḥzādag. Although Mani knew some Persian and even had composed one of his books in, it is true, somewhat halting Persian, he must have felt his knowledge of that language to be insufficient for an audience that was to decide on his life and the future of his community.[2]

[1] But see Herzfeld, *Kushano-Sasanian Coins*, pp. 34 sq.

[2] Note that the king accuses Mani of having neglected his medical duties. We know from other sources that the death of a relative of Bahram's, attributed to Mani's alleged negligence, formed one of the pretexts for Mani's incarceration (one of Bahram's sisters, according to *Man. Hom.*, 46^{25-6}, but see *Jibrā'īl b. Nūḥ apud* Beruni, *loc. laud.*, 208^{20-1}). As this death apparently had taken place shortly before Mani appeared before the king, while Mani had not attended the court for some three years (cf. *Man. Hom.*, 46^{12}; he was hiding in Babylonia), this accusation seems to be singularly ill-founded. As was to be expected, anti-Manichaean Christian writers have made the most of this story (beginning with the author of the *Acta Archelai*, 93^{17} sqq., ed. Beeson; the son of the king: *mortuus est puer in manibus eius vel potius extinctus, etc.*).

Tibetan *daṅ, ciṅ, kyin, yin* and *ḫam*

By Walter Simon

THE words to be treated in this paper show one common aspect in their etymologies. It is suggested that they have arisen through coalescence of their etymons with the suffix *na* " in "—or in the case of *ḫam*, with the negation *ma* (or *mi*)—and that after the coalescence the final vowel was lost. The latter assumption will have to be linked up with the enclitic, or in the case of *yin*, at least unstressed nature of the words. In this connection we may note that the separating *shad*, the Tibetan comma, will invariably be found after, never before *daṅ*. The same holds good of *ciṅ*, though punctuation is much rarer after *ciṅ*. In the case of *ciṅ* and *kyin*, the enclisis is moreover strongly borne out by the phonetic changes which their initial consonants undergo in assimilation to the endings of the preceding words. For the assumed treatment of the final vowel, I may refer to my paper " Certain Tibetan Suffixes and their Combinations " (in vol. v of the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (*HJAS.*), where the same change has been suggested for the instrumental suffix.[1]

I. *daṅ*

The etymon which I assume to have coalesced with *na* in *daṅ*, is the plural suffix *dag*. In addition to the loss of the final vowel of *na* (and undoubtedly preceding it) nasalization of the final *g* of *dag* must have taken place by way of regressive assimilation. While the phonetic side of the etymology can be dismissed with these few remarks, we must enlarge on the semasiological side.

As is well known, the plural is not regularly expressed in Tibetan, and the suffixes which indicate it were " originally nouns with the common notion of plurality ".[2] This is obvious in the case of *tsho*, for which Jäschke (*Dict.*, p. 451) notes the meanings " troop, number, host ". Etymologically, *tsho* belongs to *tshogs* " assemblage of men, multitude " (Jäschke, *Dict.*, p. 451), though *tsho* can hardly be called an " abbreviated form of *tshogs* ".[3] *rnams*, an obvious derivation

[1] Cf. p. 386. See also here below, pp. 964 and 973.

[2] Jäschke, *Tibetan Grammar*, 3rd ed. (reprinted Berlin, 1929), p. 20. See also the " *Addenda* " to this Reprint (by A. H. Francke), pp. 112–13.

[3] Francke, *Addenda*, p. 112.

of *rnam* "piece", is explained by Jäschke (*Dict.*, p. 315) as "piece by piece". Before discussing this explanation, I should like to adduce two more cases where the idea of plurality is conveyed by words which primarily seem to mean "piece, portion, fragment", or something similar, viz. *cag*, used as a plural suffix with personal pronouns, and *cog*, which we find after the demonstrative pronoun *ḫo*,[1] and which can—though very rarely—be met with independently in the form *cog-ge*.[2] Both words I should like to include in an etymological family with the basic meaning "to break", represented by *cha* "part, portion", *chag* "broken, potsherd", also "bunch", *gcog-pa* "to break", etc.[3] One may, however, hesitate to accept Jäschke's explanation "piece by piece" for *rnams* and to extend it to *cag* and *cog*, in order to account for the function of the three words as plural suffixes. Jäschke is certainly right in assigning to *rnams* practically the same meaning as to *rnam*, viz. "piece". But the distributive "piece by piece" would normally be conveyed by repetition in Tibetan—cf. *re re*—and we find only a single *rnams* as plural suffix. Moreover, we are confronted with the same difficulty in the case of *rnam*, which means "whole" in the compound *rnam-graṅs* "whole amount, full number", and "entirely" as an adverb (*rnam-par*). In the latter case, Jäschke suggests "possibly an abbreviation of *rnam-pa kun-tu*", but, after all, *kun-tu* is not added. We have, however, not to look far for a similar semantic development. English *lot* combines the meanings of "portion" and "whole number". In the same way, "piece," denoting a certain quantity, could become "a definite quantity", "a good portion", and even "the whole portion".

Reverting to *dag*, I see a clue for its original meaning in an obvious derivative, viz. *dog* "bundle, clew, skein", also "ear of corn,

[1] See here below, pp. 968, etc.

[2] Cf. A. Grünwedel, *Legenden des Naropa* (Leipzig, 1933), p. 175. I presume that the group *cog ge żog*, occurring several times after a negative imperative in a song which is transmitted in the *bTsun mo bkaḫi thaṅ yig* (see B. Laufer, *Roman einer Tibetischen Königin* (Leipzig, 1911), p. 122, n. 2) belongs here as well, developed by reduplication from **cog ge cog*. See here later, p. 961, n. 2. For the treatment of the final *e*, cf. *yig-ge* and in compounds *yig* "letter", *lhag-ge* and *lhag-pa* "superior", *lhaṅ-ṅe* and *lhaṅ-lhaṅ* "clear", *śig-ge-ba* (also *ljig-ge-ba*, cf. Grünwedel, loc. cit., p. 180), and *śig-śig* "close together", *gsal-le-ba* and *gsal-ba* "to be clear", *rtog-ge-ba* and *rtog-pa* "reasoning", *log-ge-ba* and *log-pa* "reversed, inverted".

[3] The word-family is also among those adduced by St. N. Wolfenden in his paper 'Concerning the Variation of Final Consonants in the Word Families of Tibetan, Kachin, and Chinese" (*JRAS.*, 1937, pp. 629–630), though I should disagree as to the inclusion of some members (especially *lcag* "rod").

capsule, clod". These meanings clearly point to an assemblage of material, and so we find in *dag* as a plural suffix a close parallel to *tsho*, both meaning something similar to "assemblage". It stands to reason that the meaning "assemblage" would do equally well for the suggested etymology of *dañ*, which, as we will remember, means both "and" and "with". To say that something is "in the assemblage" of something else, does indeed express that it is together with it.

The assumed primary meaning of *dag* (and *dañ*) may be supported by two further relatives: *ḫdogs-pa* "to bind, to fasten" can easily be connected with the meaning "assemblage".[1] So can *dog* "narrow", if we think of a primary meaning "congested, closely packed, dense, serried". This latter assumption would seem to be supported by a derivative of *dog*, viz. *dogs* "fear" and "to fear". From the semasiological point of view, the French "*avoir le cœur serré*" may be compared,[2] and *dog—dogs* form a remarkable parallel to Latin *angustus* "narrow" and its derivative *angustia*, which in Vulgar Latin meant "fear".[3] I may add that from the point of view of word-formation, *dogs* referred back to *dog sa* (or *dog so*) "narrow place" would fit in well with such nominal derivatives as *zabs* "depth" (lit. "deep place") or *nags* "forest" (lit. "dark place"), analysed in my paper in *HJAS*.

On the other hand, we are confronted with difficulties by *bdag*, which can hardly be separated from our *dag*. The meaning "self" does not seem to fit in with "assemblage", let alone the meaning "I". There is, however, no difficulty in connecting "assemblage" with the verb *bdog-pa* "to be in possession", and the noun *bdog-pa* "wealth, riches", to which belongs, as was already pointed out by Jäschke (*Dict.*, p. 271, s.v. *bdog-pa* ii), *bdag-po* "proprietor, master, lord". The three words would show that "possession" was understood as "assemblage" of something. And they throw also light on the meaning of *bdag*. "I" is evidently a secondary meaning, derived from "self", and in "self" apparently the idea of "*exclusive* possession" prevailed. Hence, the connection between *bdag*, *bdag-po*,

[1] With *ḫdogs-pa* (Perf. *btags*, Fut. *gdag(s)*, Imper. *thogs*) is connected probably *thag-pa* "rope", *thags* "texture", *tha-ga-pa* "weaver".

[2] I am indebted to Dr. A. Waley for recalling Japanese *kokorobosoi* ("heart-narrow") "anxious". I may also refer to Ch. Féré, "La Physiologie dans les métaphores" (*Revue de Philosophie*, xl (1895), pp. 352, etc., esp. p. 356).

[3] Cf. W. Meyer-Lübke in his *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (3rd ed., Heidelberg, 1935, No. 468), who renders its meaning by "*Angst*", which is itself related to *angustia*.

and *bdog-pa* can also be illustrated by a close parallel in English: *own*, *owner*, and *to own*.

Finally, *da* " now " must be discussed in this connection. From the well-known phrase *deḫi dus-la bab-par ṡes-na* (which was included in the *Mahâvyutpatti* [1]) it is evident that for the Tibetan mind the event is something which " comes down " to its (proper) time. So the word " now " might fix the moment when time and event " come together ", and from this point of view, *da* could possibly be included in our etymological family. However, I do not think that it belongs to it. If we confront examples like *da naṅ* " this morning ", or *da lo* " this year " with *do nub* " this evening ", or *do ẓag* " to-day ", it seems much more likely that we have in *da* and *do* variants from the well-known pronominal stem [2]) which occurs in the demonstrative pronouns *de* " that ", and *ḫdi* " this ", and which probably is also hidden in *deṅ*, or *diṅ* " to-day ".

II. *ciṅ*

In accordance with the preamble to this paper, I wish to suggest that *ciṅ* is to *cig* what *daṅ* is to *dag*. But what is the primary meaning of *cig*? There is no doubt that it often corresponds to our indefinite article, and there is the obvious relation between *cig* (then meaning " a ") and the numeral *gcig* " one ". But what has puzzled grammarians is the fact that we find *cig* for instance after numerals. Foucaux [3] translates *draṅ sroṅ lṅa ẓig* by " *un cinq* (*d'*) *ermites* ", or *ẓag bdun ẓig* by " *un sept* (*de*) *jours* ". And Jäschke, who describes *cig* as " the numeral one (*gcig*) only deprived of its prefix ", notes that " it is used even after a plurality " and tries to solve the difficulty by translating *chu mig bẓi ẓig* by " *some* four wells ".[4]

In his *Dictionary* (p. 140), he has, however, given up this translation.[5] And indeed, I think, the addition of *cig* to the numeral does not imply any idea of indefiniteness. An example from the *Dzaṅ-lun* (*mDzaṅs-blun*), which I should like to adduce in support of this statement, may at the same time prove suggestive for an explanation of the nature of *cig* (I. J. Schmidt's edition, p. 154; Narthang print,

[1] No. 6323 in Sakaki's edition (Kyôto, 1916–1925). The Sanskrit original (*yasyedânîm kâlam manyase*) has clearly not influenced the Tibetan idiomatic rendering.

[2] Cf. here below, p. 974.

[3] *Grammaire de la langue tibétaine* (Paris, 1858), p. 20.

[4] *Tibetan Grammar*, 3rd. ed., and reprint, pp. 19–20.

[5] His translation there of *mi lṅa tsam ẓig* by " *some* five people " is brought about by *tsam*.

Mdo, Sa, pp. 328 A 7, and 328 B 1, etc.) *rin po che sna bdun las byas paḥi mkhar ba sum cu rtsa gnyis ṡig byas te . . . sum cu rtsa gnyis po de la re re byin nas* ("Having thirty-two sticks made from the seven precious materials. . . , he gave one each to those thirty-two (youths)"). While the whole context (and also the Chinese version)[1] shows that we have to do here with *exactly* thirty-two sticks and youths, it would seem as if both *cig* and *po* are used in our passage much in the same way as classifiers are used in Chinese.[2] Since in our example *cig* and *po* are clearly contrasted as referring to things and animate beings respectively, it may be useful to point out that *cig* is not exclusively used to refer to inanimate matter. In the story about the two wives who claim the same boy, we find for instance (Jäschke, *Grammar*, 3rd ed., p. 84; cf. Schmidt's ed. of the *Dzaṅ-lun*, p. 275, l. 9; Narthang print, *Mdo, Sa,* p. 426 B, ll. 2–3): *der bud med gnyis ṡig bu gcig la rtsod de.*

There is, it is true, the difficulty that in Tibetan the numerals follow the noun to which they refer, as can be seen from our first sentence where "the seven kinds of precious materials" (*saptа-ratna*, cf. *Mahâvyutpatti* (Sakaki), No. 3621) are rendered by *rin po che sna bdun.* If we were to think of *cig* and *po* as classifiers, we should have to assume that the numerals originally preceded the noun to which they refer, and that the positions which we observe with *cig* and *po* are vestiges of that former word-order. Support for this assumption may be found in a certain type of compounds, like *lṅa-mchod* "the five offerings" (religious service held on Tsong kha pa's birthday),[3] or *gsum-mdo*[4] and *bẓi-mdo*[5] "place where three (four) roads meet", which indeed show the numeral preceding its noun.[6] Furthermore, side by side with *po* as in *gnyis-po, gsum-po, bẓi-po,* etc., for "the three (four, five)", we find *gnyis-ka* (and *nyi-ga*), *gsum-ka,* etc.[7]

Thus it would seem at least possible to consider *cig* a classifier. In this case, as it is used both with things and with animate beings,

[1] Cf. *Tôkyô-Tripiṭaka,* vol. iv, p. 401*a*, l. 8.

[2] The Chinese version has in fact *ma pien san shih êrh mei* 馬鞭三十二枚. About the classifiers in colloquial Chinese, cf. for example C. W. Mateer, *A Course of Mandarin Lessons,* rev. ed. (Shanghai, 1900), Lesson I, p. 2. In literary Chinese the classifier follows the numeral.

[3] Cf. S. Ch. Das, *Tibetan-English Dictionary* (Calcutta, 1902), p. 370.

[4] Mostly *sum-mdo.* Cf. *Mahâvyutpatti* (Sakaki), No. 5621.

[5] Cf. *Mahâvyutpatti* (Sakaki), No. 5620.

[6] For further examples of this type see A. H. Francke in "*Addenda*" to Jäschke's *Grammar* (Reprint, Berlin, 1929), p. 126.

[7] Cf. Jäschke, *Grammar,* p. 32.

the simplest assumption would be to assign to it the meaning "piece". This would not only account for the function as a classifier, but would also explain the function as an indefinite article. *mi žig* "man piece" would be "*a* man" in like manner as Chinese *yu kê jên* ("have piece man") means "There is (was) a man." Furthermore, it goes without saying that *gcig* "one" can easily be explained as a derivative of a word meaning "piece". The same is true of the aspirated variant of *cig* which we meet before 10, 100, 1,000, etc. (*chig bcu, chig brgya, chig stoṅ*, etc.).[1]

As was mentioned before, the plural is not regularly expressed in Tibetan. If *cig* is originally a noun, meaning "piece", we cannot be surprised to find it both as a singular and as a plural with adjectives and pronouns. *maṅ-žig*[2] "many pieces" = "many" (which was noted by Jäschke) is then equally justified, as is *nyuṅ-žig*, which can be literally translated as "little bit", or *riṅ-žig* "long bit" = "long time". And both singular and plural meaning can be observed with *re-žig*, which would be "single piece(s)". In fact, Jäschke notes the meanings "somebody, something, some (persons), a little", and besides "a little while" (*Dict.*, p. 533). In the case of *ḫgaḫ žig* the plural meaning only is indicated by Desgodins[3] and Jäschke (*Dict.*, p. 93).[4] But there can be no doubt that neither *ḫgaḫ* itself nor *ḫgaḫ žig* are exclusively used in the plural. Both mean "somebody", or "something" as well as "some".[5]

[1] Cf. German "(*ein*) *Stücker zehn, hundert, tausend*". As is well known, also the words for *two* and *three* are found without a prefix before these numbers. Cf. Foucaux *Grammaire*, pp. 40–1.

[2] Also *maṅ-po žig* may be found.

[3] *Dictionnaire Thibétain-Latin-Français par les Missionnaires Catholiques du Thibet* (Hong Kong, 1899), p. 200: *aliqui, aliquot; quelques, plusieurs.* Also J. Bacot in the "*Index des particules et locutions*", included in his edition of *Les Ślokas Grammaticaux de Thonmi Sambhoṭa* (Paris, 1928), p. 95, renders *ḫgaḫ žig* by "*beaucoup, plusieurs*".

[4] S. Ch. Das' *Tibetan-English Dictionary* incorporates neither *ḫgaḫ* nor *ḫgaḫ žig*.

[5] In the case of *ḫgaḫ*, the use as a singular can already be inferred from the phrase *ḫgaḫ yaṅ* followed by a negation, correctly rendered by Jäschke as "*no, no one, not any, none*". Bacot, loc. cit., p. 95, translates *ḫgaḫ, ḫgaḫ tsam* by "*peu*". I note from the Tibetan version corresponding to the *Divyâvadâna* (ed. by E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil, Cambridge, 1886, p. 34, 23/4), *Kanjur*, Narthang print, *ḫDul, Kha* 46 A 7, 46 B 1: *ḫes ldan dag . . . khyed cag gis mthoṅ baḫam/thos pa ḫgaḫ yod dam* ("Gentlemen, have you seen or heard of anyone": *bhavanto 'sti kaścid yushmâbhir dṛishṭaḥ śruto vâ*). From the Tibetan version of the *Karmaśataka* (*Kanjur, mDo, Sa* 84 A 4): *bdag gis gdul bar ḫgyur ba ḫgaḫ lta ci yod* ("Is there then anyone whom I have converted?").

Examples for *ḫgaḫ žig* used as a singular: *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-Sûtra* (ed. by U. Wogihara and C. Tsuchida, Tôkyô, 1934, p. 362, 20/1 = *Kanjur*, Narthang print, *mDo, Ja* 256 A 4/5): *de na sems can gcig ḫgaḫ žig gis spyan ras gzigs* (5) *dbaṅ phyug*

Even after a noun, *žig* does not necessarily denote a singular, but can also refer to a plural which is not indicated as such. It seems, however, that owing to their ambiguity such usages tend to be avoided.[1]

A further argument, speaking in favour of a nominal origin of *cig*, is the occurrence of *cig-gu* instead of *cig*, which can hardly be anything else but its diminutive. It is true that *cig-gu* has apparently so far only been noted by the Tibetan grammarians, and by them only when it occurs instead of *cig* after an imperative.[2] But, as is evident from the examples in the note,[3] the usage of *cig gu* is not restricted to the imperative only.

la bos na ("if there is anybody invoking Avalokiteśvara": *tasmiṃś ca kaś-cid evaikaḥ sattvaḥ syâd yo 'valokiteśvarasya . . . âkrandam kuryât. Dzaṅ-lun* (Schmidt's edition, p. 128, 11 = *Kanjur*, Narthang print, *mDo, Sa* 305 B 7, 306 A 1): *gal te sna ḫgaḫ žig rnyed na* ("If you find anything" (lit. "any kind"). *Vinayavastu* (*Kanjur*, Narthang print, *ḫDul, Kha* 511 A 3: *Bris pas dgos pa ḫgaḫ žig gi phyir duṅ gi rkaṅ pa gnyis la btugs pa las* ("Likhita touching Śaṅkha's feet while asking him for something" (lit. "on account of some need"). For the Chinese version see *Tôkyô-Tripiṭaka*, vol. xxiv, p. 77 C 19; for the reconstruction of the names cf. also R. Nishio in *Kokuyaku-issaikyô, Ritsu-bu*, vol. xxiii (1933), p. 279, notes 25–6.

Also the etymology of *ḫgaḫ* would hardly justify an exclusively plural usage. *ḫgaḫ* is evidently a prefixed derivative of *ga* which is itself the etymon of and synonymous with the interrogative-indefinite pronoun *gaṅ*.

[1] *Kanjur*, Narthang print, *ḫDul, Kha* 34 A 2: *ḫbab chu daṅ mtsho daṅ ḫtsheḫu dag gi ḫgram žig tu soṅ ba daṅ* ("when we went to the *benches* of the rivers, lakes, and ponds"). Ibid., 411 B 1: *de nas mi žig gis . . . thos/* (2) . . . *mthoṅ nas / mi žig la dris pa / . . . . des smras pa / ŝes ldan dag ci mi ŝes sam /* ("Thereafter *some* people (first *mi žig*) hearing and seeing . . . asked somebody (second *mi žig*) . . . he said: 'Gentlemen, do you not know. . . . ?'").

[2] The Tibetan-Mongolian edition of the *Li-ŝiḫi gur khaṅ*, the *Bod kyi skad las gsar rnyiṅ gi brdaḫ khyad par ston pa legs par bŝad pa li ŝiḫi gur khaṅ* (see Schmidt-Boehtlingk's *Verzeichnis*, Tibetan-Mongolian prints, No. 43, *Bull. Hist.-phil. Acad. St. Petersb.*, T. iv (1848), cols. 124–5) has on page 3 A 1 the remark: *gyur cig gu lta buḫi gu ni smon paḫi tshig.*

[3] *Karmaśataka*, *Kanjur*, Narthang print, *mDo, Sa* 7 B 4: *sems can ḫdi lta bu sṅon gyi tshe rabs dran la / tshigs kyaṅ smra žiṅ/ bcom ldan ḫdas daṅ gtam zer ba su žig gu snyam mo* ("They thought, 'Who is this being that remembers his previous existence, speaks and converses with the Bhagavat?'"). Ibid., 24 A 3: . . . *de nas deḫi chuṅ mas bsams pa / ci ḫdi* (4) *bya ba byas pa yin nam / ḫon te so soḫi skye bo yin žig gu / gal te so soḫi skye bo yin na ni* . . . (Then his wife thought: "Can he do (extraordinary) things or is he a common man, If he is a common man . . .'"). Ibid., 26 A 1 *de nas nag pa glaṅ chen gnas kyis bsams pa / ḫod ḫdi suḫi yin žig gu / bcom ldan ḫdas kho naḫi gor ma chag na / bcom ldan ḫdas ga la bŝugs te / bdag la dgoṅs žig gu snyam pa daṅ* ("Then Nâgadeŝa (cf. Feer, *Journ. As.*, 1901 (Janv.-Juin), p. 436) thought: 'From whom does this light emanate?' (lit. whose is this light?). As it surely comes from the Bhagavat himself, may the Bhagavat remember me where(ever) he be!'"). 83 A 5 *khyim bdag des bsams pa / thabs ji* (6) *ltar byas na / khyeḫu ḫdiḫi tshe riṅ bar ḫgyur žig gu snyam nas* ("The householder thought: 'What can I do to ensure a long life to this boy (lit. If I do in what manner, this boy's life (is) turning into a long one)'"). Ibid. 143 B 3 *ḫjig rten na mi ḫjig paḫi chos gaṅ ḫjig par mi ḫgyur ba ḫgaḫ lta yod dam*

To discuss the nature of *cig* after an imperative would seem to lie outside the scope of this paper, which is now concerned with the etymology of *ciñ*. I think, however, that the suggested meaning "piece" gives us also an explanation for this peculiar usage of *cig*, and that it may therefore be adduced in support of the etymology. *ȘOG ȘIG*, literally "come piece!", can hardly have meant anything else but "come a little!". So the addition of *cig* after the imperative must originally have aimed at softening its harshness.[1] There is, however, a grave objection in the way of this explanation. It would seem incompatible with the principles of Tibetan word-order that the verb should be followed by a word which not only qualifies it but, in accordance with its nominal origin, in some cases even appears to function as its very object. The latter cases can perhaps be most easily dismissed. *zos ȘIG* "eat!", or *phul ȘIG* "give" would, indeed, according to our suggestion, originally mean "eat piece!", or "give piece", and the usage of *cig* after an imperative may probably have started from cases of this kind. But it was equally justifiable for *cig* "piece" to be used after a neuter verb—as in *ȘOG ȘIG*—where it would likewise denote that the requested action or state should have only a limited extent.[2] Once this latter usage had become generalized, the special function as object after transitive verbs was probably no longer felt as such, much the same as in French, where the negation with *pas* has been developed by a similar process of generalization, no difference is felt between *je ne tue pas* and *je ne vais pas*, although the latter can still be literally translated by "I do not go (a) step". If in spite of the well-established Tibetan word-order which places the object and any other qualifier of the verb before it, we find *cig* after the verb, this is due, I think, to the coincidence of two factors,

źig gu snyam mo ("he thought: 'Is there in the world then (*lta*) any (*ḥgaḥ*, see here above, p. 959, n. 5) imperishable doctrine which will not perish?'").

[1] Cf. A. H. Gardiner, *The Theory of Speech and Language* (Oxford, 1932), pp. 311–12 "*Almost everywhere there may be observed a tendency to replace the imperative by other forms, or at least to mitigate its peremptoriness by the addition of some courteous word or phrase.*" I may add that A. H. Francke (*Addenda* to the repr. of Jäschke's *Grammar*, 1929, p. 154) compared the German *einmal* after the imperative. His suggestion is of course, linked up with the idea that *cig* means primarily "one".

[2] It would seem as if originally the limited extent requested for an action could be contrasted by a sweeping prohibition. This, at least, would account for the appearance of *cog ge ȘOG* < **cog ge cog* in the examples referred to in note 2 on page 955. Cf. English *at all* with the negative imperative. (For the word-order, see below.) The usual appearance of *cig* with the negative imperative can, of course, also well be reconciled with the meaning "piece": *ma zer cig* "do not say a bit". (I do not discuss here the difference in stem of the negative imperative.)

one, that *cig* is enclitic,[1] and two, that we have to deal with its appearance after an imperative. We observe, in the Romance languages for instance, the position after the verb of toneless words which normally precede it, when the verb starts the sentence.[2] And if, as is often the case with imperatives, the sentence consists of nothing else but the verb in the imperative, the latter position naturally arises. I think therefore that the usage of appending *cig* to the imperative started with commands, or requests which consisted of the verb only. The meaning "a little" for *cig* must have faded at an early stage, so that, for instance, "wait a little" is generally expressed by *re žig sdod* (literally: "single piece wait," cf. above, p. 959), whereas *sdod cig* merely means "wait!"

Reverting, after this digression, to the etymology of *cig*, I find, as in the case of *dag*, further support for it in other members of the word-family. In addition to *ciñ*, which will be discussed presently, I consider *cig* (and *chig*), in the same way as *cag* and *cog*, members of the etymological family meaning "to break" which we discussed above (p. 955). Whereas the alternation *a—o*, which we find in *cag* and *cog*, occurs so frequently that it need not be exemplified, a few examples for the alternance *a—i*, which we assume when incorporating *cig* (and *chig*) in the etymological family, may be necessary to justify their inclusion. Side by side with *thañ*, primarily meaning "ground", as was shown in my paper in *HJAS.*, we have *gtiñ* "bottom",[3] or side by side with *ḫbrañ* "to follow" we have *ḫbriñ* "to follow"; and *ḫbriñ-po* "the middle (of three sons)" is obviously "the second" and as such a remarkable parallel to Latin *secundus*, derived from **sequondos* = "the following".[4] *rdza* "clay" belongs to *rdzi-ba* "to knead, press, tread", as does Latin *fictilis* "made of clay", *figulus* "potter", etc., with *fingo*[5] "to knead, mould, shape". Along with *thal-mo* "palm" we find *mthil* in *lag-mthil* "palm". *ldañ* "to rise" is complemented by *ldiñ* "to be swimming, floating, soaring" = "to be on top", or *ḫchañ* "to take hold of" by *ḫchiñ* "to bind". While *nyal* means "to lie down" (also of things: *rtsva nyal* "the grass is

[1] The enclisis is again borne out by the phonetic changes; cf. here above, p. 954.
[2] Cf., e.g., French *tue-le!* side by side with *je le tue*.
[3] See also here below, p. 974.
[4] Cf., e.g., C. D. Buck, *Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin* (2nd Impr., Chicago, 1937), p. 134.
[5] Cf. A. Walde, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 3rd ed., by J. B. Hofmann (Heidelberg, 1938), p. 501. The Tibetan series includes also *rdzu-ba* "to give a deceptive appearance" and other derivatives which will be discussed on another occasion. *zu-ba* obviously recalls a similar meaning of Latin *fingo*.

laid down", see Jäschke, *Dict.*, p. 186), *nyil* is "to decay, to crumble to pieces (of mountains)", also "to run down, flow down". *ḫtshar* "to be finished, consumed, spent" apparently belongs to *ḫtshir* "to press, press out, crush out", and *sbron, sbran* "to inform" to *ḫphrin* "to inform" and *phrin, ḫphrin* "message".

Let us now, after the attempt to prove for *cig* the original meaning "piece", revert to *ciñ*. In accordance with what has been said before, it would mean "in a (one) piece", or "together with", and these meanings would indeed, I think, explain the so-called gerundial function of *ciñ*, implying simultaneousness. A confirmation of the assumed phonetic development can be found in the following Kanjur-passage,[1] where *nyin re žiñ* "on each day" clearly stands for *nyin re žig na* (Narthang print, *ḫDul, Kha*, 281 B 4/5): *ṡes ldan dag ñas khyed cag rnams nyin re žiñ lha brgyaḫi bzaḫ ba dañ / bcaḫ ba bsod pa rab tu mañ po sta gon gyis ṡig par ma bsgo* (5) *ḫam* ("Gentlemen, did I not order you to have good food and drink in plenty prepared daily for 500 (monks)?"[2])

Our discussion of the etymology of *cig* and *ciñ* would, however, not seem complete without taking into account both *ci* and *ce*, which can hardly be excluded from the etymological family. Obviously, the link between *cig* "piece" and the interrogative-indefinite pronoun *ci* is provided by the indefinite meaning of *ci* "something",[3] which occurs so often in negative sentences, followed by (and mostly contracted with) *ḫañ* (= *yañ*: see here below, p. 966) "also".[4] It is then reminiscent of Chinese 一點也不 *i tien yeh pu* ("not even one dot") and can be imitated in English by "not a bit". Apparently the indefinite *ci* can even be provided with the diminutive suffix *gu*, in the same way as *cig* (see above, p. 960, n. 3), although so far I can offer only one example of this usage.[5] The development of the

[1] For the corresponding Chinese passage see *Tôkyô-Tripiṭaka*, vol. xxiv, p. 47 C 19.

[2] Observe also the addition of *par* after *cig*. For a similar function of *pa* after numerals, cf. Jäschke, *Grammar*, pp. 32–3. A further passage with *nyin re ziñ* (= Sanskrit *dine dine*) is to be found in the Tibetan version corresponding to *Divyāvadāna* (ed. Cowell and Neil), p. 540, l. 15: *Kanjur, ḫDul, Kha* 430 B 2.

[3] Also *cig* occurs as indefinite pronoun. Laufer, *Roman e. Tib. Königin*, Leipzig, 1911, p. 57, ll. 6/7 *mi khyod re dgaḫ žig ḫdug pa / cig rnyed pa žig yin nam ci la dgaḫ* ("You, man, are very cheerful. Have you found anything? or why are you (so) cheerful?").

[4] For example, in the frequent sentence about the Buddha's silently accepting an invitation, included in the *Mahâvyutpatti* (ed. Sakaki, No. 6451): *cañ mi gsuñ bar gyur bas gnañ* (*tûṣṇîm bhâvenâdhivâsayati*).

[5] Laufer, *Tib. Königin*, p. 58, 17: *ci gu thams cad brtags nas mi zer bar / bandes brkus so rgyug cig zer zer nas* ("You would not have said anything, if you had examined everything (lit. all little bits), instead of that you kept on saying: 'The priest stole

interrogative and relatival usage of *ci* from the indefinite usage, while constituting in itself a very interesting problem, which is in some way reminiscent of the development of the Chinese relatival 所 *so* from the noun *so* meaning "place"),[1] need not, of course, occupy us here.

As for *ce*, which occurs mostly with the instrumental or locatival suffixes attached to it (*ces*, *ce-na*), it seems nearest to *cha* "part" of the etymological family. Like the alternation *a—o*, the alternation *a—e* is so frequent that it need not be exemplified. The function of *ce* is to refer back to a name, an expression, a sentence, or a statement. It is possible that a meaning not very different from "part" fulfilled this function by pointing to the whole as "that lot", in a similar way as *cog* and *cag* function as plural suffixes, while meaning something like "the lot" (see above, p. 955, and also below, p. 971 n. 1).

III. *kyin*

kyin (with its alternative forms *gyin*, *gin*, *ḫin*, *yin*) has been touched upon in my paper in *HJAS.*, where it is adduced as an exact parallel to *kyis* (with its alternative forms), as far as the loss of the final vowel is concerned (the final *s* of the instrumental suffix being referred back to an original *sa*, or *so* "place"). While this treatment of the final vowel can now be confirmed by the further examples *dañ* and *ciñ*, the nature of the genitival suffix *kyi* and its alternative forms have yet to be discussed.

So far as I am aware, Professor Sten Konow was the first to point out that we have to deal here with a demonstrative pronoun.[2] His statement is partly based on the similarity in sound and function with the Chinese genitival particle *chih*, which also occurs as a pronoun On an earlier occasion [3] he also compared the Burmese genitival suffix *i* Both suggestions are accepted by Ch. Duroiselle, when he discusses Old Burmese အေ *e'*, the predecessor of the modern ဆိ *i*.[4]

In view of the original form of the suffix *kyi* which I am going to suggest, the theory that *kyi* is etymologically identical with Chinese

it, pursue him ! ' ") The parallel version of the story in the *Gzer-myig* (ed. by A. H. Francke, *Asia Major*, vol. iv (1927), p. 500 = MS., Fol. 79 B 1) has, however, *ji dgu*, which would be "the nine pieces", *dgu* being used in a generalizing way (see Jäschke, *Grammar*, Repr., Addenda, pp. 113 and 126) and *ji* being a (correlative) variant of *ci* (Jäschke, *Dict.*, p. 172).

[1] See my paper "Has the Chinese Language Parts of Speech ?" (*Transact. Philol. Soc.*, 1937, p. 106), where this development has been touched upon.

[2] *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. iii, P. i (1909), p. 26.

[3] Ibid., vol. iii, P. iii (1904), p. 6.

[4] *Epigraphia Birmanica*, vol. i (1919), pp. 35–6.

chih will, if maintained, require fresh substantiation. (On the other hand, this original form would seem even more closely related to the Burmese genitival suffix.) The functional similarity between *kyi* and *chih* is indeed striking. In both Chinese and Tibetan the rule of word-order prevails that the qualifier precedes the qualified, though there are differences in the treatment of adjectival epithets, for instance or in the position of the object. The function of *kyi* and *chih* then primarily at least, merely consists in ensuring that qualification will be understood, especially in cases when it would not seem clear from itself. It goes without saying that such kind of function can very well be fulfilled by a pronoun. In the case of *kyi* the meaning seems to be "this", or perhaps even "this latter", thus clearly referring to what immediately precedes it. This pronominal meaning can also be confirmed by the correlative usage of *kyi* and *ḫo* which we shall discuss here later (see p. 971).

If, then, *kyi* means "this", *kyin* < *kyi-na* means "in this". This meaning, as is obvious, would well account for the "gerundial" [1] function of *kyin*, which it shares with *ciñ*,[2] though it is of much rarer occurrence than the latter in literary Tibetan. Like *ciñ*, it refers back to an action, or a state of things expressed by the preceding verb. But while *ciñ*, as we have seen, implies simultaneousness by its etymology, *kyin* is closely related to *ḫo-na*, which was explained as "in this" in my paper in *HJAS*.

However, the etymology of *kyin* cannot be dismissed without an attempt to account for the four alternative forms of its etymon. As is well known, we observe *kyi* after final *d, b, s*; *gyi* after *n, m, r, l*; *gi* after *g* and *ñ*; and *ḫi* with the alternative *yi* in poetry after final vowels.[3] At first sight, it looks as if *gyi* is the original form of the suffix. We could then account for *kyi* by way of assimilation, although this would seem obvious only after *s*, and we might see in *gi*, *ḫi*, and *yi* reduced forms of *gyi*. The latter assumption, however, is bound to cause serious difficulties. We are used to expect reduced forms of suffixes, when the usage of the full forms leads to consonantal clusters which are difficult to pronounce. But exactly the opposite takes place.

[1] Cf., e.g., Jäschke, *Grammar*, 3rd ed. (and repr.), pp. 46–7 and 60.

[2] Cf. also A. H. Francke in *Addenda* to Jäschke's *Grammar* (Repr., 1929), p. 156.

[3] Cf. Jäschke, *Grammar*, p. 21. The rules can, of course, be found already in the works of the Tibetan grammarians. I refer to the recent editions and translations by J. Bacot (*Les Ślokas grammaticaux de Thonmi Sambhoṭa* (Paris, 1928), pp. 24, etc.), and J. Schubert (*Mitt. d. Sem. f. Orient. Sprachen*, 1928, I. Abt., p. 43, and *Artibus Asiae, 1st Supplement*, 1937, p. 46).

We find *kyi* added to words which end in *gs* and *bs*. From there clusters of four consonants (*gsky* and *bsky*) arise, and they are not simplified. On the other hand, we should have to suppose that *gyi*, when appended to a final vowel, or as we shall see below, rather to final *h*, had to be simplified to either *yi*, or *hi*. Nor do our difficulties end here. As will be suggested later, there is reason to regard the copula *yin* as etymologically identical with the alternative form *yin* of *kyin*. *yin*, in its function as copula, would again be very difficult to reconcile with an original *gyi-na* to which we should have to refer it back. And if we were to reject the etymology of *yin* on account of this difficulty, we should still be confronted with nearly the same facts by *yañ*, which, when isolated and stressed (in the meaning "again") sounds *yañ*, but when enclitic (in the meaning "also") sounds *kyañ* after *g*, *b*, *d*, *s*, and either *yañ* or *hañ* after vowels.[1] In view of these difficulties, I think it is impossible to refer *kyi*, *hi*, and *yi* back to an original *gyi*.

I suppose that the original form of what has become the genitival suffix was *'yi*, i.e. *yi* preceded by the glottal stop ད. The suggestion implies that I reckon with an original initial consonantal cluster "glottal stop + y" which as such no longer existed at the time when the Tibetan script was introduced, as it is never written there. Since I suppose the glottal stop to have been initial in *'yi*, I am entitled to assume certain changes when it becomes medial through enclisis. The first change which I then assume is a passing from laryngal to guttural articulation, when *'yi* is appended to a word ending in a consonant (which is not itself laryngal). This change would cover *kyi* and (with simultaneous or subsequent sonorization) also *gyi*. It would account also for *kyañ*, and for *gyañ*, which, though apparently not mentioned by Tibetan or European grammarians, occurs in Old-Tibetan documents.[2]

In the case of *gi*, which occurs after *g* and *ñ*, we must try to explain the loss of the *y*. This loss can also be observed in *hi*, which we find after vowels as an alternative of *yi*, the latter being mostly limited to poetry. In the same way, both *hañ* and *yañ* occur after vowels in the meaning "also". Considering this post-vocalic position, we must keep in mind that the so-called final vowel was, in an earlier stage

[1] See, e.g., Jäschke, *Dictionary*, p. 505. See also his *Grammar*, p. 75, n. 1, and Bacot, *Ślokas grammaticaux*, pp. 27–8.

[2] See A. H. Francke, *Tibetische Handschriftenfunde aus Turfan* (*Sitzungsberichte d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1924, iii, p. 16.

of the language, followed by the laryngal fricative *ḫ*.[1] When *'yi* was appended to words allegedly ending in a vowel, it seems that its laryngal plosive was either lost or assimilated to the preceding laryngal fricative. In the latter case, *y* was, I think, ousted by *ḫ*. The fate which *'yi* has suffered after a guttural is very similar. As the guttural articulation is most closely related to the laryngal, we may assume that the contact between the guttural final was closer and resulted first in a change of the glottal stop to *ḫ* by way of sonorization. The change to *ḫ* implied again the ousting of the *y*. The actual passing from laryngal to guttural articulation so resulted in *gi* not only after the guttural nasal (in accordance with *gyi* after *n* and *m*), but also after the guttural plosive (as opposed to *kyi* after *b* and *d*).[2]

IV. *yin*

We have just come across *yin* as one of the alternative forms of *kyin*, but it would seem quite different from the word *yin* which we meet so often in our texts as the copula. Nevertheless, as was intimated above, I should like to suggest that we have to do here with one and the same word. After having discussed what, I think, was the original form of *kyin*, we can easily dismiss the objection why there are no alternative forms to the copula *yin*, as there are to the gerundial suffix. Obviously *yin*, while being probably unstressed as the copula,[3] is then not enclitical and stands beside the fourfold gerundial suffix, as does *yañ* "again" beside the threefold *yañ* "also".

Let us, however, consider the syntactical implications of our etymology. Since *yin*, as we have seen, is a demonstrative pronoun (provided with a locative suffix), the etymology would mean that we have to reckon, at least primarily, with nominal sentences in Tibetan. *mi ḫdi ston pa yin* would originally be "man this teacher this-in", i.e. "This man (belongs) in the category of teachers". There could, it is true, hardly be any objection to this translation from the point of view of meaning, and it may be added that this way of expression would even be in full accordance with a well-known logical theory of predication, the so-called "class-inclusion view".[4] But the issue,

[1] See my *Tibetisch-chinesische Wortgleichungen* (Berlin, 1930), pp. 6–7, and p. 6, n. 6. Cf. also Bacot, *Les Ślokas grammaticaux*, p. 25, n. 1, p. 45, n. 1, and p. 187.

[2] I find, however, one example of *gyis* after final *g* in the Old-Tibetan texts published by A. H. Francke. See p. 9 of the paper quoted here, p. 966, n. 2. Note that so far there is no example for *gañ* as an alternative form of *'yañ*.

[3] See the remark in the preamble to this paper.

[4] Cf., for instance, J. Welton, *Manual of Logic*, vol. i, 2nd ed., 6th Impr. (London, 1922), pp. 198–200, and J. N. Keynes, *Studies and Exercises in Formal Logic* (London, 1928), pp. 181, etc.

after all, is syntactical, not logical. It would seem difficult to base the alleged existence of nominal sentences in Tibetan exclusively on the evidence of our etymology. However, to quote Jäschke,[1] "*yin* itself is often omitted in daily life in Western Tibet, as well as in poetry." Here, then, there are certainly examples of nominal sentences, whatever the nature of *yin*. And the existence of nominal sentences is by no means restricted to the two spheres indicated by Jäschke. They are not very rare in questions,[2] and we have in fact an abundant number of further examples in all those cases where *ciṅ*, *ste*, *kyi*, or *la* occur after adjectives. According to Jäschke's explanation, these suffixes then "include the verb *to be*" (*Dict.*, pp. 7 and 14), or "contain the copula". But such an explanation, suspect in itself, finds at least no support in the etymological analysis of the suffixes attempted in *HJAS.* and in this paper. To my mind, there can hardly be any doubt that we have to do here with a large group of nominal sentences. If that is so, the part of *yin* can primarily have been no other than to emphasize the special structure of the sentence. And it shares this function with another pronoun, with which it can also be combined. I mean the so-called final *o*, in which I see, as was asserted in *HJAS.*, the demonstrative pronoun *ḫo* "that".[3] To discuss first the combination of *yin* and *ḫo*, it seems that the logical inclusion of the subject in the class named as predicate becomes even more manifest. Since *yin*, in like manner as *kyi*, cannot refer to anything but the immediately preceding word,[4] it is probable that *ḫo* will then refer to the subject. This would also be in accordance with its meaning "that", pointing to a more distant object. In the form *mi ḫdi ston pa yin no*,[5] our sentence would therefore indicate the class-inclusion in a way which is nearing a mathematical formula. After naming first subject, then predicate, it asserts that the former belongs in the latter. From the linguistic point of view no mean achievement indeed.

Passing from the cases where we find a combination of *yin* and *ḫo*

[1] *Grammar*, 3rd ed., p. 52.

[2] Cf., e.g., the first example adduced here in n. 1 on p. 960, or the sentence *ḫdiḫi gtan tshigs gaṅ* ("what is the proof of this?"), included in Thonmi Sambhoṭa's *Ślokas* (ed. J. Bacot, Paris, 1928, p. 41).

[3] When writing that paper, I failed to realize that *ḫo* itself is recognized as a demonstrative pronoun, and that only its identity with the final *o* has to be proved. I wish, however, to point out that Csoma in his *Dictionary* clearly differentiates between *ḫu* "this", and *ḫo* "that", though the two pronouns have been mixed up by Jäschke, who quotes Csoma as his authority (*Dict.*, pp. 499 and 500).

[4] See above, p. 965.

[5] About the assimilation of *ḫ* to the final consonant of the preceding word, see here below, p. 969, n. 4.

to those where *ḫo*, to quote Jäschke,[1] " is found to represent the verb ' to be ' in all its meanings," we shall feel inclined to see in *ḫo* again a reference to the subject. The function of *ḫo* then becomes strongly reminiscent of a similar part played by the personal pronoun of the third person in Hebrew. There, in nominal sentences " not infrequently a connection is established between subject and predicate by adding the separate pronoun of the 3rd person sg. or plur., expressly resuming and therefore strengthening the subject ".[2] The respective spheres of *yin* and *ḫo* have, it is true, not yet been clearly defined. However, it is interesting to note that, according to A. H. Francke,[3] *yin* is used " particularly in those cases where the predicate is a substantive ". Since the usage of *yin* must have started from cases where it follows a noun denoting some kind of a class, it would be quite in accordance with the etymology of *yin*, if it is found preferably with nouns, if not with nouns denoting a class. However, this question must be left to later research.

While the etymology of *yin* is clearly supported by both the addition and the similar usage of *ḫo*, the identity of this *ḫo* with the demonstrative pronoun has still to be proved. First, it must be admitted that the form *ḫo* occurs only after vowels. When the preceding word ends in a consonant, either the vowel *o* is appended, or the consonant is repeated: *bdeno* or *bden no* (" it is true "). But this assimilation, or loss of the initial *ḫ*[4] would have hardly prevented grammarians from recognizing the identity, and in fact, they often spell the final particle as *ḫo* while discussing it. If so far no attempt has been made to identify the final *ḫo* with the demonstrative pronoun, this was the case because *ḫo* does not occur only after nouns, and adjectives, i.e. at the end of what we should now call nominal sentences, but also after the last verb of a sentence, which it is then said to mark as the final verb. For this latter usage which shows various degrees of frequency in different kinds of texts, a number of explanations would offer themselves. The final *ḫo*, while in its original sphere in nominal sentences only, may have encroached on the verbal sentences. Or, when occurring in verbal sentences, it may at first have been

[1] *Grammar*, 3rd. ed., p. 53.

[2] Gesenius, *Hebrew Grammar*, 2nd English edition by A. E. Cowley (Oxford, 1910), p. 453, § 141, *g—a*.

[3] " *Addenda* " to Jäschke's *Grammar*, repr., 1929, p. 147.

[4] The treatment of the initial *ḫ* here clearly differs from that suggested for *ḫi* < *'yi* (see above, p. 966). But there we had to do with a transient sound, whereas here we are confronted by the assimilation of a word starting with *ḫ*. See also here later.

added when it properly belonged not to the final verb, to which it was appended, but to a verb of saying, thinking, believing, hoping, etc., which followed immediately after it, in a similar manner as the English "conjunction" *that* originally belonged to the preceding verb as its object.[1] Or, the addition of *ḫo* may appear justified, or at least facilitated by the well-known nominal nature of the Tibetan verb (which manifests itself in the usage of the instrumental case to express the subject of a transitive verb). Especially the latter alternative would involve the discussion of the Tibetan verb, which I do not wish to attempt here. Therefore I content myself with mentioning several possible explanations for the occurrence of the demonstrative pronoun *ḫo* at the end of a verbal sentence, without committing myself to any of them. All of them would seem to account for it in a not wholly unsatisfactory way. On the other hand, the non-committal attitude towards them renders the allegation of additional proof for the pronominal origin of the final *ḫo* all the more imperative.

I find such support, above all, in the occurrence of *ḫo cog* in circumstances which are strongly reminiscent of the appearance of *ḫo* after the final verb,[2] and in the case of *ḫo cog* the pronominal character of the *ḫo* can hardly be doubted. It is nothing else, I think, but the demonstrative pronoun *ḫo* followed by the plural suffix *cog* which we discussed in the beginning of this paper.[3] As is evident from the quotation just given, Jäschke, while failing to recognize the nature of *ḫo cog*,[4] translated it correctly by "those" (better perhaps "all those"). *ḫo cog* seems to have become obsolete; expressions like *de dag thams cad* replace it in later texts.[5]

[1] "I think that he will come" < "I think that. He will come." See also here below, p. 971, n. 1.

[2] Cf., e.g., the description by Jäschke, s.v. *cog* (*Dict.*, p. 142): "When affixed to a word, it must be preceded by the vowel *o*, the final consonant of the root being at the same time repeated. Affixed to verbs, it seems to convert them into participles: *ḫoṅs so cog la* 'to those arrived'." On p. 499 Jäschke wrongly inserts *ḫo cog* under *ḫu cag*, giving it the meaning "we".

[3] See above, p. 955, n. 2, and p. 961, n. 2.

[4] One must go back to the oldest European dictionary of Tibetan to find a separate entry *ḫo cog*. It is included in F. C. G. Schroeter's *Dictionary of the Bhotanta or Boutan Language* (Serampore, 1826, p. 474) and translated there as "all, the whole". This is in agreement with a gloss in the *brDaḫ gsar rnyiṅ gi skor*, where it is rendered by *ma lus*, which stands evidently for *ma lus par* "entirely" (see p. 2 B of the Tibetan-Mongolian edition of the work, which constitutes the last part of the *Dag yig mkhas paḫi byuṅ gnas*).

[5] In addition to the example quoted by Jäschke from the *Dzaṅ-lun*, or that adduced by S. Ch. Das under *cog-cig-car* (*Dict.*, p. 384), I wish to refer to a number of examples in the *Karmaśataka*, where, however, also *de dag thams cad* occurs in the same syntactical situation. A passage like *kye ma rgyal po chen po rnam thos kyi bu gnod sbyin che bar*

A further argument for the pronominal origin of the final *ḫo* can be seen in the fact that *ḫo* is correlated to another pronoun in double sentences (both being appended to the respective verbs). This is *kyi*, as we have seen, the etymon of *yin*, and as we shall see, also a close relative of the pronoun *ḫo*. The correlative usage of *kyi* [1] and *ḫo* is in a way reminiscent of Greek μέν and δέ: *Kanjur*, Narthang print, *ḫDul, Ka*, 403 A 6/7) *de lta bas na rjesu gnañ ste / khyim du khri stan mthon po la ḫdug par byaḫi der nyal bar ni mi byaḫo* ("so he allowed (the monks) to sit in a house on beds highly covered with mattresses (= *uccaśayana*: cf. *Mahâvyutpatti*, ed. Sakaki, No. 8699), but not to sleep on them"); (*Karmaśataka, Kanjur*, Narthang print, *mDo, Sa*,

grags so cog dañ lhan (104 A) *cig tu ña blta baḫi phyir ḫoñs na* ("Oh, if the great Kuvera together with all the famous Yakshas came to see me", *mDo, Sa*, p. 103 B 7, Narthang print of the *Kanjur*) can be compared with *bdag cag gi bzaḫ ba dañ / bcaḫ ba sta gon byas pa de dag thams cad . . . phulo* ("I gave away all the food and drink which I had prepared", ibid., p. 86 A 2). For *byas pa de dag thams cad* also *byas so cog* could be found. I give the following further examples: *bu dañ bu mo btsaso cog ḫchi bar ḫgyur ro* ("all the sons and daughters that he had died"; ibid., 83 A 3); *de nas deḫi khyim bdag paḫi gos dañ rgyan bskon no cog mi snañ bar gyur te* ("then all the clothes and the adornment of a householder with which he had dressed (him) vanished", ibid., p. 83 B 5). I have only one example for *ḫo cog* after an adjective: *nyin cig bźin du ri dags bzañ ño cog bsad de* ("daily killing good game", ibid. 140 A 6). As can be gathered from the examples, after a verb *ḫo cog* plays often the part of what would be the antecedent of a relatival clause. This may throw light on an interesting passage of the *gZer Myig* (*Asia Major*, iv (1927), p. 498, l. 7): *slob dpon lhaḫis gsuñs na ci gsuñ ma nyan no chog* (or *cog*). A. H. Francke (ibid., vol. v (1928), p. 13, translates: "If the divine Master does not speak, I wish to hear no other speech." I think the passage rather means: "When the divine Master spoke I did not hear all that he said." That the passage is difficult can also be inferred from the fact that it is changed in the version reproduced in Laufer's *Roman einer Tibetischen Königin* (Leipzig, 1911, p. 57, ll. 2–3) [A number of examples for *ḫo cog* (which I discovered only after this article had gone to press) are included in A. Schiefner's paper "Über Pluralbezeichnungen im Tibetischen" (*Mém. Acad. St. Petersb.* xxv (1878), No. I, pp. 15–16). Schiefner also explains the *ḫo* of *ḫo cog* as demonstrative pronoun.]

[1] That *kyi* is used "when two sentences are in contrast to each other", has already been pointed out by A. H. Francke in the "*Addenda*" to Jäschke's *Grammar* (Repr., 1929, p. 156). But his two examples fail to show the correlative usage of *kyi* and *ḫo*. Jäschke combines *kyi* with *kyis* both in his *Grammar* (3rd Ed., pp. 59–60) and in his *Dictionary* (pp. 6–7) without mentioning *ḫo* in either place. As for *kyi* and *kyis* occurring at the end of sentences and allegedly expressing the future tense (Jäschke, *Dict.*, p. 6; Francke, *Addenda*, p. 153), I should like to point out that the examples are apparently always followed by a verb of saying, so that *kyi* and *kyis* might properly belong to this verb, in the case of *kyi* in a similar way as this was suggested as a possible explanation for *ḫo* after a verb (see here above, p. 970, and n. 1), in the case of *kyis* in a manner which is reminiscent of *ces* (see here above, p. 964). It need hardly be said that there is, of course, no connection between *gyis* and the verb *bgyid-pa* "to make", as suggested by A. H. Francke. To his example from the *gZer-Myig* (*As. Major*, iv, p. 512, 12; cf. also p. 492, 13, and Laufer, *Tib.-Königin*, p. 67, 16) add *ḫgroḫis* in *As. Major*, iv, p. 175, 15, which shows that his suggestion cannot be maintained.

134 B 1) *khyod ni rgyal poḫi ḫos lags kyi bdag ni ḫos ma lags so* ("You are worthy to be king, not I"); (*Kanjur*, Narthang print, *ḫDul, Kha* 287 A 1) *dge sloṅ mgo reg ḫdi dag ni tshod ma ro sna tshogs daṅ ldan pa daṅ / ḫbras chan za bar ḫos pa ma yin gyi / nas rul pa za bar ḫos pa yin no* ("These shaven-headed monks need not eat exquisite dishes and boiled rice, they should eat rotten barley"). The last example shows us the combination *yin gyi* as correlative to the combination *yin no* which has been discussed before. *lags-kyi* and *lags so*, which we find in the last but one example, are of course the honorifics for *yin gyi* and *yin no*.

Another argument for the pronominal origin of *ḫo* may be found in the fact that it is not only correlated to *kyi* and alternating with *yin*, but itself a close relative of the two latter words. But this will better be discussed in connection with our next particle.

V. *ḫam*

As was indicated in the preamble to this paper, I assume that the final *m* of *ḫam* is shortened from the negation *ma*, or *mi*. The first element *ḫa* is, I think, another demonstrative pronoun which is appended to words in the same way as *ḫo*, and which is even, as we shall see, etymologically closely related with it.

But before discussing the etymology of *ḫa*, we must consider the syntactical side of the suggestion. According to it, the Tibetan question would be formed in a way which is strongly reminiscent of Latin. There we have the negation *ne* functioning as a question-particle. And in a sphere closely connected with Tibetan, there is another parallel to this usage, viz. in Colloquial (Northern) Chinese. The particles *ma*, or *mo*, used to form the question, do not, it is true, occur as such as negation. But it can hardly be accidental that they are similar and, in certain parts, even identical in sound with the common Sinitic negation. Moreover, we have in Literary Chinese the negation 否 *fou* used as a question particle. Also the double question in the form 他好不好 *t'a hao pu hao* ("is he well?")[1] (which occurs in Tibetan as well) may be mentioned in this connection.

Let us now revert to the first element. Is *ḫa* then a relative of *ḫo* "that" (which would bring in *ḫu* "this" at the same time),

[1] Cf. how Professor Bacot (*Les Ślokas grammaticaux de Thonmi Sambhota*, p. 31, n. 2) expresses a similar point of view concerning the Chinese and Tibetan questions, without, however, discussing the etymology of *ḫam*. Concerning the Chinese double question I may refer to my paper in *Sinica*, viii (1933), pp. 216–220.

and is there, furthermore, a connection between the three words and the various forms of *kyi*, for which we have reconstructed an original **'yi*? Asserting that all these words are indeed closely related with one another, implies the assumption that side by side with **'yi* there must have been originally **'ya*, **'yo*, and **'yu*,[1] from which *ḫa*, *ḫo*, and *ḫu* have arisen in a similar way as *ḫi* has arisen from **'yi*.

I wish first to prove the reconstruction of **'ya*, **'yo*, and **'yu* by adducing what I assume to be other members of the etymological family. Starting with *ya*, which is the independent form of **'ya* in the same way as *yin* is the independent form of **'yi-na*, or *yañ* the independent form of **'yañ*, we recognize that the demonstrative pronoun *ḫa* has an original local meaning. For *ya* means "above" (and also "one of a kind, one member of a pair"). In my paper in *HJAS*. I connected with it the word for "right side", *gyas*, explaining it as "the high side" (*gya sa* or *so*). Looking at the word *gyon* for "left", we shall now, in the light of the etymologies of this paper, separate it from *yo* "oblique"[2], with which I had connected it, and refer it back to *gyo-na* "on the low side". This new etymology would imply that originally a word **yo* "below" stood by the side of *ya* "above". And it is with this **yo*, arisen from **'yo*, that we must connect not only the pronoun *ḫo* "that", as opposed to *ḫa* "this", but also *ḫog* "under", and *gyog* "servant", or "to cover", the latter having a **'yog* as their etymon.[3]

The etymology of *gyon* would furthermore induce us to reconsider the original dental final of *ya* "above", assumed in my paper in *HJAS*. on the evidence of *yan* "above". Evidently *yan* can go back to *ya-na* "on the high side", as *gyon* is now assumed to go back to *gyo-na*, and so it would be non-committal as to the original final consonant of *ya*. On the evidence of **yo*, clearly belonging to a guttural family, we should then feel inclined to suppose a guttural final for *ya*. This would allow us to include *yañ* "again" or "also" in the family. The primary meaning would be "above, on top" which can in fact imply both "again" and "also", and can be imitated by English

[1] Note that we have *yu-bu-cag* side by side with *ḫu-bu-cag* ("we").

[2] *yo* "oblique" belongs in a series with labial final: *yom* "to swing, to totter, to be unsteady", *gyo* "to move, incline, tilt", *yob* "stirrup", perhaps also *gyo* "deceit". But the *yo* of *yo-byad* "to prepare" and *gyo* "to prepare" may belong in the local series (= "to lay the foundations").

[3] According to my paper in *H.J.A.S.* also *ḫoñ* "to come" and *ḫo* in the meaning "time, turn" would belong here.

"on top of it".[1] I suppose that *yaṅ* "light, lightness" belongs here as well, the idea of lightness being conveyed by the intimation that the object (for instance in water) remains "on top".[2] Also the *yaṅ* of *yaṅ dag* ("most pure" = "top-pure") and the *ya*[3] of *ya mtshan* ("wonder, miracle" = "top sign") could well be included as further members. These would conclude the list of words derived from **'ya* and **'yo*. As for *'yu*, it is not impossible but doubtful that *yu* "the handle, hilt, shaft", also "leg of a boot" constitutes a derivative. If so, it would probably in some way indicate the relative position of the respective part of the utensil.

In further support of the reconstructions, I wish to adduce another word-family where alternations of the vowel coincide with differentiations as to place. In the same way as **'ya* "above" and **'yo* "below" are contrasted, we find *mtha* "lower end" opposed to *mtho* "high, height".[4] While the guttural final of *mtho* can be seen in *thog* "upper end", I refer to my paper in *HJAS.* for *thag* "bottom end". In this paper here (see above, p. 962) *gtiṅ* "bottom" was connected with *thaṅ* "ground". The *u*-alternation can probably be found in *thug*, *gtug* "to reach", where again the meaning "end" is implied. With a dental final we find *stod* "the higher part" (or *stad* "to put on", *stan* "mat, carpet") clearly contrasted with a group of words containing the vowel *u*, which have some connection with the idea of a downward movement, as *thur* "downwards" (the *r* is a suffix), *ḫthu* "to gather, pick, collect", *gtun* "pestle", and *ḫdud* (perf. *btud*) "to bow, incline". A last series would bring us back to our pronouns, although I feel unable to indicate any original meaning besides the deictic which they have now. But it is, of course, quite possible that in *da*, *de*,[5] *do*, and *ḫdi* the alternations of the vowels indicate the respective distances of the objects pointed out by the speaker.

One last point must be discussed. We have reconstructed **'yi* and **'ya* in order to explain the variations of *kyi* and *yaṅ* after certain final consonants. How, then, can we account for *ḫa* and *ḫo* which are appended indiscriminately to any final consonant. I suppose that *ḫa* and *ḫo* (and in the same way *ḫog* and *ḫoṅ*) do not go back directly

[1] Cf. also German *überdies*, or *obendrein*.

[2] Cf. above (p. 962) the etymology of *ldiṅ*, originally meaning "to be on top".

[3] *ye* in *ye śes*, etc., may be another variant, going back to **'ye*.

[4] Note, however, that there is no definite connection between the quality of the vowels and the place, as opposed, for instance, to Manchu, where we have the light *e* for *wesimbi* "to rise", and the dark *a* for *wasimbi* "to descend", etc.

[5] Cf. with *de* the last but one note about *ye*.

to *'*ya*, *'*yo*, etc., but to prefixed forms of these etymons. The prefix was, I think, *ḫ*, which we have just observed in the case of the pronoun *ḫdi*, and which, as we have seen before, assimilates the glottal stop, ousting the *y* at the same time.

With the etymology of *ḫam* I bring this paper to a conclusion. *ḫam* is perhaps the only [1] case in Tibetan where an etymon has coalesced with an original final *ma*, or *mi*. But the list of words where an etymon has coalesced with *na*, will, to all probability, be much longer. To the words discussed in this paper, for instance, *ḫon* and *gan* can be added from my paper in *HJAS*.

I conclude with a remark which seems of importance for future etymological research in our field. As we have seen in the case of *gyon* and *yan*, we are no longer justified in inferring an original dental final for a vowel-ending word on the sole evidence of a derivative's ending in *-n*.

[1] Observe, however, the shortening of *ma* in *sña-ma kho* > *sña mkho*. The latter spelling can be observed twice in one line of the Narthang print of the *Dzañ-lun* (*mDo*, *Sa*, p 201 A 7).

An Overlooked Type of Inference

By Arnold Kunst

A DETAILED analysis of single statements corroborates more and more our conviction that the elements of Hindu mentality (viz. philosophy, religion, and fine arts) are subject to certain fixed and common rules of thinking. If we acknowledge any one analytical method—of course the most general possible—as sufficient and adequate, we can presume that whatever may at any time be the object of our analysis must follow the method adopted. If we accept as a principle for the veracity of all judgments that they must be subjected to the rule of *sapakṣe sattva* [1] and *vipakṣe asattva*,[2] then the analysis will show that in reality all statements are measurable under the aspect of those two criteria. The only breach in this principle was made by a Jaina logical school which, while anticipating the principles of our "implication", admits the syllogism fulfilling the *anyathānupapannatva* condition, i.e. it accepts as true conditional sentences of which the protasis does not reach beyond the sphere of the predicated subject (*pakṣa*).[3] In other words: the argument, when predicating a fact, forms a true sentence, even if it does not predicate the class to which the fact belongs. Whilst the Buddhist syllogism oscillates between class inference and sentence calculus (*sapakṣa* and *vipakṣa* being the necessary conditions), the Jaina syllogism advances exclusively the sentence calculus, and the validity of the predication is confined merely to the implication in question. It refutes

[1] *Sapakṣe sattva* (lit. the presence in the homogeneous class of subjects) is one of the marks of a valid argument (*hetu*). A judgment in which the rule of the *sapakṣe sattva* is fulfilled is a sentence where the subject of the proposition (*sādhyadharmin*) as a variable can be replaced by another subject predicated by the same predicate (*sādhyadharma*) and proved by the same argument (*hetu* or *hetudharma*). All subjects to which the same *sādhyadharma* and the same *hetudharma* can be applied belong to the *sapakṣa* of the *sādhyadharmin*.

[2] *Vipakṣe asattva* (lit. the absence in the heterogeneous class of subjects) is also one of the marks of the valid *hetu*. It is the negative formulation of the *sapakṣe sattva*. A judgment in which the rule of the *vipakṣe asattva* is fulfilled is a sentence where the *sādhyadharmin* as a variable cannot be replaced by another subject predicated by the same *sādhyadharma* and at the same time denied by the *hetudharma*. All subjects which are thus contradictory to the *sādhyadharmin* are its *vipakṣa*. There would be a subtle difference in both the above definitions if we started from the predicates and not from the subjects. Then we should consider the subjects as statical values and the predicates as variable ones. That, however, would be important only for the deduction of the *vipakṣa* definition from the *sapakṣa* definition.

[3] Cf. Tattvasaṅgraha, 1365 ff.

the controlling authority of the instances (*dṛṣṭānta*).[1] The function of the latter is to verify the conformity or non-conformity of the subject (*sādhyadharmin*) with homogeneous and heterogeneous classes respectively. The breach in the tradition made by the Jainas is so important that we must examine it carefully in order to decide whether the postulate of the *anyathānupapannatva* is merely theoretical, or whether it is applied in Jaina disputations as a practical method. For the practical application of certain logical methods as a technique of making statements, we can view the whole of profane and philosophical literature as a theatre of syllogisms. But in order to investigate a technique of construing syllogisms, we have to select such sentences as consist of proposition and argument, and approximate to, or equal, a definition. Then we have to consider whether the rules by which these sentences were constructed are consistent with those rules which are accepted by the philosophical school as necessary for the construction of inferences. Although such a diagnosis might seem quite simple and certain, it is not always at first sight evident, because we find between loosely formulated sentences and those in the form of definite syllogism some intermediate ones.

I would point to a class of "intermediate" sentences of this kind, which are practically syllogisms but not instantly recognizable as such. These are the syllogisms, the apodosis of which begins with the copula *kiṃ punar*. The examples cited below, of which I present only a small selection, and which are characteristic of a certain class of texts, testify that we are not dealing with a kind of merely poetical emphasis but with an inference hidden under the guise of *alaṃkāra*.

In the Śabarabhāṣya to the Mīmāṃsādarśana (i, 1, 27–32) we come across a discussion on the human and superhuman origin of the Vedas and hence of the infallibility of Vedic revelation. Among other objections, one is that we meet in the Vedas such apparently abstruse utterances that we must admit that they cannot possibly be considered as of divine origin.

Thus we read :—

(Objector) : *anupapannam* (viz. with the sentence *agnihotraṃ juhuyāt svargakāmaḥ*) *idaṃ dṛśyate : vanaspatayaḥ satram āsata*, etc.

(Siddhāntin) : . . . *ity evam ādayo nānupapannāḥ ; stutayo hy etāḥ satrasya. vanaspatayo nāmācetanā idaṃ satram upāsitavantaḥ, kiṃ punar vidvāṃso brāhmaṇā iti.*

[1] Cf. my *Probleme der Buddhistischen Logik*, Polska Akademia Umiejętności. Cracow, 1939, pp. 12 ff.

(Objection: The statement "Trees worshipped the sacrifice" is absurd. Siddhāntin: It is not absurd. It serves to eulogize the sacrifice; the meaning is: even such unconscious things as trees worshipped the sacrifice; how much more the learned *brāhmaṇās* ?)

As Śabarasvāmin asserts, these words are introduced for the *stuti* of the sacrifice. *Stuti* is a poetical figure, which serves to eulogize the object in question.[1] On the other hand, *stuti* occurs mostly in contexts where its meaning is rather "recommendation" and, so to speak, in modern language "advertisement". It designates sentences the purpose of which is to recommend something by hinting at, or enumerating, the profits which one may gain as a consequence of following the injunction preceding the *stuti*. According to the rules of poetry there are various types of *stuti*. That the *kiṃpunar* type, however, is not exclusively a poetical figure, though it is often used in *kāvya* as an inferior embellishment, is proved by the fact that this type of figure-inference has never been classed in any manual of poetics, whilst *anumāna* itself is mentioned as a kind of poetical figure.[2]

Nevertheless, a detailed analysis based upon the principles of Indian syllogistic will show that the sentence cited above fulfils the function of an inference. *Kiṃpunar* is a copula which connects the protasis with the apodosis. The common predicate for both of these subjects is "worship". As a rule, the predicate in the Indian syllogism is common to the subject of the proposition and to the subject of the instance (*dṛṣṭānta*). The condition to be fulfilled is the *sapakṣa*: the subject of the proposition and the subject of the instance, determined by a single predicate, proved by the common argument (*hetu*), gives as a result a significant and true sentence. The sentences connected by the copula *kiṃpunar* form a conditional sentence, which is easy to formulate by prefacing the first part with "if" and the second part with "then". Thus we obtain a relation between the *dṛṣṭānta* (with the hidden *hetu*, verified by the *pakṣadharmatva*) and the proposition (*pakṣa* = protasis). Thus the formulation in a three-membered (*trayāvayava*) syllogism would be a following one:—

pakṣa: vidvāṃso brāhmaṇāḥ satram upāsitavantaḥ
(*hetu: satrasya stavanāt*)
dṛṣṭānta: yathā (*api*) *vanaspatayaḥ.*

As we see, the argument is outside the range of the implication; and this fact, and *api* in the *dṛṣṭānta* as well, indicate the apparently

[1] Cf. Mammaṭa's Kāvyaprakāśa, 10, 25.
[2] Cf. Mammaṭa's Kāvyaprakāśa, 10, 35.

non-orthodox construction of the syllogism. But the apparent informality consists only in the accidental character of the *sapakṣa*: '*brāhmanāḥ*' and '*vanaspanatayaḥ*'. In a formally constructed syllogism the '*brāhmanāḥ*' and '*vanaspatayaḥ*' would probably be found in the *vipakṣa*. In this kind of inference, however, *api* has both a conjunctive and a disjunctive function. It indicates and emphasizes the heterogeneity of the *pakṣa*- and *dṛṣṭānta* subjects. With regard to the heterogeneity of these two subjects we must again stress the probability, because *vipakṣatva* is conditioned by the *pakṣadharmatva*; and the *pakṣadharmatva* is fulfilled, when the subject of the proposition and the argument as a predication give a true sentence. The homogeneity and heterogeneity of the subjects "*brāhmaṇāḥ*" and "*vanaspatayaḥ*" depends upon the argument by which this predicate is proved. The probability of heterogeneity (impredicability by the same predicate) of our two subjects is considerable, because we are dealing with the Mīmāṃsā school, and, as is known, the *sapakṣa* and *vipakṣa* depend upon the *siddhāntas*, i.e. upon certain basic axioms accepted in the respective systems; and these pre-suppose certain *pramāṇas*, which prejudice the location of the *sapakṣa* and *vipakṣa*.

In our implication (from now on we shall thus term the sentence formulated with *kiṃpunar*) the *sapakṣa*, although accidental, is irrefutable, for it is determined by the common predication *upāsitavantaḥ* and by the not explicitly mentioned argument (*satrasya stavanāt*). The exceptional character of this *sapakṣa* is indicated by the fact that it does not extend to any other predications, but is limited to the syllogism in question. It is worth while to notice that this limitation is one of the conditions of the *anyathānupapannatva* accepted by the Jaina logicians. This very limitation and the incompatibility between the two subjects are, as it were, stressed by the particle *api*. *Api* excludes the homogeneity of these subjects in other sentences by pointing out their accidental juxtaposition in the sentence in question, which exclusion is enhanced on the other hand by the adjectives *acetanāḥ* and *vidvāṃsaḥ*; but at the same time *api* admits the possibility of placing both these subjects under the heading of one and the same argument, and thus increases the value of the *hetu* (in our implication *stavana*). In several cases the antithetical adjectives —like *acetanāḥ* and *vidvāṃsaḥ*—are omitted, and then *api* alone is considered sufficient to express the primary incompatibility of the subjects juxtaposed. The omission of the adjectives strengthens

rather than weakens the force of both the argument and the proposition, as the non-conformity of the confronted subjects, which is supported by the *siddhānta*, is generally known.

Apart from that, the implied, but not expressed, presupposition must be wide enough in its range to embrace the aim of the recommendation (*stavana*); the aim being "expressed" in the hidden *hetu*, and the recommendation in the implication itself.

Thus we must presuppose :—

(1) The relation which exists between one subject and the other (independently of whether *kiṃpunar* means "how much more" or "how much less"), and by which the tendency of one of the subjects to reach the aim is conditioned;

(2) the heterogeneity (*vipakṣa*) of both subjects in all or almost all sentences, whereby the present homogeneity is more strongly emphasized;

(3) an argument in which the purpose of the common tendency of both subjects can be clearly expressed.

We may venture to illustrate by a graphic simile what we mean by our logical argumentation. Let us visualize a scalene triangle, in which the tendency of the differences of the two subjects is expressed in the proportion of the dimensions of the angles. The wider the range of the heterogeneity of these subjects (beyond the implication sphere), the greater the differences in the dimensions of the base angles. In other words: the fewer the similar qualities that are primarily given, the greater will be the effect of the recommendation, formulated by the *kiṃpunar* syllogism. The argument (or the purpose of the recommendation) as an apex of the triangle affects the dimensions of the base angles. The moment at which the scalene triangle should be turned into an equicrural or equilateral triangle would correspond to that moment at which the inference would lose the reason of being *de majore ad minus* or vice versa, and the *kiṃpunar* copula could be replaced by the ordinary conditional copula. But the moment at which the sides of the triangle would cover the base would correspond to the point of the utmost effort of the *kiṃpunar* copula.

In another passage of the Mīmāṃsādarśana (I.2.46) we come across a similar discussion. The objection is, that the text addresses an inanimate object like a stone, as if it were a conscious being. The answer to that is that it occurs only because of recommendation and eulogy of the morning reciting of the Vedas (*yatra acetanāḥ santo*

grāvāṇo 'pi śṛṇuyuḥ, kiṃpunar vidvāṃso 'pi brāhmaṇāḥ). The quotation of both these examples from Mīmāṃsādarśana is important, because they deliver the final formulation (*prayoga*) of the counter-proofs against the objections of the *pūrvapakṣa*. And, as is known, the final formulation is always given in a correctly constructed inference. Because, however, we are dealing with a formulation, the purpose of which is to recommend the sublimity of the *prātaranuvāka* to the people, the correct construction of the inference has been performed in the form of *kiṃpunar*.

The attempt of the above formal analysis of this kind of sentences might perhaps be a sufficient test for the fact that all judgments with *kiṃpunar* are regular inferences, and were regarded as such by the Indians themselves. It is true that we do not find this kind of procedure of formulating syllogisms mentioned anywhere in the copious Indian literature on logic. But no discussions of other formal problems *sensu stricto* can be traced either. What is available in this subject are mere statements and attempts *a posteriori* to select the single *avayavas* of the syllogism and to establish their mutual relations. The main type of formalization consists in the reconstruction of the common-sense judgment into a scientifically elaborated syllogism. But the main interest is always directed to the epistemological value of the inference : whether and how far it is a *pramāṇa*, i.e. an adequate means of cognition, and what kind of phenomena it embraces. It has its strict and highly developed rules ; but nevertheless it is elastic, and the elasticity does not concern the external form of the inference, but merely affects its contents (like compatibility and incompatibility of the subjects, the pre-established concordance of the predicates, etc., etc.). The reluctance of Indian logicians to recognize mechanically established patterns makes almost all individual sentences subject to individual investigation. Hence the effort of Indian logicians to find common rules for internal connections inside the syllogisms, and, on the other hand, their neglect of rigid formal rules for pre-establishing these connections. We must admit, however, that there is no very great dissimilarity between common sense judgments and scientifically elaborated syllogisms ; and from the five-membered *anumāna* of the Naiyāyikas and Vaiśeṣikas through the three-membered one of the Buddhists up to the mostly simplified *anumāna* of some Jainas, the dissimilarity becomes ever less. This is yet another proof that the purely scientific discussion approaches in its method gradually nearer to the popular way of argumentation. For the Indian philosopher

and logician the most important question with regard to this problem was, whether the layman's judgment was consistent with the *siddhānta*, and whether it was so formulated and proved that it could be reconstructed into a scientific inference. He did not bother too much about the layman's technique of thinking, but proved only the evidence of his judgment. To establish correctness in accordance with the rules was the task only of the *śāstras*.[1] The Indians always looked for instances of everyday life for proving abstract matters, and thus succeeded in putting forward clear examples for abstruse problems; and thus the general features of an inference were popular and apparently accessible to the average man. But, as a matter of fact, they retained only the semblance of popular thinking. The result was that they did not popularize philosophical problems, but rather "philosophized" common life.

Professor E. H. Johnston kindly drew my attention to some conjunctions besides *kiṃpunar*, which, though they convey subtle differences in meaning, exactly fulfil the rôle of *kiṃpunar*, sometimes in the meaning of "(how) much more", sometimes in the meaning of "how much less". This interesting phenomenon is of considerable importance for the matter in question, as it shows a high degree of popularity for that way of formulating judgments. The construction of an inference, it is true, always betrays, wherever and whenever it turns up, a tendency towards rigidness and thus we may expect in this type of inference, when expressed in prose or in a philosophical context, the "classical" *kiṃpunar* rather than another conjunction of this type. But, as already pointed out, the construction of such phrases oscillates between a formally regular inference and a poetical embellishment. The poetical form of expression, however, being as a rule, more interested in variety than in rigidness on one hand, and on the other searching for instruments for expressing some constantly recurring elements by means of varied rhetorical figures, found for the *kiṃpunar* type of sentences some different ways of expressing what originally *kiṃpunar* means. In consequence the poetical value of this variety gains not only in the attractive abundance of vocabulary but also in the subtlety in the atmosphere of the verse. This, however, does not change the fact that the favoured form of comparing *minora* with *majoribus* has all the features of an inference. (Let us not forget that *anumāna* itself is an acknowledged poetical figure, too.) It only illustrates the deep-rooted tendency of man to prove his opinion by

[1] Tattvasaṅgraha, 1435.

means of an authority which has been commonly adopted (*loka-prasiddha*) and testified by everyday experience. This authority is the starting-point for a new statement which is either stronger or weaker than the commonly acknowledged one. And in common parlance or in poetry what matters is the type of utterance and not the conjunction by means of which it is being uttered. Scientific and philosophical literature, however, prefers a more stereotyped kind of expression, and hence the prevalence of *kiṃpunar* over other conjunctions with the same meaning in texts like the Mīmāṃsādarśana, Yogasūtraṭīkā and so forth.

The conjunctions used in the meaning of "(how) much more" or "how much less" are *prāg eva* and *kuta* (*eva*), the former being used in the meaning of "much more", the latter in both. The main difference between the former and *kiṃpunar* is that *prāg eva* lacks that interrogative meaning which *kiṃpunar* has. This is fairly characteristic from the epistemological point of view. But the importance of this point of view is not essential for *prāg eva* as an *alaṃkāra* in poetry.

The examples quoted below for *prāg eva* and *kuta eva* are drawn from Aśvaghoṣa's *Saundarananda and Buddhacarita*, edited and translated by Professor E. H. Johnston.[1]

(Buddhacar., iv, 81) :—

evam ādyā mahātmāno viṣayān garhitān api/
ratihetor bubhujire prāgeva guṇasaṃhitān//

"Men of lofty position such as these of the sake of sexual pleasure enjoyed the object of the senses, even contemptible ones, and all the more so when they were conjoined with excellence."

(Saundar., iv, 2b) :—

nācintayad vaiśramaṇaṃ na śakram tatsthānahetoḥ kuta eva dharmaṃ//

". . . he paid no heed to (the worship of) Vaiśravaṇa and Śakra, still less therefore to the Law."

[1] E. H. Johnston, *The Saundarananda of Aśvaghoṣa*, critically edited with notes by. . ., Panjab University Oriental Publications, Oxford University Press, London, 1928. E. H. Johnston, *The Saundarananda or Nanda the Fair*, translated from the original Sanskrit of Aśvaghoṣa by. . ., Panjab University Publications No.14, Oxford University Press, London, 1932. E. H. Johnston, *The Buddhacarita: Or, Acts of Buddha*. Part I—Sanskrit text edited by . . ., Panjab University Oriental Publications No. 31, Calcutta, 1935. E. H. Johnston, *The Buddhacarita: Or, Acts of the Buddha*. Part II—Cantos I to XIV translated from the original Sanskrit supplemented by the Tibetan version, together with an Introduction and Notes, by . . ., Panjab University Oriental Publications No. 32, Calcutta, 1936. Besides the verses quoted *prāg eva* occurs also in Buddhacarita, iv, 10; xi, 7, and in Saundarananda, ii, 24. *Kuta eva* occurs in Bhagavadgītā, Śakuntalā, Chāndogya-Upaniṣad, etc.

The type of proof *de minore ad majus* and vice versa was not monopolized merely by the Indians. It played a much more important rôle in the literature of the Jews. Whilst the inference formed with *kiṃpunar* did not hold an imposing position in the official philosophy of India, the inference *de minore ad majus* and vice versa was favoured by the Talmud and the Scriptures as a significant means of expressing ritual commands and prohibitions. It became an important instrument of legal disputations, and because of its convincing character was used as a means for the formulation of bye-laws. Unlike the Indians the Jews made no use of highly scientific and sometimes far-fetched formulations. They rather preferred, specially in their legal treatises, the method of common sense and the language of common parlance. Nevertheless, Jewish jurisdiction, being a jurisdiction of a theocratic state, was overburdened with ritual commands. They always had to confront human orders with those of God, and it is hard to imagine a better method for the juxtaposition of these two unequivalent factors than the inference *de minore ad majus* and vice versa. The man is the minor and God is the major. The rites of religious festivals, the relative sanctity of which was settled with the utmost punctiliousness, were splendid objects for that kind of inference. What is prohibited at a minor festival, is so much the more illicit at a major one, and what is permitted at a greater festival, is so much the more licit (or less illicit) at an inferior one. The Jewish theocracy saw in the order of the world graded steps from God down to the lowest beings. Thus there were many opportunities given for comparing *majora* with *minora*. The universalistic Indian point of view had to compare equals with equals. The Indian thinker tried to balance the actually given differences.[1] In Buddhism, for instance, we meet *kiṃpunar* inferences only in poetry. *Kiṃpana* in Pāli occurs as an ordinary emphasized question, and mostly in principal and not subsidiary sentences, e.g. Dīgha-Nikāya, ii, 132, etc.[2] Professor Johnston's remark [3] that "*prāg eva* equivalent to *kiṃ punar* . . . is also primarily Buddhist, though the latter occurs in Vācaspati Miśra's commentary on the Yogasūtras" does not contradict what has been said about the *kiṃpunar* or *kiṃpana* in Buddhism, because they died out in Buddhist

[1] Cf. Betty Heimann, *Studien zur Eigenart indischen Denkens*, p. 208: Auch die indische Logik und Erkenntnistheorie ist durchaus ursprungs- und zweckbestimmt durch die Gesamtweltanschauung.

[2] Cf. also the *Pāli-English Dictionary* s.v.

[3] *Introduction to the Translation of the Buddhacarita*, p. lxviii.

philosophical texts as comparative conjunctions without losing their original meaning and strength in poetry.

Jewish philosophy assumed a hierarchy of notions, which was graded in both directions from the starting-point, the Man. Objects were considered either higher or lower than Man himself. Man, who is a mixture of both factors, was the border line between the heavenly and worldly phenomena, and God is the acme of the world of objects.

The Indian philosopher, though he, too, admitted a hierarchy of things, did not regard Man as the canon of value. He always tried to be extremely objective. The hierarchy of ideas was not based on the distinction between higher and lower. The Indian thinker saw in the world of objects a sum of substances, which are subsumed under various categories according to the degree of density of matter. These graded elements of matter are inherent in all different objects in varying proportions. And this kind of quasi-chemical outlook is the starting-point of the Indian philosophical hierarchy. The *siddhāntas* of the single philosophical systems decided which kind of substances should be regarded as "higher" and which as "lower" for their respective investigations. Thus we may encounter the soul and the jar as homogeneous (*sapakṣas*) in Buddhism, and the voice and the jar as heterogeneous (*vipakṣa*) in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system, because both the former can be brought under the common predication "impermanent", and both the latter are subsumed in different predications "permanent" and "impermanent" respectively. The conceptions of *karma* and *dharma* are basic for the solution of this problem; but the problem is by far too wide as to be treated in this article.[1]

These few notes may perhaps supply yet another explanation, why *kimpunar*, though favoured in non-scientific or semi-scientific discussions, was not acknowledged by trained Indian logicians as a special type of inference, but was very much favoured by Jewish philosophers and lawyers. Moreover, in Jewish social life the rôle of lawyer and philosopher was often combined in one and the same person. This fact, too, might in some way explain why common parlance was introduced into scientific treatises and legal disputations by the Jews, and why the Jewish division of the world-hierarchy was nearer to positivism than was the Indian. Hence this type of syllogism in India in the later period was but a survival of the thinking of the

[1] Cf. H. v. Glasenapp, "Zur Geschichte der buddh. Dharma-Theorie," *ZDMG.*, 1938, p. 385.

average man; for whom the philosophical categories *par excellence* were too intricate and rather inaccessible. Thus we can regard this *kimpinar* inference as a pre-systematic, but nevertheless scientifically and formally correct, type of inference.

The type of an inference *de minore ad majus* and vice versa is called by the Jews *qal waḥomer* (not *qol waḥomer* as suggested by A. Schwarz).[1] It is defined [2] as an inference from the light (the less important) to the heavy (the more important) and vice versa. *qal* = light, *ḥomer* = heavy. As mentioned above, that kind of inference was used in the Talmud and in the Bible. As a classical example of the *qal waḥomer* inference Bacher [3] quotes an aphorism of Num., xii, 14: "And Jehovah said unto Moses: If her father had but spit in her face, should she not be ashamed seven days? Let her be shut up without the camp seven days. . . ." This passage is from the story of Miriam's mutiny, for which she was struck with leprosy sent by God. The explanation is: if a woman is ashamed of the fact that her father has spat in her face, how much more must she be ashamed when God has publicly humiliated her. The very characteristic point is that the "heavier case", though heavier, does not postulate a proportionally heavier restriction than the "lighter" one. We might presume that in the case of a lighter transgression the measures should be lighter than those of the heavier case.[4] But that would be an annihilation of the *qal waḥomer* dynamics. The strength of the juxtaposition rests upon the powers of two confronted objects, both of which lead, in spite of their different "positions", to equal consequences, and both of which, as it were, have to make different efforts to reach the very same goal. This point has already been dealt with in greater detail.

I would point out one more matter which seems to be very important. It is a very common and, nevertheless, a very misleading practice to trace back all logical problems to Aristotle's patterns. It is a point of honour among many scholars dealing with a limited sphere of culture to follow Aristotle as the exclusive authority in logic. We are now fully aware that Aristotle's logic, though out-

[1] Adolf Schwarz, *Der Hermeneutische Syllogismus in der talmudischen Litteratur. Ein Beitrag zu der Geschichte der Logik im Morgenland.* Karlsruhe, 1921.

[2] Hermann L. Strack, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*, Philadelphia, 1931, p. 94, and M. Mielziner, *Introduction to the Talmud*, New York, 1925, pp. 130 ff.

[3] Wilhelm Bacher, *Die exegetische Terminologie der jüdischen Traditions-literatur.* I. Teil: *Die Bibelexegetische Terminologie der Tannaiten*, Leipzig, 1899.

[4] Cf. M. Mielziner, op. cit.

standing, is only a part of actual logic, and does not include all possibilities of scientific thinking. And thus Adolf Schwarz in his very learned and somewhat complicated book makes superhuman efforts in order to fit the *qal waḥomer* inference into the framework of the Aristotelian syllogism. He regards it as an inference *par excellence* from the species to the class, because he overlooks any possibility of operating with sentences instead of names. For instance, in the inference, " If the king was punished by Scripture and smitten because he insulted a king like himself, how much more a commoner who insulted a commoner," [1] it is obvious that we do not deal with a class of kings or a class of insults or a class of commoners, and with mutual relations of those classes, but we plainly state : if it is true that the king was punished because of having insulted a king, then it is true that the commoner must be punished because of having insulted the commoner. Thus we state : if and only if the *sentence* P is true, then the *sentence* Q is true. It is obvious that the Aristotelian syllogism deals merely with propositions, the predicates of which are the genus of the species or subject. The subject must be capable of being subsumed under the notion expressed by the predicate. And if Schwarz, in order to reconcile the *qal waḥomer* with the Aristotelian syllogism, states that *qal waḥomer* is an enthymematic Aristotelian syllogism, which fulfils the function of inferring from species to genus, he makes a very serious mistake. The mistake is that the Aristotelian syllogism, which deals only with *names*, involves the reference between the subject and predicate, whereby the relation between the minor and major premises is the relation of the species to the genus, both being nothing but names, whilst *kiṃpunar* and *qal waḥomer* deal with *sentences*.[2] We may, and, as a matter of fact, we do sometimes come across sentences in which the relation between the protasis and apodosis (or between their parts) is the relation between a wider and a narrower class of notions. But this is only one out of many cases in an implication, and is not important enough to be specially emphasized. It is a part of the possibilities of logical methods, but is of greater importance

[1] *Midrash Rabbah on Genesis*, 27, 22. Transl. by Dr. H. Freedman, 1939, vol. ii, p. 597 (Toledoth, lxv, 20).

[2] *Kiṃpunar* and *qal waḥomer* inferences are formulated as interrogative sentences the difference being that *kiṃpunar* puts the question in the apodosis, and *qal waḥomer* in the first sentence. The first sentence formulated as an interrogation does not serve merely to address the common people with a rhetorical question. It is a formulation which rests the veracity of the assertion upon common sense as an epistemological base. We should call it in India *pramāṇa*. In the passages quoted below the interrogative form has unfortunately not been respected by some of the translators.

for metaphysics than for logical investigations. The capacity of conversion, raised by Schwarz, is no proof at all, because sentences can be converted as well. In syllogisms of Aristotle we must presuppose *bona fide* the veracity of his propositions. But in our implications we do not assert positively that it is true that all people are mortal and therefore Socrates is mortal. We just say that it is true that Socrates is mortal only *if* it is true that all people are mortal. Aristotle does not leave us any primary base on which to rest the assertion of the truth of the judgments pronounced.[1] The primarily given means (*pramāṇa*) serving that purpose in Indian epistemology are *śrutī* and/or *pratyakṣa*.

These few remarks on Jewish legislative methodology have been given only to strengthen our hypothesis on the *kiṃpunar* inference, and do not claim to be an independent investigation of this subject. The same also applies to the following few lines about a similar type of inferential procedure in Muhammedan law. Our purpose is only to show that the Indian *kiṃpunar* was not an exception among other Oriental logics. As to the Muhammedan "*kiṃpunar*" (there is no special term for this kind of inference known to me), it is much more indeterminate than the Jewish or Indian one. It is merely one of many cases of *qiyās*, which means inference or analogy. The radical of the word is *qāsa*, which means "to measure" (cf. Sanskrit *mā* and *anumāna*). The Qurān, which is one of the main sources for Muslim law, does not exhaust all possibilities conveyed by experience. However, being the basic criterion for all religious and social problems, the Qurān must in all cases be regarded and applied. Thus it is applied directly in all cases which explicitly occur in it. In cases, however, which are not explicitly encountered in it, the Qurān serves as a dogma or, better, as a premise for new truths deduced from it. One of the methods employed in such cases is *qiyās*, and one of the types of *qiyās* is an inference *de minore ad majus* or vice versa. Bergsträsser[2] and after him Graf[3] quote a passage of aš-Šāfi'ī where the latter describes this particular type of *qiyās*. He says: *qiyās* must not be used with regard to a permission which is an exemption from a general prohibition (and vice versa with regard to a prohibition which is an exemption from a general permission); we are, however, allowed to infer from a

[1] Cf. J. Lukasiewicz, *The Principles of Mathematical Logic* (in Polish), Warsaw, 1929.

[2] G. Bergsträsser, *Anfänge und Charakter des juristischen Denkens im Islam*, Islam, xiv, 1924, pp. 76 ff.

[3] L. I. Graf, *Al-Shāfi'ī's Verhandeling over de "Wortelen" van den Fiḳh*, Paris-Amsterdam, 1934, p. 73.

prohibition of a small quantity of one thing a stronger prohibition of a greater quantity (and vice versa from the permission of a greater thing, a more unconditioned permission of a smaller thing). Bergsträsser considers this description as entirely corresponding to the *qal waḥomer* rule. This formulation of aš-Šafi'ī, it is true, is rather vague, but nevertheless clear enough for us to understand that it means an inference *de minore ad majus* or vice versa. As an example Graf (*ut supra*) quotes a sentence: Allāh made untouchable the property and life of the Muslims and forbade any evil thought of them. Thus if evil thoughts themselves are forbidden, how much stronger is the prohibition to utter them, etc. Another example from Qurān [1]: So he who has done an atom's weight of good shall see it. And he who has done an atom's weight of evil shall see it. The aphorisms give the opportunity to an exegesis such as: if atoms of good or evil deeds shall be seen, how much more will whole merits or crimes respectively be rewarded or punished. From another description of *qiyās* which consists in "transferring the prescription from the root to the branch" [2] wherein by "root" is meant a case explicitly mentioned in the sacred text, and by "branch" the new case to be dealt with and not mentioned in the text, we can see that *qiyās* is, on the whole, an inference. Its destination is to expand our knowledge by presenting a new truth through juxtaposition with an old one already established and proved by generally acknowledged means of cognition like common sense or revelation. The inference *de minore ad majus* or vice versa, being a function of the *qiyās*, was adopted by the Muhammedan jurisprudence as an adequate means of expanding legal knowledge. Its rôle seems to be of considerable importance in legal disputations and in official judgments. But it has not yet been sufficiently examined and, on the whole, it makes the impression of a not quite simple problem. It is by far beyond the competence of the author, whose knowledge of Islām is very limited, to venture to give a wider explanation of the subject. It is enough for us to state its existence and let Islamists trace it further if they find it worth their while.

Now a few examples of *kimpunar* and *qal waḥomer* inferences,

[1] Translation of Maulvi Muhammad Ali, *The Holy Qur-án*, Lahore, 1920. There is another example quoted by D. Santillana in his *Istituzioni di diritto Musulmano Malichita* (Roma, 1926). The example is that a judge should not judge in a state of anger; all the more should he refrain from judging in a state of physical or mental disease. But on the whole the book does not contribute much to our problem, and even the quoted example is dealt with in connection with another question.

[2] Cf. Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des Islamischen Gesetzes nach der Lehre der Schāfi'itischen Schule*, Leiden-Leipzig, 1910, pp. 50 ff.

which may be an illustration of our above exposition. Both types are quoted in translations.

kimpunaḥ.	*qal waḥomer.*
1. For those who resort to me, O son of Pṛthā, though of base birth—women, *vaiśyas* and *śūdras*, they too go the highest way; how much more pious brahmans and devoted royal sages ? [1]	Behold, the righteous shall be recompensed in the earth; how much more the wicked and the sinner ? [2]
	(Moses spoke): . . . the children of Israel have not hearkened unto me; how (much less) then shall Pharaoh hear me, who am of uncircumcised lips ? [3]
2. When a friend is come for refuge, e'en the churl will think on kindness done in days that are no more, nor will he turn his face away; how much less one so high ? [4]	(Moses said): . . . while I am yet alive with you this day, ye have been rebellious against the Lord; and how much more after my death ? [5]
3. The Yavanas are *mlecchas:* they possess their all-embracing Scripture. They are worshipped like *ṛṣis*. How much more the Brāhmaṇās who are skilful in divine things ? [6]	If a king was punished by Scripture and smitten because he insulted a king like himself, how much more a commoner who insults a commoner ? [7]
4. Even if this master of mine were destitute of any virtues, O excellent one, he would nevertheless be surely adored by me; how much more will I adore him who is venerable because of virtues, who is master of his senses, faithful and right, and devoted for ever to his parents ? [8]	

[1] Bhagavadgītā, 9, 32–3. Transl. by E. J. Thomas, *Wisdom of the East*, London, 1931.

[2] Proverbs, xi, 31. [3] Exodus, vi, 12.

[4] Meghadūta 17, Transl. by Ch. King, *Wisdom of the East*, London, 1930.

[5] Deuteronomy, xxxii, 27.

[6] Varāhamihira's Bṛhatsaṃhitā; cf. C. M. Whish, *Über den Ursprung und das Alter des indischen Tierkreises* (translated from the *Transactions* of the Lit. Soc. of Madras), *ZDKM.*, 4, Bonn, 1842, pp. 302–328.

[7] See above. [8] Rāmāyaṇa, 3.3.3/4; the translation of the author.

The above examples are quoted only at random. There are in Indian and in Jewish literature many more examples of inferences *de majore ad minus* and vice versa.[1] We have copious literature where Semitologists try to explain the part which these inferences played in the thinking of the Jews. But it is to be regretted that no one has ventured to give an adequate formal analysis of this striking phenomenon. Schwarz, who devotes a good deal of his above-mentioned book to this problem, analyses it insufficiently. His assumption that the *qal waḥomer* is a *reduced* Aristotelian syllogism hints indeed that the desired connection between the *qal waḥomer* and the syllogism of Aristotle is not quite obvious; but nevertheless Aristotelian suggestions were too strong. The *kiṃpunar*, however, as an expression of Indian mentality, has been overlooked by Orientalists.

Whether the similarity of this inferential procedure between the Jews and the Indians was a result of mutual influence, or whether it was only an expression of a common human tendency to eulogize great things by comparing them with smaller, or to raise the value of small things by juxtaposing them with greater—this problem may be left to further historical researches. The author would rather vote for the latter alternative.

Addendum

After this paper had been printed I was able to find in several passages of Indian commentarial literature not only a term for this sort of inference but also an attempt to define it. I hope to be permitted to contribute a short note on this matter in a future number of the *Bulletin*.

[1] For instance: Rāmāyaṇa, 2.23.11/12; 4.7.3; 4.28.21/22 (ed. Gorresio); Pañcatantra, 45.5 (ed. Kosegarten). In Hertel's edition this aphorism has been omitted. Meghadūta, 3; etc., etc. Genesis, xlvi, 8; Job, iv, 18; ix, 13–14; xvi, 15–16; Psalms, lxxviii, 19–20. Pesiqta, ed. S. Buber, Lyck, 1868, 10a; 124a; 126b; etc., etc.

The Vulgar Pronunciation of Tamil

By Gordon Matthews

It is a common experience for the foreigner learning Tamil to discover to his dismay that after months of study with grammar and reader and *munshi* he is able to understand scarcely anything of the language spoken around him. In the villages and the fields, in the bazaars and on the highroads he hears a language spoken which he finds it hard to believe is the language of his study. The fact is that the language as it is spoken by the great majority of the Tamil people differs considerably from the language as spoken by the educated. And even the educated tend to reserve correctness for the written word and the speech of formal occasions, and lapse readily under more familiar circumstances into the dialect of the masses. The deviations of the dialect from standard pronunciation may be discussed under the two headings of omissions and substitutions—the dropping of a consonant or a syllable, and the substitution of one vowel or consonant for another.

One of the most noticeable features of common speech is the dropping of the final consonant. The consonants chiefly affected are *m*, *n*, *ḷ*, *r*, and *l*. When *m* and *n* disappear, the vowel is nasalized. Thus *nām sakkiliyar* becomes *nã sakkiliyar*; *nān kāvaṛkaran* becomes *nã kāvakkarã*. The much used *vēṇḍum* drops *ḍ* as well as *m*; thus

Note on Pronunciation of Transliteration

a—as *a* in *above*;
ī—as *ee* in *meet*;
ē—as *a* in *made*;
ō—approximately as *o* in *only*;
k initial and kk intervocalic—as *k* in *king*;
k intervocalic—as *ch* in *loch*;
k after ṅ—as *g* in *log*;
t initial and tt intervocalic—pure dental;
t intervocalic—as *th* in *then*;
t after n—as *d* in *did*, less voiced and slightly aspirated;
ḍ—retroflex d;
ṭṭ—retroflex t;
cc—as *ch* in *church*;
j—as *j* in *judge*;
ñ—palatal nasal;
ṇ—retroflex nasal;
ṅ—as *ng* in *sing*;
ṛ—rougher than r;
r̲—retroflex palatal, or guttural, r.

yenakkup paṇam vēṇḍum becomes *yenakkip paṇã vēṇũ*. In conjunction with an infinitive it is further reduced to *ṇũ*; thus, *avanaiyaḍikkavēṇḍum* becomes *avaṇeyaḍikkaṇũ*.

Final *ḷ* is not pronounced, but in this case there is no nasalization. Thus *avaḷ yen makaḷ* becomes *ava yẽ maka*. It is the absence of nasalization that distinguishes the feminine from the masculine form of the third person singular of the verb. In the case of verbal roots ending in *ḷ* it is assimilated to the consonant of the medial particle; thus from the root *kēḷ*, *kēḍkiṛēn* becomes *kēkkurẽ* and *kēḍpēn* becomes *kēppẽ*.

In verbs, both weak and strong, ending in *r*, the final consonant is not pronounced before the medial particle, except in the present tense of weak verbs. Thus the pronunciation of *pārkkiṛēn*, *uḍkārntān* is *pākkuṛẽ*, *uḍkāntã*. In the present tense of weak verbs *u* is added to the root, thus, *sērukiṛēn* is *sēruṛẽ*. In the verbal terminations of the second and third person plural, *īrkaḷ* and *ārkaḷ*, *r* becomes *ṅ*; and in the pronoun of the third person plural *avarkaḷ* and similar forms, it becomes *vu* or *vuṅ*. Thus *nīṅkaḷ yeṅkē pōkiṛīrkaḷ* becomes *nīṅka yeṅkē poṛīṅka*; *avarkaḷ sērntārkaḷ* becomes *āvuṅka* (or *avuka*) *sēntāṅka*.

In verbs ending in *l* the consonant is assimilated to the medial particle; thus *ṅiṛkiṛen* from the verb *nil* is pronounced *nikkirẽ*. In the past tense there is substitution rather than assimilation; thus *nindṛen* becomes *niṇṇẽ*. *l* is dropped from the conditional suffix *āl*; thus *vantāl* becomes *vantā*. It also disappears from the negative verbal participle *āmal*, and the final vowel is then strengthened to *ẽ*; thus *varāmal* is pronounced *varāmẽ*.

v is even in standard pronunciation not strongly fricative; in vulgar speech it is often further weakened to *y*; thus *vīṭṭukkup pōkiṛāyā* becomes *wīṭṭukkip poṛiyā*. The auxiliary verb *viḍu* drops *v* and sometimes *vi*. Thus *pōṭṭuviṭṭān* becomes *poṭṭiṭṭã* and *pōyviṭṭuvarukiṛēn* becomes *poyiṭṭu varẽ*. The negative conditional *paḍikkāviṭṭāl* becomes *paḍikkaṭṭã*.

The verbal participle *koṇḍu*, so much used as an auxiliary, is subjected to loss of consonants and also vowel change. The *o* becomes *i*, and either *ṇ* or *ḍ* disappears. Thus *kuḷittuk koṇḍirukkiṛārkaḷ* becomes *kuḷiccikkiṭṭirukkāṅka* or *kuḷiccik kiṇirukkāṅka*.

Hurried slurring, amounting sometimes to the complete extinction of a syllable, is especially noticeable in the case of the pronunciation of the medial particle of the present tense. The fate of the weak form

kiṛ is as follows. It is usually reduced to *ṛ*; thus *nām pōkiṛōm* becomes *nā̃ pōrõ*. But with verbs ending in *y*, *i*, *ī*, or *ai* it becomes *iṛ*; thus, *seykiṛēn* becomes *seyyirẽ*, *aṛikiṛōm* becomes *ariyirõ*. With verbs ending in *ṛu* and a few others such as *sā*, it becomes *kuṛ*; thus *avan uṛukiṛān* becomes *avē uṛukuṛã*, *pūnai sākiṛatu* becomes *pũne sākuṛatu* or *sākutu*.

The vulgar pronunciation of the present tense of the verb *vara* needs special attention. *varukiṛēn* is reduced to *varuṛẽ* and is generally further corrupted to *vārẽ*. After a verbal participle it loses the initial *v*; thus *koṇḍuvarukiṛēn* becomes *koṇḍārẽ*, and similarly *ōḍivarukiṛēn* becomes *oḍiyārẽ*. It may also be noted here that in the past tense *koṇḍuvantēn* becomes *koṇḍāntẽ* and *ōḍivantēn* becomes *oḍiyāntẽ*; and in the imperative *koṇḍuvā* and *ōḍivā* become *koṇḍā* and *ōḍiyā*.

The strong medial particle *kkiṛ* in the case of verbs ending in *i*, *ai*, *y*, or *l* is unchanged; in other cases it is pronounced *kkuṛ*; thus, *avan pasumāḍu kaṛakkiṛān* becomes *avẽ pasumāḍu kaṛakkuṛã*. But in the present tense of *irukka*, *kkiṛ* becomes *kk*. So the present tense of *irukka* runs as follows :—

	S.	P.
1.	*irukkẽ*	*irukkõ*
2.	*irukkē*	*irukkiṅka* or *irukkiṅka*
3.	*irukkã* *irukkā* *irukkutu* or *irukku*	*irukkāṅka*

There are, of course, lesser degrees of deviation from standard pronunciation than the form here described. For example, many would pronounce *irukkiṛēn* not *irukkẽ* but *irukkṛẽ*.

The pronunciation of the third person neuter singular and plural of the present tense needs special attention. The weak medial particle disappears completely; thus *ōḍukiṛatu* becomes *ōḍutu*. The strong medial particle drops *ṛ*; thus *paḍikkiṛatu* becomes *paḍikkitu*, and *pārkki atu*, *pākkutu*. The plural is formed quite irregularly as though *kaḷ* were added to the singular; thus *ōḍukiṇdrana* becomes *ōḍutuka* and *naḍakkindrana* becomes *naḍakkutuka*. The third person neuter of the verbs *pōka* and *vara* are *pōkutu* and *varutu*, unlike the dialect forms of the other parts of the tense.

Substitution occurs in the case of both consonants and vowels. Of consonantal changes the most important is that which occurs in the vulgar pronunciation of the medial particles of the past tense. In weak verbs ending in *i*, *ai*, and *y* the medial particle *nt* becomes *ñj*,

and *y* is dropped; thus *aṛintēn* becomes *ariñjẽ*, *aḍaintēn* becomes *aḍeñjẽ*, and *ārāyntēn* becomes *ārāñjẽ*.

In weak verbs ending in *l* and *n* the combination *ndr* is pronounced *ṇṇ*; thus *nindrēn* becomes *niṇṇẽ* and *tindrēn* becomes *tiṇṇẽ*.

In strong verbs ending in *i*, *ai*, and *y* the medial particle *tt* becomes *cc*, and *y* is dropped. Thus *aḍittān* becomes *aḍiccã*; *aḍaittēn*, *aḍeccẽ*; and *mēyttēn*, *mēttẽ*. The third person singular neuter of the past tense calls for special remark. The personal suffix *atu* becomes *iccu* or *icci*. Thus *naḍantatu* becomes *naḍanticci* and *pārttatu*, *pātticci*. Where there is consonantal change in the medial particle, the suffix may be reduced to *u* or *i*. Thus *yeṛintatu* becomes *yeriñju* and *paḍittatu*, *paḍiccu*. Similarly *pōnatu* or its more literary form *pōyitru* becomes *pōccu'u* or *pōcci*; and *āyitru* becomes *āccutu* or *ācci*.

It is interesting to note that the dialect makes a distinction between the third person neuter of the present and past tenses on the one hand and the corresponding verbal nouns on the other, although in standard Tamil the forms are identical. Thus *kuruvi pāḍukiṛatu* becomes *kuruvi pāḍutu*, but *pāḍukiṛatu inimai* becomes *pāḍuṛatu inimai*; *atu pūnai pārttatu* becomes *atu pūne pātticci*, but *atu pūnai pārttatillai* becomes *atu pūne pāttatillē*.

One other case of consonantal change may be mentioned. *ṟ*, the retroflex palatal *r*, is pronounced in some districts as a *y*, though the common dialect pronunciation is *ḷ*. Thus in the neighbourhood of Madras, as Pope remarks in his Handbook, *kōṟi* is *kōyi*. Those familiar with the peasants of the Chingleput District will have heard *uṟu* pronounced *uwīya* or *wīya*. Another curious instance of the fate of *ṟ* is afforded by the vulgar pronunciation of the compound verb *yeṟuntiru* as *yēntiri*. This corrupt form of the imperative is treated as the root of a strong verb which is conjugated *yēntiṛikkiṛẽ*, *yēntiriccẽ*, and so forth.

Substitution in the case of vowels is a practice of great frequency and variety. The following are among the commonest changes. The verbal termination of the second person singular *āy* becomes *ē*; thus, *nī yenna seykiṛāy* becomes *nī yenna seyyiṛē*; *nī yeṅkē pōkiṛāy*, *nī yeṅkē poṛē*. *a* and *i* sometimes become *e*; thus, *avan* becomes *avẽ*, and *paiyan viḷaiyāḍukiṛān* becomes *paiyã veḷeyāḍuṛã*. The common pronunciation of *iḍam* is *eḍam*. The medial particle *in* is pronounced *un*; thus *vāṅkinēn* is pronounced *vāṅkunẽ*. Conversely *u* becomes *i* in certain circumstances, namely in the verbal participles where the consonants are changed to *ñj* and *cc*, and in the fourth case in the

declension of nouns, most definitely in nouns ending in *i*, *ī*, *ai*, and *y*. Thus, *aḍittu* becomes *aḍicci*; *terintu*, *teriñji*; *vilaikku*, *vilaikki*. Sometimes *u* changes to *o*; thus *tuḍaikkiṛān* is pronounced *toḍekkuṛā*, *uḷaṛukiṛāḷ* becomes *oḷaṛuṛā*, and *un vīḍu*, *ō vōḍu*. *ai* when final becomes *e* except in monosyllables; thus *aṛaikirēn* becomes *aṛeyiṛē*; *aḍaintēn*, *aḍeñjē*; *manitanai*, *manitane*. *illai* becomes *ille*, and *illē* for emphasis. In conjunction with the infinitive it is reduced to *lē*: thus *pōkavillai* becomes *pōkalē*. In a medial position and in the monosyllables *tai* and *vai*, *ai* becomes *a*; thus *taikkiṛēn* becomes *takkuṛē* and *pārkkaiyḷl* becomes *pākkayil*. Strong verbs ending in *y* drop *y* before the medial particle; this constitutes a vowel-change from a diphthong to a pure vowel. Thus *mēykkiṛēn* becomes *mēkkiṛē*. It is to be noted that the diphthong is retained in weak verbs of this form; thus *mēykiṛatu* is pronounced *mēyyitu*. *y* is also dropped from the verbal participle *āy*. Thus *sīkkiramāy* is pronounced *sīkkirama*, and *nandrāy* becomes *nallā* as from an adjectival form *nal*. *ō* is weakened to *a* in *pōl*, and emphatic *ē* is added. Thus a person splashing water over himself is said to be bathing like a crow, *kākkā kuḷikkuṛāppalē* for *kākkai kuḷikkiṛāppōl*.

The several parts of the verb *yen* are subject to vowel-change and also to various forms of consonant change. The verbal participle *yendru* is pronounced *iṇu* or *iṇṇu*. Thus *varavēṇḍum endru sonnān* becomes *varaṇumiṇu sonnā*. Similarly the past tense *yendrēn* becomes *iṇṇē* and the conditional *yendrāl*, *iṇṇā*. The present tense *yenkiṛēn* loses the initial vowel and is nasalized *ṅkuṛē*; thus *varukiṛēn enkiṛān* becomes *vārēṅkuṛā*.

In connection with vowel changes reference must be made to the effects in vulgar pronunciation of the addition of the interrogative suffix. One effect is, of course, to cause the retention of those consonants which when final are dropped. Another effect is to change the vowel sound in some of the personal terminations of the verb. The *ē* and *ō* of the first person singular and plural are changed to *a*. Thus the affirmative *paḍikkiṛē* becomes *paḍikkiṛana* when interrogative, and *paḍikkiṛō* becomes *paḍikkiṛamā*. In the second person singular the dialectal *ē* becomes *i*; thus *paḍikkiṛē* becomes *paḍikkiṛiyā*.

The most distinctive characteristics of the dialect are undoubtedly nasalization, the dropping of the final consonant, and the substitution of affricates for plosives. It is noticeable that in dramatic representation of the countryman it is these features of peasant speech that are emphasized. It is these features that distinguish the speech of the masses from the speech of the classes. How far, if at all, such

speech should be adopted is an interesting question. Merely to be understood there is rarely any necessity to do so, for correct pronunciation if the language is simple and idiomatic is well understood by everybody except possibly the most backward elements among the "depressed communities". Where it is not necessary it is probably undesirable—certainly undesirable unless it be done extremely well. But though the deliberate adoption of the vulgar manner of speech may be unnecessary and inadvisable, some modifications of standard pronunciation in approximation to dialect forms seem to develop naturally and unconsciously in the environment of the dialect. There seems to be a general agreement that this tendency should not be resisted if it goes no further than the adoption in moderate degree of the three most distinctive features of common speech.

Whether this manner of speech be adopted or not, to be able to understand it is eminently desirable; and to this end this study may be of some assistance, for to know what to expect is a good step towards recognizing it when one hears it. The reward of such understanding is a truer understanding and a deeper appreciation of the people themselves with their shrewd wisdom and homely poetic imagery, qualities of the "Dravidian" mind that neither illiteracy nor poverty can extinguish.

Bird-nomenclature in an East African Area

By R. E. Moreau, East African Agricultural Research Station, Amani

During some years study of the birds of Tanganyika, I have, as opportunity served, collected the names used by the local people. Most information has come from Wadigo (round Tanga), Wabondei (inland from Tanga), Wasambaa (inland again), Wazigua (south of Korogwe), Wakami (North Uluguru), and Wambwera (Mafia Island), tribes whose languages evidently have much in common.[1] Discounting tribal variants (for example, *mpanja* for *pasa*) and leaving for future consideration a large number of names that await verification, there are about 450 different roots and descriptive names that I have felt to be sufficiently well-established to include in a list for publication (1). Allowing for the fact that differentiation of species cannot be so particular by the ordinary countryman as by the ornithologist, I have names for some species, as many as seven, for a large percentage of the birds found in a strip of country about fifty miles wide and extending from near the Kenya border south to the Rufiji Delta. A few names extend right through our area; at the other extreme, however, some species change their names within the boundaries of a tribe, three or four times, for example, in the space of eighty miles; and hence there is no doubt that a great many more names remain to be collected.

A certain number of native names from this area have been recorded by ornithologists, especially by Stuhlmann (2), and a few by compilers of local vocabularies, especially for Kibondei by Woodward (3); but in the former works many of the names seem to me to be doubtfully correct and in the latter most of the "meanings" are no more specific than "a kind of bird". For the present purpose I have used only names about which I am reasonably satisfied on my own information.

In collecting the names I have tried to ascertain from my informants whether the component roots conveyed any meaning to them. Since I know no tribal language, Kishwahili, which all the people concerned

[1] The origin of each bird-name quoted subsequently is indicated by initials, D., B., S., Z., K., W., respectively, by Sw. (for Swahili) where the name is also used in Zanzibar, and by Dsm. (for Dar es Salaam) where the name is used in that coastal locality of Tanganyika but not apparently in Zanzibar.

know well, has been the medium of interpretation; and notwithstanding this limitation I have been able to get for 29 per cent of the names interpretations that in the light of a field knowledge of the birds can easily be recognized as conveying an appropriate allusion. To this 29 per cent must be added about another 15 per cent, names that, to anyone familiar with the birds, are clearly onomatopœic, often extremely good of their kind; some of these are not merely imitative jingles but can be resolved into some phrase in the local language. Altogether then, about 45 per cent of the recorded names are what might be called "intelligible". An African Professor Skeat could much increase the percentage, but it must be emphasized that for the best results he would have to be no less ornithologist than philologist.

Meanwhile, the body of data at present available seems capable of yielding critical information about the nature of the local Africans' perception of a class of natural objects: a class that differs from the mammals and reptiles in being much more numerous; from the insects in being individually big enough for differences to be more readily appreciated; and from the plants in not as a rule demanding names on account of *ngoma* (ceremonial) and *dawa* (medicinal and magical) uses. As will be shown below, the "intelligible" African bird-names can be divided, according to the inspiration of the name, into a number of groups, to which 99 per cent of them are allocatable without difficulty. And it may be instructive to compare the relative size of these groups with the results obtained by analysing a European vocabulary of bird-names in the same way. For this purpose Newton's *Dictionary of Birds* (4) provides most suitable material. Like my African list, it does not purport to be complete, but it indicates which in the author's opinion are only "book names", fabricated by some scholar and therefore useless for our purpose, and it gives such derivations as Newton was satisfied were acceptable. In order then that the comparison with the African list may be as fair as possible I have used from Newton's book only those names which seem really to have been rooted in the soil of English-speaking Great Britain (or the sea). The total of names so obtained is about 450, which is closely comparable with the African total, though the proportion of names that are "intelligible" is as high as 65 per cent.

In all the tribes the "old men" (*wazee*) are credited by the people themselves with knowing more names than the younger generation, but there is nevertheless evidence that some names are of recent

formation. A Zigua name for a small owl is *kakungwi mbadule*, the first word being a generic term for a small owl and the second a local transliteration of "padre". One of the Red Bishop-birds (*Euplectes*) has a very prominent black "waistcoat", which is said by the Wasambaa to have led to their naming it *kikoti* after the European garment.

In general, and allowing for the more extensive avifauna he has to deal with, I should say that the African countryman was as discriminative in his recognition of birds as his English opposite number, but the African waterman less so. The nomenclature of African sea and shore birds seems very muddled, and to some extent this applies also to freshwater birds. The root *vuvi* Sw., meaning "fisherman", is apt to be applied to a range of fish-eating birds from the big kingfishers (*Ceryle* and *Megaceryle*), the cormorant (*Phalacrocorax*) and darter (*Anhinga*) to the herons (*Ardeidæ*). A few very general names are used in the African languages in a way corresponding closely to English usage; e.g. *-panga* in all tribes serves for "hawk", and *kuya* Z., *ntaa* B., for one of the sparrowy out-of-plumage weaver-birds, whether bishop (*Euplectes*), dioch (*Quelea*), or whydah (*Coliuspasser*), that gather in immense flocks after the breeding season. Other general names have a good natural basis, but they cut across ornithological nomenclature in a way troublesome to the lexicographer. For example, *chamwewe* K. denotes a white-bellied chicken-snatching raptorial bird of whatever genus, *-torondo* B., S., Z., K., any species of small weaver-bird with much red in the plumage, e.g. fire-finch (*Lagonosticta*).

At the same time it is unusual for any bird-name to appear in the African list in a number of different combinations (as, for example, "finch" and "chat" do in English). The two main exceptions I have met with are *shorwe* or *shore* Sw., originally a bulbul (*Pycnonotus*), which reappears in such combination as *shore jangwa* W. ("creek-side *shore*") for other members of its family, and also for the very different town sparrow (*Passer griseus*) as *shore uwanda* Dsm., the "backyard *shore*". The word *jogoo* ("domestic cock") occurs in its diminutive form in the names of several very different birds: of *Smithornis*, whose cry can be mistaken for a distant cock-crow; of the hoopoe (*Upupa*), whose crest recalls the cock's comb; and of a coucal (*Centropus*), because that bird not infrequently starts calling at night when stimulated by a wakeful village cock. Another case is more surprising: *bata*, everywhere meaning a duck, but in the tribal

languages primarily a domesticated duck, appears in combination not only for goose but also for turkey, *bata mzinga* Sw. (the "cannon *bata*", presumably because of its explosive noises), and for the Vulturine Fish-eagle, *Gypohierax*, *bata mchikichi* Sw. (the "palm duck", from its fondness for oil-palm fruit).

Sometimes I have had the same name given me for two unrelated birds, but on inquiry it has proved to be an epithet inspired by some characteristic that they share. For example, a paradise flycatcher (*Tchitrea*) and a whydah (*Colius passer*) are both quite appropriately denoted by the name *chemirunda* B., "him with the tail." (Compare the English "blackcap", quoted by Newton for warbler, tit, and gull.) A more unusual instance is "cool-porridge", applied to the broadbill (*Smithornis*), *mposauji* Z., and also to the flappet-lark (*Mirafra*), *Kihosoungula* K., because they both make a burring noise, the former vocally and the latter with its wings.

As regards the actual formation of the African bird-names, a very common usage is to prefix the diminutive *ki-*, *chi*, *ka-*: sometimes to a verb root, e.g. *kibikula* K. (*kubikula* = "to wag"); often to a substantive, e.g. *kichunju* Dsm. (*chunju* = "crest"); or to an onomatope, e.g. *kanghagha* S. More infrequently, and then as a rule interchangeably with the diminutive prefix, the prefix *m-* of the "living thing" class is used, but substantives of whatever class may retain their prefix, as in *luhoya* K. ("axe"). A prefix is, however, often absent in names where one would seem appropriate, e.g. *komandugu* S. (*koma* = "kill", *ndugu* = "relative"). The Wabondei and Wasambaa often prefix to their names *che-* or *s(h)e-*, what Woodward calls "a kind of relative expressive", as in *chemidanda* B., *sheluchungi* S. And here I would note that it seems to me pedantic to translate these names as "the cunning one" or "the crested one": the African has named his birds light-heartedly and colloquially, and the spirit is much better conveyed by such renderings as "the impostor fellow" (the bird is a great natural mimic) and "the crested chap", or perhaps best of all, illiterately, as "him with the crest".

The eleven groups into which the African and the English names can easily and naturally be divided according to their inspiration are listed below, with examples. Only the first five are numerically important, providing 9 per cent and upwards of either total, but the others are of interest.

Group 1. Motion. African examples: *kidusa warumba* K. (lit. "startle the hunters") for a dove, *Aplopelia*, that suddenly darts

up from the forest floor; *msenga* S. ("the slasher") for the sparrow-hawk; *kinyamhuwi* K. ("the hoverer") for *Elanus*, the black-shouldered kite, and more abstrusely for the same bird, *kisoka* B. ("the slacker", presumably because it hangs about in the same spot in the air).

English examples: windhover, roller.

Group 2. Colour and pattern. African examples: *Kitambi* S. ("l. garment"—a red one worn only by initiates) for a red bishop-bird (*Euplectes*); *shekizeru* S. ("the ashy chap") for a grey harrier-hawk (*Gymnogenys*); and *gongolafuno* K. ("duiker-back") for a shrike (*Antichromus*), that is the same colour as the antelope.

English examples: goldfinch, whitethroat.

Group 3. Onomatapœia. This is divisible in three:—

A. Names, apparently meaningless, that reproduce a noise. African examples may be with or without a prefix, e.g. *bwabwabwa* K. (*Sigmodus*), and *kimbuwu* S. (*Smithornis*). Sometimes different noises made by the same bird provide two names for it, e.g. *na'iwa* B.S. and *kubwilu* Z.K.S. for an oriole (*Oriolus*).

English examples: curlew, peewit.

B. Names that reproduce a noise but by means of interpretable words. African examples: *sayeikia* S. ("famine will come") for a bronze cuckoo (*Lampromorpha klaasi*); *ngechechangu* K. ("give me my cooking-pot") for another cuckoo (*Cuculus clamosus*); *mhokeuta* Z. ("draw the bow") for a barbet (*Trachyphonus*). An especially good example is afforded by a francolin (*F. sephæna*) called in Kibondei by the apparently meaningless onomatope *kikwelikwechi*, but in Kikami by the equally imitative *ngilikilajako*, which means "warthog your tail!", an elliptical insult after the style of the Arabic *Ummuk*.

English examples (rare): wet-my-lips (quail).

C. Names suggested by a noise made by the bird. African examples: *nkong'ota* B., S., Sw., "knocker," any woodpecker (Picidæ); *kimpululu zeze* K., the button quail (*Turnix*), distinguished from *kimpululu*, the quail (*Coturnix*) by adding the name of a musical instrument, the note of which resembles the button-quail's; *ngomamshindo* Z. ("drum roll") for a weaver (*Quelea*) associating in huge whirring flocks. Best of all this class is perhaps *chemalango* B. for a bird of the thrush family (*Cossypha*), which delivers a fine song with notable *empressement*; *malango* means "the instructions given to boys and girls at the initiation ceremony".

English examples: reeler (grasshopper-warbler), saw-sharpener (great tit).

Group 4. Food-habits. African examples: *kumbakima* S. ("smite-monkey"), the great hawk-eagle *Spizaëtus*; *kadima mbuzi* Z. ("goatherd"), the yellow wagtail (*Budytes*), which in Africa follows the flocks as in Europe; *shesiafu* S. ("the chap for driver ants"), *Neocossyphus*.

English examples: pickmire (black-headed gull); moth-hawk (night-jar).

Group 5. Habitat. African examples: *kambalazi* Z. ("little chap in the pigeon-peas"), a flycatcher (*Bradornis*) who likes this perch; *kishundi mabuwa* S. ("*kishundi* of the maize-stalks"), a shrike (*Tchagra*); *bálamzila* K. ("sit in the road"), a bunting (*Emberiza*).

English examples: moorhen, tree-creeper.

Group 6. Shape and size. African examples: *gongofutu* Z. ("back-swelling"), the puff-back shrike, *Dryoscopus*; *mtongo zimba* B., S., Sw., K. ("big *mtongo*") for *Spermestes fringilloides*, a larger edition of the tiny weaver *Spermestes nigriceps* (*mtongo*); *mbilili* ("long-haired") for the long-crested hawk-eagle, *Lophaëtus*.

English examples: awl-bird (avocet), tuftie (duck).

Group 7. Nesting habits. African examples: *suwagulamilanzi* K. ("strip reeds"), a swamp weaver (*Amblyospiza*); *chimbamchanga* S. ("dig sand"), a bee-eater (*Melittophagus*), that excavates its nest-hole.

English examples: hewhole (woodpecker), pudding-poke (long-tailed tit).

Group 8. Season and weather. Only three African examples: *semchocho* B. ("deluge chap"), a cuckoo (*Cuculus solitarius*) thought to be especially vociferous in very heavy rain [1]; *langavura* K ("rain-caller"), another cuckoo (*Clamator*); and *langazua* K. ("suncaller), a bee-eater (*Merops*). All three are birds that are present, or at least obvious, only seasonally.

English examples: stormcock (missel thrush), rainbird (woodpecker).

Group 9. Personal attributes. African examples: *kinuka* B. (little stinker), a wood-hoopoe (*Rhinopomastus*) with a foul smell; *lubozi* ("fool"), a shrike (*Nicator*), this for the excellent reason that

[1] Woodward (3) gives *fula cholo* "plenty of rain": modern Wabondei agree that the expression now in use is *fua* (i.e. *mvua*) *mchocho*, the latter word indicating heavy unremitting rain.

when its nest is approached it puts up an "injury-feigning" performance like a mad thing.

English examples: loon (grebe), dotterel.

Group 10. Superstition. In Africa we have on the one side *mzanamulungu* B., S. ("son of God"), a shrike (*Sigmodus*), which is not to be molested by the Wasambaa or Wabondei, though known elsewhere by a mere onomatope *bwabwabwa*; and *mkaribisha mgeni* Tan. ("welcomer of the stranger") for the cheerfully whistling puff-back shrike (*Dryoscopus*), whose call is good luck. On the other side are the owls and nightjars. The former among a variety of names have only one falling into this group, but it is one of peculiarly grim significance. *Babewatoto* W. or *babulawatoto* might seem to refer to a benevolent "head of a household" or "father of children", but since the bird's passing overhead is believed to strike a child with blindness and to loosen his joints, it seems that here is an example of the bestowal of an honorific title on an object that is feared.[1]

The nightjars (*Caprimulgus*), as elsewhere in the world, are no less baleful than the owls, and two of their names convey a most satisfactory degree of horror: *mkatasanda* Sw. ("the shroud-cutter") and *upapasa* B. ("the groper in the dark").

Perhaps because it is very rarely seen although its loud voice is often heard by night as well as by day, one of the local cuckoos (*Cercococcyx*) has a name, *sekikoko* S., also borne by an evil spirit (*sheitani*) especially troublesome to women.

English examples: deviling (swift), puckeridge (nightjar).

Group 11. Personal names. The only African example is *bwana Hassani* (house-sparrow).

English examples, which are numerous, include robin, tomtit.

The percentage distribution (to the nearest ·5 per cent) of the "intelligible" African names between the groups is compared with that of the English in the following table:—

[1] Yet *babewatoto* B. is also one of the names applied to the lively and conspicuous weaver *Vidua*, a polygamous bird the full-plumaged male of which is always accompanied by a number of females and immatures in sparrowy plumage. Here *babewatoto* certainly has no sinister connotation and must be translated "head of the household". Since the above was written I have seen the new Swahili dictionary (5), in which "*babu*" is given as the name of the disease (convulsions) caused by the *babewatoto* bird. Since "*babu*" appears not to be used for any other type of convulsions, I suspect that it may be a back-formation.

Group.	*African.*	*English.*
	%	%
1. Motion	6·5	9
2. Colour and pattern	9·5	17
3. Onomatopoeia—		
A 30	9	
B 4	·5	16·5
C 10	7	
	44	
4. Food habits	10	15
5. Habitat	7	19·5
6. Shape and size	8·5	7·5
7. Nest	4	3
8. Season and weather	1·5	3·5
9. Personal attributes	4	1·5
10. Superstition	2·5	2
11. Personal names	·5	5
Unallocated	2	·5

The outstanding difference between the two lists is that nearly half of the African names have been formed by onomatopœia, compared with less than one-sixth of the English. It is easier to detect onomatopes of types A and B than the names of any other inspiration, and hence it is probable that names now classed as non-intelligible will, when finally interpreted, yield a proportion of onomatopes smaller than 44 per cent. Even allowing for this, the difference between the African and the English proportion of onomatopes is certainly a real one [1]; it is probably related to the African's high sensitivity to rhythm, with which onomatopœia is so largely concerned. As a corollary of the African preoccupation with sounds we find the inspirations of colour, food-habits, and habitat all apparently of less importance to the African than to the English nomenclator. These differences aside, the local African naming of birds repeatedly shows a close parallelism with the English; and in general it is appropriate and ingenious.

Summary

African bird-names have been collected in North-East Tanganyika Territory to a total of about 450 different verified roots. For nearly

[1] On the present figures, 44 per cent against 16·5 per cent, it would appear that the difference is, in the technical statistical sense, highly significant, for the possibility of these figures being due to the chances of sampling is less than 1 in 100. If further investigation brought the proportion of "intelligible" African names up to the same percentage (65 per cent) as in the English list and the additional interpretations included no onomatopes at all of types A and B, the proportion of onomatopes in the African list would be reduced to 34 per cent, but would still be "significantly" higher than in the English.

half of them the derivation or inspiration has been ascertained and related to characters of the species. The modes of name-formation are outlined.

Subdivided by nature of inspiration, e.g. shape, onomatopœia, habitat, food-habits, the names, of which many instances are given, fall into eleven groups. The onomatopœic, with 44 per cent of the total, is by far the largest. A comparable list of English (non-literary) bird-names gives, on being similarly analysed, a significantly smaller proportion of onomatopœic names but a greater proportion of names relating to colour, habitat, and food-habits. These differences apart the African nomenclature repeatedly shows a close parallelism with English and in general is appropriate and ingenious.

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(2) Reichenow, A., 1889. Ueber eine Vogelsammlung aus Ostafrika. *J. Orn.*, 37, 264–286.

(3) Woodward, H. W., 1882. *Collections for a Handbook of the Boondei Language*, S.P.C.K., London.

(4) Newton, A., 1893–6. *A Dictionary of Birds*, A. and C. Black, London.

(5) Johnson, F., 1939. *A Standard Swahili-English Dictionary*, O.U.P., London.

a horse. These hints are enough. This second edition [illegible] misprints of the first and a few more.

4. Anyone who has seen a dhow must have wond[illegible] voyage in one is like; this book will tell him. The greate[illegible] the story of a trip from Aden along the coast of Arabia, [illegible] to Zanzibar and a hundred miles beyond, and back t[illegible] [illegible]t will help a historian to realize what travel in the Middle Ag[illegible] like. The ship was of 130 tons, barely 100 feet long, with a greatest beam of 29 feet, yet the skipper reckoned that she could carry 250 passengers. No one needed or could take exercise; indeed Mr. Villiers' attempts to walk about suggested to the Arabs that he did not like the ship. On this trip the ship was out of sight of land only on the run from the coast of Arabia to Cape Gardafui, and this was cut as short as possible; the rest of the way she hugged the shore. In the Persian Gulf the skipper knew every inch of the sea-bottom and amazed his passenger by the skill with which he threaded his way between reefs and sandbanks. Seafaring is skilful but happy-go-lucky; the Arabs do not like the sails to be too strong, so that in a squall they tear and the ship does not capsize. In addition to the cargo all the ship's company traded on their own account, while passengers and crew smuggled. The Italian authorities tried to check the passenger list but certain travellers slipped overboard before the port officer could come aboard and never existed in the eye of the law. So much of the smuggling is done on credit that the profit is negligible. The skipper did not smuggle himself, but got others to do it for him, and was had because they produced no money for him. If a childless woman can jump over the keel of a ship while it is building, she will get a child. The skipper takes good care that this shall not happen, for if she gets a child the skipper will die, as the *djinn* demand a life for a life. It is worthy of note that many of the names of types of craft are not Arabic. *Baggala* is Mahratta, *bteil* is Portuguese, and *jalboot* is English. *Boom* is a mystery; in desperation one would derive it from bumboat. *Bellum* is used for a sea-going craft, though it also means a canoe. *Zarook* is a variant of the classical *zawraḳ*. Dhow itself is a puzzle. The author must be wrong when he says that a ship was named Dhow; this is the word *ḍaw'*, meaning light. It is a pity that he did not collect all the names for the various parts of the ship, for that would have been a welcome addition to the lexicography of modern Arabic. What he has to say of the conditions under which the pearl-divers work

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

1. La Phénicie et l'Asie occidentale. Par Raymond Weill. pp. 204. Paris: Armand Colin, 1939.

2. The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine. Vol. X, no. 1. London, 1940.

1. The impression which we receive from reading *La Phénicie* is one of some disappointment. It is perhaps still too early to write a history of the Phœnicians. They have left us very little information about themselves in their own tongue, and excavators have not explored any of their chief metropolitan centres except Byblos. Yet their importance in the Mediterranean at a time when the history of Palestine, Greece, and Rome was in the making can be easily read between the lines of history. M. Weill has consequently been obliged to recount far more of the history of the surrounding countries of the ancient world than that of Phœnicia itself. In this way his little book is useful, though not very original. Certain chapters are particularly well done and interesting, such as that dealing with the origin of the alphabet, the Phœnicians' greatest contribution to the progress of the world. Others, however, seem less carefully written and are ill-balanced in length, being detailed when details are not required, and sketchy when more could usefully be said. M. Weill has in fact not always made all the use which he might well have done of such material as exists.

2. This number consists mainly of an account by L. W. Hamilton of sondages which he conducted in 1937–8 at five points along the north citadel wall of Jerusalem between Herod's Gate and the Damascus Gate. This wall is in great part of Islamic date, but the sight of two or three courses of huge and exceptionally finely drafted blocks of masonry at the base of the flanking towers of the Damascus Gate had long invited attention. Hamilton has shown that this fine masonry belongs, as had been thought, to the city-wall built by Herod. The stones are not, however, in their original position in the Herodian Wall, but have been re-employed in a reconstruction made by the builders of Aelia, the Roman Jerusalem, in the second or third century A.D. Hamilton did in fact find a small portion of the original Herodian Wall still *in situ* beneath the same gate.

At another point an ancient aqueduct and a gravestone, recently published, commemorating a Roman centurion named Tiberius Claudius Fatalis, were discovered.

It is hardly necessary to say that contributions of this sort to our knowledge of the topography of ancient Jerusalem are of the first importance.

J. Ory also describes a tomb of Late Bronze Age II found intact at Tell Jerishe, near Jaffa.

R. D. BARNETT.

HEBREW CHRONOLOGY, SCIENTIFICALLY ESTABLISHED. By ADAM RUTHERFORD. pp. 288. London, 1939. 5*s*.

The author gradually works backwards from indisputable dates to earlier times. He starts from the end of the sixth pre-Christian century, linking it up with the termination of Biblical chronology at the beginning of that century. From the chronologies of the Assyrian Eponym Canon and of Berosus, the stele of Nabonidus, the Nabopolassar Chronicle, the contract-tablets, Ptolemy's Canon and his Almagest and astronomical points, he ascertains the dates of the Assyrian, Babylonian, and Egyptian kings. Since the dates of the kings of Judah are synchronized in the Bible with dates of those kings, the dates of the Bible are thereby established.

The author's date for the fall of Jerusalem is 585 B.C. This is the only year between 588 and 584 which has not been given by the various authorities. The author ascribes this to two sources of error, that (1) they accept Ptolemy's Canon in regard to those periods which are not astronomically fixed, and (2) do not take into account the Jewish reckoning of the years of Nebuchadnezzar's reign as distinct from the Babylonian practice.

In discussing the periods of the Monarchy and of the Judges, the author ascertains 1453 to be the year when the Israelites entered Palestine, and checks his result by applying the test of the Shemittah and Yobel cycles. The date of the Exodus is therefore 1493. This is about a century earlier than that given by those historians who assign the Exodus to the time of Amenhotep III (1411–1375); it is almost two centuries earlier than the date of Jewish tradition (1312), and nearly three centuries earlier than the date now preferred by the greater number of historians of the Critical School, who favour the time of Merneptah (1225–1215).

After working his way further back to the oldest Biblical times, he gives a detailed chronology, comprising about four-fifths of the volume. Here the years from 1454 B.C. (entry into Palestine) to 73 (end of the Roman War), are presented on a scale of ½-inch per year, each year subdivided into quarters. The table gives in parallel columns the rulers of Israel, and/or Judah, and their years of rulership, the years from the Exodus, the years of the Shemittah and Yobel cycles, foreign rulerships over Israel and/or Judah, the years of the kings of Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia, of Macedonian, Hellenistic, and Roman rulers, the years of the Olympiads, of A.U.C., the Seleucid era, finally the years of John the Baptist, Jesus, and the last events of the Jewish state.

This is a very interesting book.

S. BIRNBAUM.

1. THE FOREIGN VOCABULARY OF THE QUR'ĀN. By ARTHUR JEFFERY. (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, no. lxxix), pp. xv + 311. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1938. Rs. 12.

2. AL-IKLĪL (AL-JUZ'AL-THĀMIN). Edited by N. A. FARIS. (Princeton Oriental Texts, Vol. VII), pp. xvi + 249, facsim. 1. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940. $5.

3. ARABICA AND ISLAMICA. By U. WAYRIFFE. 2nd edition. pp. xxii + 416. London: Luzac and Co., 1940. 15*s*.

4. SONS OF SINDBAD. By ALAN VILLIERS. pp. 346, 50 illustrations. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1940. 21*s*.

1. Fifty-six languages or dialects are quoted in the index to this book; the present reviewer cannot do justice to such a range of learning. An introduction of 40 pages describes the work of the Arab grammarians on this subject, and the rest of the book is taken up with discussions of the words. There is very little that can be added to the discussion. Theodore Abū Ḳurra uses *al-rujz ul-ātī* for the "wrath to come" (p. 139), and the suggestion has been made that the root *ṭb'* "to seal" comes from Egyptian (*OLZ.*, 1938, col. 149), but perhaps that appeared too late to be included. There are two marks of a loan-word in Arabic; it denotes an idea or thing foreign to the Arabs, and it stands alone, unrelated to any root of the language, though it may develop a semantic "scatter" of its own. Professor Jeffery accepts the first mark, but makes "Arab" mean "bedouin Arab"; a limitation which is questionable. In early times there were towns on the

fringes of the peninsula, and it is probable that at the same date there were towns in Nejd as there are to-day. Thus *raḳḳ*, "parchment," comes from a root meaning "to be thin", which occurs both in Arabic and Ethiopic. This word does occur in the Ethiopic version of the New Testament, but there is no evidence to show that it was in the original translation; it may be a later improvement. It is quite as likely that this use of the word grew up in Arabia. *Ḥabl*, "rope," is said to be borrowed from the Akkadian *ḫbl*. If a loan-word, why not from the Akkadian *ebl*u? The bedouin must have had ropes to tie their baggage on to their animals and to pull up water from wells. It is not a word that one would expect to be borrowed; the form is the normal correspondent to *eblu*, and, if it must be equated with *ḫbl*, it is not uncommon to find Akkadian *ḫ* corresponding to Arabic *ḥ*. *Ṣawm*, "fasting," is said to be a loan-word. It is hard to believe that fasting was unknown in pagan Arabia, though there seems to be no direct evidence. A woman resolved to keep silence during the pilgrimage, but Abū Bakr told her that this was a custom of the Ignorance. This, with oaths to abstain from wine, suggests that other forms of abstinence were known. The problems are difficult when the words come from another Semitic language. It is easy to accept *bashshara*, "to announce good news," because the Ethiopic word violates the laws of sound-change. But most of the words containing *s* or *sh*, which the author calls foreign, follow these laws. *Salām*, "peace," is said to be the Hebrew *shālōm*. It is true that the Arabs made some words quite at home in their language by giving them correct Arabic forms; but the root *slm* is genuine Arabic, the form *salām* is also good Arabic, and it may have meant to Muḥammad "well-being". Other derivatives from the same root mean "peace". One is prepared to admit that the use of the word may have been influenced by the older religions; but there is no reason for calling *salām* a loan-word. At first sight it seems ridiculous to call *'abd*, "servant," a loan-word; but Professor Jeffery makes out a good case for its foreign origin. It is agreed that *ḥanīf*, "a follower of the religion of Abraham," is the Syriac *ḥanpa*, "a pagan"; but how did it come to have a good sense? The explanation may be that certain people, who protested by their lives against the current idolatry, were called by this name, for polytheism can be intolerant. Muḥammad regarded them as following the religion of Abraham and kept the popular name for them, thus giving it a good sense. In one place the professor has misquoted his authority. He says that *r* is regularly

rendered by the Arabic letter *'ain*. What Hess says is that in several words *r* has caused *'ain* to be introduced. *Ḥizb*, "party" or "sect", is said to be the Ethiopic *ḥezb*. Before looking for a foreign origin, the possibility of its connection with the Arabic verb *taḥashshaba* and the noun *ḥawshab* ought to be considered. *Khaima*, "tent," is said to be the Ethiopic *khaymat*, which, in its turn, comes from some unknown source. The only reason for making the Ethiopic the earlier form is that less is known about African influences on that language.

It has seemed better to devote most of this review to criticism. The book is thorough, is a complete summary of all that has been written on the subject, and is suggestive. As far as I can judge there are very few misprints.

2. Let us say at once that both in appearance and in text this edition of the eighth part of the *Iklīl* is an improvement on that edited by Père Anastase. Mr. Faris claims that his is a scientific edition; but he is not consistent in quoting the variants of his predecessor's MSS., and, as far as one can judge, he adopts many of his emendations without acknowledgment. On p. 19 he allows an obvious blunder "statue" to remain in the text, though in the English edition (published in 1938) he gave the correct translation "door". He has used the South Arabian inscriptions to correct a few personal names, but has not used them for the geography. Thus he writes "Mt. Thanīn", following al-Bakrī, but the inscriptions show that it should be Thanain or Thunain. He claims to have identified place-names. This only means that he has given references to the geographies and geographical dictionaries in which they are mentioned. He has made no attempt to place them on the map. There is no map worthy the name. He has used *Shams al-'Ulūm*, but has not profited from it as he might. On p. 51 the word *ma'āḳim* occurs; he translates it in the English version by "courtyards", and gives no reference to *Shams al-'Ulūm*, which gives the meaning "thresholds". He alters his text to please himself. A line of poetry on p. 19 preserves the South Arabian *k* as the inflection of the first person singular of the perfect of the verb; in this text it is replaced by the *t* of classical Arabic. He gives references for some of the poems and verses quoted, but not for others; those of al-A'shā are always referred to his diwan, but it should have been noted that verses ascribed to Imru' al-Ḳais and al-Buḥturī are not to be found in their respective diwans. A verse

of al-Murakkish the younger could have been found easily in the Mufaḍḍaliyāt. The poetry is often corrupt; Mr. Faris prints verses which do not scan, e.g. p. 36, l. 1, and 204 pen. A poet Shabīb b. al-Nu'mān b. Bishr is identified with Shabīb b. Zaid b. al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr. Mention is made of linguistic notes. There are very few of these; in a text of this kind one expects an index of words peculiar to Southern Arabia. This text throws no fresh light on the language of the inscriptions.

The *Iklīl* ends on p. 175; the rest of the book is a collection of poems taken for the most part from the *Kitāb al-Tījān*. These have already been printed, so it was a waste of paper to reproduce them. It would be interesting to study the connection between the *Iklīl* and the *Kitāb al-Tījān*. Some poems occur in both books in connection with al-Ḥārith b. Maḍāḍ, but the stories in which they are embedded are different. The index is badly arranged; 'Abdullah b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb is entered under al-Khaṭṭāb. The printing is not first-class; the habit of putting *hamza* after its "bearer" is irritating. There are a few misprints which have not been corrected in the errata.

The book ends with stories of buried treasure, with one or two exceptions, dull. The author does not share all the popular beliefs about spirits; he knows that it is bad air which puts out the lights of treasure seekers, not *djinn*. Medicinal baths also were thought to owe their efficacy to *djinn*.

3. The first edition of this book called forth a crop of lively reviews. The reader will find the cream of them in the preface and in a pamphlet inserted in this edition. As no essential changes have been made, there is no reason to repeat criticisms; so this review will be limited to the first chapter, which states that Arabic is so complicated that it cannot be learnt. Mr. Wayriffe refers to what Mark Twain said about German, which suggests that he too is writing with his tongue in his cheek. It would seem that he does not know or has forgotten the dictum that, if the Romans had had to learn their own irregular verbs, they would never have found time to conquer the world. It would be easy to write as devastating a criticism of English as Mr. Wayriffe has done of Arabic. Here are some suggestions. If you wind up a watch it goes; if you wind up a business it stops. To a farmer a hog often, perhaps usually, means a sheep. What is a poor foreigner to make of the verb "break"? Measles broke out; school broke up; the car broke down; burglars broke in; he broke in

31. A pity! Would that there were a suitable occasion, that (the foe) should see a man better than himself!
32. A pity! Would that Isfandiyār existed now, that I might spare neither his throne, nor his kingdom, nor his country.
33. A pity! Would that Afrāsiyāb were there, that I might answer (his challenge) with my sword.
34. A pity! Would that Gīv lived nowadays, that I might appear to him like a male *dīv*.
35. A pity! Would that Zāl were alive now, that he might see what a struggle is like.
36. A pity! Would that the hero Sohrāb were now in existence! He would not be striking with his sword in his hand.
37. A pity that (on the battlefield) I am tied to females, that I encounter but effeminates and cowards.
38. A pity, that there is no longer a price for a man, for a hero breaking through the enemy line, for a male lion.
39. Neither Rustam nor Bījan are my opponents, a female wanted (?) to command me.
40. I wish there were a great fight that I might encounter the foe face to face.
41. They would know that a *Man* has been born of a mother; every one would hear news of his talents (*ārdām*).[1]
42. "A hero eats (his) bread in a manly way." This word was said by the best of the braves (or "by one of the braves").
43. How can one eat bread without labour; every piece of bread is in a dragon's mouth.
44. Go and annihilate the dragon, snatch that bread from his mouth.
45. O God, sharpen my sword that it should smite the foe seeking my life.
46. Exalt my sire [2] through my hand, let my sire [2] run at the envious (enemy). Let not the foe spit into my face, but rather at my dead body.
48. Let thirty thousand men be my enemies, and each one of them be Rustam-like.
49. When I make up my mind to take the field, let them come and let me fight them alone.
50. Let me smite them all with the sword so that they should forget their designs and their attack.
51. Are the braves annoyed by death? Shall I keep (this) bag of ungnawed bones?
52. Nobody says to the one devoid of energy: "This is a *Man*"; better is death for a liar lacking ardour.
53. Do not associate me with cowards, who, in the eyes of a *Man*, are less than females.

[1] Instead of *ār-dāmindān* "from the mouth of a man", it is tempting to read: *ārdām-indān*.

[2] Reading: *jadd*. Otherwise *jidd* would mean "my endeavour".

54. Lengthen my sword that I reach the enemy and scatter before me his array and his right flank.
55. Even for an Isfandiyār I shall make the field too narrow; no lion or panther will stand my blows.
56. O Lord, show me Thy friendliness and, though the foe be a Rustam, I will smash him.
57. O God, accept my prayer for my needs, my supplication at Thy gate, and my appeal to Thee,
58. Through the merits of my Prophet who is the Miracle of Speech, (?) and of 'Ali, who is the Perfect Imām.
59. (They ?) did not turn away their faces, but on this path made sacrifice of their beings.
60. Pray, let me work havoc in (the) ranks (of the foe), for only by the sword can the foe be abashed.

I dedicate this article to Seyyid Hasan Taqizadeh in recollection of the sunny days of Tabriz.

CAMBRIDGE,
Sept., 1941.

ADDITION

ad p. 1007*a*. The question of the language used by Shāh Ismā'īl is not identical with that of his "race" or "nationality". His ancestry was mixed: one of his grandmothers was a Greek princess of Trebizond. Hinz, *Aufstieg*, 74, comes to the conclusion that the blood in his veins was chiefly non-Turkish. Already his son Shāh Tahmāsp began to get rid of his Turcoman praetorians.

in his preface, some articles have escaped his notice, it is but another proof of the difficulties just referred to.

The following suggestions are only a layman's mite for a future appendix to this useful handbook.

P. 17. Add: A. A. Bīkov, *Klad serebr. kuficheskikh monet, naydennīy v Novgorode v* 1903 *godu*, in *Izv. R. Akad. Istorii Materialnoy kulturī*, iv, 1925, pp. 133–9.

P. 85. Schlötzer's work (1797) on paper money under the Mongols is quoted, but a recent article on the subject is omitted: K. Jahn, *Das Iranische Papiergeld*, in *Archiv Orientální*, 1938, x, No. 1, pp. 308–340.

P. 113. One single item figures under the name of E. A. Pakhomov, whose life has been spent on Caucasian numismatics. In his excellent work on Georgian coins: *Monetī Gruzii. I. Do-mongolskiy period*, in *Zap. Num. Ot. RAO*, I/4, 1910, pp. 1–132, see pp. 48–54 on the Muslim dynasty of Tiflis: Banū-Ja'far; also, *Sabir-abadskiy monetnīy klad*, and *Khimicheskiy analiz shirvanskikh monet*, both in *Izv. Azkomstarisa*, Baku, iii, 1928, pp. 31–8; also *Ves i dostoinstvo mednoy monetī Tiflisa* XVII–XVIII vv., in *Vostokovedeniye*, Baku, iii, 1928, pp. 88–111; also, *Ganjinskiy klad* 1929 *g. i perelomnīy moment arabskoy torgovli v Zakavkazyi*, in the Festschrift *Akademiku N.Y. Marru*, Leningrad, 1935, pp. 737–744.

Pp. 102 and 114. Add under the works of that outstanding scholar R. Vasmer: *O monetakh Sājidov*, in *Izv. Obschchestva Obsledovaniya Azerbayjana*, Baku, 1927, No. 5, pp. 1–32; also *Dr. O. Blau als Münzenforscher* in D. P. Blau's *Leben und Wirken eines Auslandsdeutschen*, Leipzig, 1928, pp. 139–143. As an article of Vasmer on Sasanian coins is quoted p. 114, it would be appropriate to quote his very complete *Sassanian coins in the Eremitage*, NC, 1928, viii, pp. 249–334. Most of Vasmer's articles are based chiefly on numismatic evidence, and it is a pity not to find mentioned such important articles of his as *Chronologie der arabischen Statthalter von Armenien*, 750–887, Vienna, 1931, 118 pp. (Verlag der Mechitharisten-Kongregation); also *Zur Chronologie der Ǧastaniden und Sallariden*, in *Islamica*, iii/2, 1927, 165–187, with a Nachtrag, ibid., January, 1928, 482–5.

India is excluded from the book *a limine*, but for completeness' sake it would be useful to mention such works as Mr. Whitehead's catalogues of the coins which Nādir Shāh struck in India.

V. MINORSKY.

1. RACCOLTA DI SCRITTI EDITI E INEDITI. Vol. I. L'ARABIA SA'ŪDIANA (1938). By CARLO ALFONSO NALLINO. Edited by MARIA NALLINO. xii + 303 pp. Roma: Instituto per l'Oriente, 1939.

2. REDRESSEMENT ÉCONOMIQUE ET INDUSTRIALISATION DE LA NOUVELLE TURQUIE. By ORHAN CONKER and ÉMILE WITMEUR. (Recueil Sirey.) Paris, 1937.

1. Few Orientalists, indeed, have achieved the distinction of a "collected works". It is therefore all the more noteworthy that the Italian Oriental Institute should have decided to bestow this posthumous honour on the late Carlo Alfonso Nallino. The series is to consist of six volumes, containing all his articles in reviews, encyclopædias, etc. The *Opus Astronomicum* of al-Battānī, the *Qur'ān Chrestomathy*, and the *Manual of Egyptian Arabic* are the only important works excluded.

The first volume belongs to the category of unpublished works. Professor Nallino was in Jedda from the 9th Feburary to the 29th March, 1938, and collected a great deal of material which, together with that obtained from literary sources, he intended to use in the compilation of an exhaustive survey of the Sa'ūdī Arabian kingdom. At the time of his death only the first part, dealing with political, administrative, and judicial questions, was ready. The remainder was therefore prepared from his notes and other sources by his daughter.

The book will undoubtedly take its place as a standard work on what is in many ways the most interesting and the least known of Arab countries—and this despite its perhaps excessive reliance on literary sources, notably the works of Fuad Hamza, Hafiz Wahba, and St. John Philby.

Part I presents with detail and clarity the peculiar governmental system of the kingdom, bringing out its special character as a dual monarchy, with distinct and different regimes for its two main components, Najd and the Ḥijāz. Strong testimony to the political wisdom of King Ibn Sa'ūd is to be found in the fact that he realized from the start that the somewhat patriarchal order that was acceptable to the tribesmen and villagers of Najd could not meet the requirements of the more advanced Ḥijāzīs, who, for many years, under the rule of Ḥusain, had been accustomed to the trappings and phraseology of Western politics and to contact with foreign peoples and governments. Nallino describes the concessions made by the king to the new situation

—notably the sketching of a constitution, a thing unheard of to the Najdīs but indispensable to the politicians of the Ḥijāz, and the setting up of a separate administration in the Ḥijāz under Prince Faiṣal, suited to its different conditions. Of particular interest is the growth of Sa'ūdī foreign relations from occasional contacts with Western visitors to an organized foreign ministry with its own representatives abroad. Much use has been made in this connection of the valuable chapter in Fuad Hamza's book. Among other topics dealt with are defence, finance, local administration, and the judiciary.

This last topic is dealt with at greater length in the second part, which contains religious, ethnographic, cultural, and economic information of a miscellaneous character. The religious power of the Wahhābī movement, with its all-pervading influence on daily life, is considered. Perhaps one of the most interesting features of the Sa'ūdī regime is the *Ikhwān* movement, the purpose of which is to settle the Bedouin on the land, thus rendering them economically more useful and politically more manageable. This movement, too, is discussed, though little that is new is offered.

Part III contains a description of the city of Jedda and an account of a visit to Ṭā'if. Finally, an appendix gives the texts of a number of laws and treaties.

Perhaps the most serious defect of the book as a whole is its failure to present the significance of the Wahhābī movement in its broader historical aspects. That a movement should take place in Arabia in our own times which so closely parallels that leading to the rise of Islam and the many earlier eruptions of the Arabian nomads, is of the greatest interest, and it is regrettable that the account given of the sect is of almost telegraphic brevity. One misses, too, any adequate consideration of the peculiar Arabian conception of *sheikh* sovereignty, and its apotheosis in the kingship of Ibn Sa'ūd. However, though we may still lack a historical study of Wahhābī Arabia, we have been given a complete Baedeker to the Sa'ūdī Kingdom.

2. Perhaps one of the most promising features of the Kemalist movement in Turkey is that from the beginning the Turkish Nationalist leaders realized fully that a programme of political nationalism was not enough. Having solved the problem of foreign political domination, they set about the more important and in many respects more difficult problem of economic liberation. It was economic weakness that was

largely responsible for the collapse of Turkey in the early years of the present century. The same features, if allowed free play, would undoubtedly produce the same results once more.

One of the chief tasks therefore which the Kemalist regime imposed upon itself was the economic reconstruction of the country. Industries were established and existing ones developed, banks and syndicates were founded for the exploitation of the rich natural resources of the land, and in 1933 a five-year plan was brought into operation for the general commercial and industrial expansion of the country. Many of the plans of the regime are still in their early stages, and a great deal of ground is still to be covered. Nevertheless a solid record of achievement remains, and Turkey, with her iron and steel foundries, her mines and her factories, is already by far the most advanced industrial country in the Middle East.

This book, the joint work of a Turkish and a Belgian economist, reviews at length both the course of past activities and the plans for future work. It is perhaps a weakness of the book that the distinction between the two is at times not very clearly made. The main sources of information are the numerous official reports of the Turkish Government and Banks, and a wealth of statistical and other detail is to be found in such quantities as to render this a valuable work of reference on the economic life of the Turkish Republic in all its aspects. One interesting subject not often dealt with by writers on modern Turkey is industrial legislation. A whole section of the book deals with the various projects of law regulating the position of the workers and their welfare, and establishing measures of state-control over labour conditions in industry. It is perhaps to be regretted that the authors do not deal at greater length with the interesting problem of the artisan classes and their condition at the present day. Use might have been made of several valuable studies on this subject that have appeared in the *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*.

B. L.

1. IRANISCHE DIALEKTAUFZEICHNUNGEN AUS DEM NACHLASS VON F. C. ANDREAS. Part I. By ARTHUR CHRISTENSEN and KAJ BARR. Berlin: Weidmannsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1939.

2. THE AVESTA CODEX K 5, second part. (Codices Avestici et Pahlavici Bibliothecae Universitatis Hafniensis, Vol. VIII.) Copenhagen, 1938.

3. CODICES SOGDIANI. By E. BENVENISTE. (Monumenta Linguarum Asiae Majoris, Vol. III.) Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1940.

4. A MEDICAL TEXT IN KHOTANESE. Edited by STEN KONOW. Avhandlinger utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo, 1941.

1. Some sixty years after the late Professor Andreas wrote them down in the years 1875–1882, these rather scanty dialect-remains have been published by the care of two of his old pupils: scanty, for there are no continuous texts and, for example, the dialect of Sō is treated in ten pages. In the meantime much has appeared on this subject of Persian dialects. It is, however, a mark of distinction that Professor Andreas should have been among the first to interest themselves in this work, a work which has been left almost entirely to Europeans, although, given the necessary training, the Persians would be in a far more favourable position to work at it.

The present book is in two parts: Professor Christensen has treated Sīvandī, Yazdī, and Sōī. Dr. Barr has dealt with the Kurdish dialects Garrūsī, Sennaī, Kermānšāhī, Korūnī, and Kalūn-Abdūī. The two treatments are unlike. The first part treats the material clearly but lightly with only small concern with general dialect-problems. Dr. Barr's contribution is not merely an edition of the very incomplete Kurdish matter, but at the same time a serious contribution to the history of modern western Iranian dialects. Especially to be noted are the long discussions on pp. 176 f. the plural suffix *gāl*, on pp. 429 ff. the verbal endings, on pp. 440 ff. *vā* and *šā*, and on p. 452 *gū*, with a probable explanation on p. 497. Since etymology is the basis of comparative work, there is an abundance of fruitful suggestions. For the interpretation of *kabūtar* by **kapauta-tara-* (better than the *-taru-* offered *BSOS.*, vii, 69), a further support appears in Khotanese *khaḍara* "mule" from **khara-tara-* (see above p. 590). To p. 356 add a reference to the Pahlavī ywyd'wtk'n **wydwtk'n* of Greater Bundahišn 51.10, which corresponds to the Arabic astrological term *baitu 'l-nisā'*

"the house of women", as in Al-Khuwārizmī, *Mafātīḥu'l-'ulūm*, ed. van Vloten, p. 227.

It may be of interest to note here that in 1932 I wrote down a certain amount of the Sōī dialect both in Isfahān and in Sō, and that I recorded a considerable quantity of Gazī material, in both cases grammatical matter and continuous texts. I obtained also a MS. of 319 pages containing the works of 'Abbās i Jazī in the Gazī dialect. The MS. is fully vocalized by a native of Gaz. Hitherto other work has prevented the publication of this material.

The second part of the present work is thorough. Each grammatical fact is elucidated and set in its appropriate place in the system of the Kurdish dialects. To the Kurdish, as to the other dialects, complete glossaries are appended containing much comparative work. The whole is an important contribution to Persian dialectology. Other dialect-material of Professor Andreas is listed on p. 1, and it will, we may hope, be published in the same accurate way.

2. The first part of the Avesta Codex K 5, of which the facsimile appears in this volume, was noticed in *BSOAS.*, ix (1939), p. 1052. The high opinion there expressed of the first part is fully justified by this volume also. This part of the MS. has not suffered in the same way as some folios of the earlier part of the MS., where the centres of certain leaves had crumbled away. With these two volumes and the Oxford facsimile of the Bodleian MS. of the Yasna the two oldest MSS. of this part of the Avesta are now in the hands of scholars, a matter for hearty congratulation to the publishers.

3. This volume of *Codices Sogdiani* is one of the most important in Sogdian studies. We are offered here facsimiles of many unpublished texts and of some from the Bibliothèque Nationale and the British Museum previously known in transliteration. An additional fragment of the Rustam is very welcome. The medical fragments are the first made known in Sogdian. It is good to have the facsimiles of the Viśvantara Jātaka and the Dīrghanakhasūtra long supposed lost. A long colophon in no. 8 is to be noted. The greater part is taken up by the more usual Buddhist religious texts, sūtras, mantras, discussions of mudrās, pāramitās, magic, and prohibitions.

Of all this new material a study has been prepared by M. Benveniste, which a catalogue of Geuthner's in 1939 announced in detail. It will

without doubt be a work of interest and importance for Sogdian studies.

The Introduction to the present volume most usefully summarizes the bibliography of published work on Sogdian to date and contains a brief description of the various MSS. included. The technical work has produced excellent facsimiles, which have the value of the originals and will permit constant control by scholars. Three volumes in this series have now appeared—Koman Turkish, Khotanese, and Sogdian. It is greatly to be hoped that the future will see more of them to enrich our libraries.

One additional fragment of Sogdian has escaped notice. I came upon it in fonds Pelliot 2782 when in 1937–8 I was transcribing Khotanese texts in the Bibliothèque Nationale. It contains a date and reads as follows :—

1. *pr βγy n'm m'kr srδ wyšmyk m'γy.*
2. 20 *sγδ'.*

That is, "In the Ape year called *βaγ* of sixth month, on the 20th (day)," (wherein *βaγ* may represent a Chinese year-name with 天 *t'ien* "sky, deva").

4. The publication of this study of the Stein MS. Ch ii 003 gives welcome news that Oriental research is still being pursued in Norway. Professor Konow has taken the second text published in facsimile in *Codices Khotanenses* (1938) and excerpted the Khotanese part of it. He has put aside the Sanskrit part, which he considers extremely corrupt (p. 6), although he has made considerable use of it in his interpretation. In a few places further use of the Sanskrit text would probably have suggested improvements. As to the "corruption", it should be noted in defence of the text that the Sanskrit words appear in forms such as they have in the body of Khotanese texts and have therefore a reality for Khotan. An English translation and glossary are included.

Professor Konow was unable to communicate with me about his partial edition of the text. I am happy to find that he has devoted himself to its interpretation. My own edition of all the texts in this volume was in the press when I first heard that he was publishing it. Only in October, 1941, did a copy reach me, and then, most unfortunately, a defective copy lacking pp. 81–96, that is, half of the Glossary. Nor have I yet seen the *Khotansakische Grammatik* mentioned on p. 8. I saw, however, the first draft of it when Professor Konow was my guest in Cambridge in July, 1939.

It will be noticed that the name "Khotanese" without "Saka" appears in the title. This is in accordance with the practice of the indigenous writers of Khotan. In their texts they regularly used *hvatanaa-*, later *hvaṃnaa-*, "Khotanese" of their own language.

Since I hope later to publish a commentary on this text, I need here refer to only a few points. P 12 (46 r 4), read *masvąña jsa* = Skt. *mātreṇa*: the older form in P 2787.42, and P 4099.7 *masūña* = Skt. *mātra*, and in the Siddhasāra Ch ii 002, 7 r 2 *buḍara masvąñi jsa*. P 16 (50 r 3), Skt. *bala-varṇa-prajākara* is rendered by *hauva padīme u ṣcha śairkạ, brrāvauśta jaida* "it produces strength and makes the complexion good, it removes sterility". P 16 (51 r 3), *vasīya* is rather a vessel used as a measure, cf. Ch cvi 001, v 2 (facsimile Serindia) *śau ẹ̀jsīnai vasīyikā* "one silver vessel". The singular occurs P 2893.52 *khu ra va śau vasī harśtā*. P 24 (57 v 3), the word rendering Skt. *niṣṭhīvana* "spitting" is *khaurga*, and in the Siddhasāra 8 r 5 *u khorga* "and spitting". P 30 (65 r 5) read *gaula* "molasses" for *śaula*. P 36 (69 v 4) read *aṃga kyahāri* "the limbs itch" = Skt. *kaṇḍū* (here written *kaṭha*), beside the Siddhasāra 145 v 2 *kahaitte* = Tib. *g-yah-źiṅ* = Skt. *kaṇḍū* (*BSOS.*, VIII, 127). Pp. 40 and 62 (76 r 1; 99 r 2) read *āysmāstąña bagalaña* "in an earthen jar". That is, an adjectival derivative in *-austa* (*-osta*, later *-āsta*, *-ąsta*, *-asta*) "made of" from *uysma*, *aủysma*, "earth, clay", which translates Skt. *mṛttikā* in Siddhasāra 104 v 4; P 2787.188 *ąysmīnai*, Ch 00268.170 *uysmīnai* "made of earth". The word is probably connected with the OPers. *uzmayāpatiy*. P 42 (77 v 5 and *infra*), *va* is a short form of *vaska* "for", derivative of *vas-*, as are also MidPers. *wšn*, MidParth. *wsn'd*, Sogd. *wsn*, OPers. *vašnā*, and Avestan *vasnā*. Note in Siddhasāra 136 v 4 *jehume va nvaśta* "easy to heal" beside 139 r 1 *jehāme vaska nvaśta*. In the Jātaka-stava 32 n 1 *satvāṃ va* "for the beings" beside 30 r 4 *satvā caska* (read *vaska*) and 33 v 1 *ttyāṃ vaske* "for them". Similar shortened forms occur in *pā* = *pātcā*; *tcau*, *tcahau* = *tcahaura*, *pha* = *pharu* and regularly from words ending in *-na-*, as *rru* "oil" or *āysa* "seat". This *va* "for" is then to be kept distinct from *vī* "in" from older *vātā*. P 42 (78 r 5), I see now, against *BSOS.*, VIII, 119, that *bagalaña* must be read with subscript, but not conjunct, *ga*. P 46 (82 r 3–4) *pāṇḍāgrrathā* represents Skt. *ṣaḍgratha* with the error of *p* for *ṣ*, and in 82 v 5 *ṣaṣṭāpala* renders Skt. *ṣaṭpala* with *ṣṭ* for *ṭ*, with which cf. the initial *ṣṭ* in *ṣṭīka* (*BSOS.*, X, 572). P 48 (83 r 5), *hāgau* will be a form of *hulga*, *haugą* "soft". P 48, to be compared with 83 r 5 *sīrauśị* = Skt. *harṣaṇa*, is Jātaka-stava 11 v 1 *sīrośą̄dā* "joyful".

P 50 (86 r 5) *si ni ra jatti* " so that it is no more cured ". P 64 (99 r 4) *karavā* " early " = E 25.508 *karavātā naltsute* " he went out early ". P 72 (108 v 2), read *vūji⟨ṣḍi⟩ ṣi*. P 76 (112 v 5), read ⟨*jaṃ*⟩*brrāsthā* to correspond to *ja⟨ṃ⟩bū* of the Skt. text. P 78 (114 r 2; 114 v 2), read *khāysa vī rīśą prrahāji* and P 80 (116 v 2) *khāysā vī rīśą prrahāji* = Skt. *raucakatta*. It is explained by Siddhasāra 5 v 2 *u rrīśi prahājākä* = Tib. 139 v 5 *yi-ga ḥbyed-par byed-do* = Skt. *rocanaḥ*; 14 r 1 *u rīśą prahāje* = Tib. 144 r 1 *yi-ga ḥchus-pa* = Skt. 6 r 4 *ruci-pradaḥ* " giving appetite ".

Certain unimportant misprints have escaped notice, probably owing to the elaboration of our transliteration of Khotanese. Such is the omission of the subscript curve 45 r 1 *ṣą*, 51 r 4 *sparśą*, 51 v 4 *śūṃba*, 60 v 5 *duṣyąu*, 61 r 2 *śūṃba*, 69 r 1, 110 r 3 *varāśąña*, 73 r 1 *khāśąña*, 73 r 5 *jṣąñąña*, 100 r 3 *vaśūna*, 104 v 2 *dūṣyąu*. Probably against *BSOS.*, VIII, 133, *pyaśa* in 100 v 3 should be deleted as a blundered *aśa*. The facsimile, which every reader will certainly use, will render these slight blemishes harmless.

The dominant metre in the Sanskrit text is the śloka, but further reading soon showed a vasantatilakā in 47 v 4–5 and triṣṭubhs as in 101 v 4 ff. and 107 v 5 ff. The Khotanese text, however, seems to me not to be in verse.

To students of Indian medicine the translation will be of immediate service, and Professor Konow's book is sincerely to be welcomed. We hope he is still carrying on his work in Oslo.

H. W. BAILEY.

THE NUMISMATIC HISTORY OF RAYY. By G. MILES. (The American Numismatic Society, Numismatic Studies, No. 2.) pp. 240, 6 plates. New York, 1938.

Dr. Miles's work is a good example of what light Islamic coins can project on local history. Hardly any political event passed unobserved at a Muslim mint. The abundance of indications which every coin contains is a wonderful means for checking events, dates, names, and geography.

For three years Dr. Miles worked at the excavations at Rayy (near Tehran). He studied the collections of the principal museums in Turkey, Germany, France, Great Britain, and America. He is well acquainted with Arabic histories. His bibliography is excellent. No doubt he fully merited the distinction of the Ph.D. degree which, on the strength of this patient and accurate study, was conferred on

him by Princeton University in 1937. New details are scattered throughout the book. The chapter on the Būyids, pp. 154–186, is particularly interesting as it makes much clearer a number of points in the curious period of the "Daylamite intermezzo". Dr. Miles considers now 374/984 as the earliest date of any coin containing the revived Iranian title of *shahinshāh* (instead of 428 H., as has been usually accepted heretofore). One sees with satisfaction, p. 180, the accuracy of Ibn al-Athīr's data vindicated numismatically. The evidence of the coins points to the economic collapse of the Būyid administration *circa* 384/994. Suddenly the alloy in silver becomes so considerable that a *fals* is no more distinguishable from a *dirham*. This deterioration of coinage (with one exception) goes on down to 407/1016, after which no dated coins have as yet been discovered, and only the arrival of Maḥmūd of Ghazna in 420/1029 restores the currency to its regular level.

The second crisis comes with the gradual disruption of the Seljuk empire. After a first gap extending over the period of 498/1105 to 525/1130, the coins reappear, though few and far between, down to 555/1160. At the latter date a new gap opens to last down to 701/1301 (Ghazan-khān). In a note, p. 216, Dr. Miles refers to a hoard of dinars found at Chashme-ye 'Alī in 1934, and which presumably will throw some new light on the coinage of the 'Irāq Seljuks. The big gap is, however, unlikely to be bridged, for in the first place it reflects the general silver crisis of the Seljuk epoch, which had repercussions throughout the Near East and was accompanied by a general deterioration of coinage. In Caucasian lands the crisis was over by the first quarter of the thirteenth century, but local disturbances and party struggles in the region of Rayy must have disorganized economic life even before the onslaught of the Mongols in 617/1220: cf. Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 346 (under 582 H.), quoted in my article *Raiy* in *EI*.

Old Turkish names are a usual stumbling block of historians. P. 130: I should read **Khuṭlukh-Chur*. P. 146 read: Muḥammad b. *Tughluq*. P. 197: *Yinal. P. 203: I am glad Dr. Miles reads *Qutulmish* (< *Qurtulmish "he became free"), and not in the usual way Qutlu-mish. P. 212: *Bark-yaruq ("Strong light") and *Bursuq ("Badger"). Misprints: p. 169 **quḍāt* and **bilād*; p. 172: *Wosko-boinikov; p. 194: does Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 370, mean Āmid or *Āmul (much nearer to Rayy)?

To the merits of the book must be added the beautiful form in which it has been brought out.

V. MINORSKY.

at has been said of the slavery in which they live. It is
ntrancing interest.

A. S. TRITTON.

WAR AND PEACE IN ISLAM. By MAJID KHADDURI. 32. London: Luzac and Co., 1941. 6*s*. paper, 8*s*. cloth.

Apparently a thesis for the degree of Ph.D. in the University of Chicago, this little book is pleasantly written and agreeably free from prejudice and extravagant claims. Without much claim to originality of thought or depth of research, it at any rate shows, on the whole, accurate study and that the author has been initiated into the difficult business of research on right lines and has consulted the principal authorities, ancient and modern, on his subject. We may look forward therefore in time to weightier contributions to learning from his pen and may feel confident that he will worthily uphold the standards of true scholarship in the teaching post which he holds.

In one or two places the statements made are inadequate; for instance, on p. 15 the word "code" is twice over used in the sense of a general body of legal doctrine, which is not its recognized meaning, and in any case Abu Yūsuf's *Kitāb ul-Kharaj* only contains a small portion of the doctrine associated with the name of Abu Ḥanīfa; on pp. 37–8 some reference might well have been included to Ismā'īli and Zaidi Shī'a doctrines.

S. V. FITZGERALD.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MUSLIM NUMISMATICS, INDIA EXCEPTED. By L. A. MAYER. (Oriental Translation Fund, Vol. XXXV.) pp. 115. London, 1939.

If the historians of Islamic countries have often neglected the precious help they might have obtained from numismatics, it is partly due to the absence of a handy bibliography to guide them to the hiding places where numismatists keep their treasures buried. Occasional indications of special literature in Zambauer's *Manuel* have been appreciated by many scholars, and now our thanks go to Professor L. A. Mayer for giving us a convenient key to the Muslim branch of numismatic literature. The list is very complete; but if, in spite of the help from specialists which the author acknowledges

The Poetry of Shāh Ismā'īl I

By V. Minorsky

1. Introductory remarks
2. Manuscripts
3. Language and metrics
4. Contents and imagery
5. Selection from the Turkish Original.
6. English translation

I. Introduction

My interest in Shāh Ismā'īl's poetry was aroused thirty-six years ago, when from my Ahl-i Ḥaqq friends I learnt that the *Khaṭā'ī* mentioned in one of their hymns was no less a person than the founder of the Ṣafavi dynasty [1]: *Khatā'ī-dā nāṭiq oldī, Türkistanïn pīri oldī* "(Godhead) came to speech in the person of Khatā'ī, (who) became the pīr of the Turks (of Āzarbāyjān)", according to the explanation given to me.

For some time I suspected the Ahl-i Ḥaqq doctrines to be identical with the arcana of the Safavids, but later came to the conclusion that the home of the former was in Kurdistan, in the region of Sulaymānī, and that only by a kind of alliance were they related to the Ṣafavi propaganda.

It was only in 1920, in Paris, that I could carefully study a copy of Khatā'ī's *dīvān* (Bibliothèque Nationale, sup. turc 1307). This time my attention was attracted by the autobiographical hints of the crowned poet and by the dialectic peculiarities of his Turkish poems. I read a paper on Shāh Ismā'īl's poems before the Société Asiatique (9th December, 1921), and started on the preparation of a selection from Khatā'ī's *dīvān*. My work was several times interrupted. Meanwhile, the problems of the rise of the Safavids occupied my mind, and I came to look upon the *dīvān* as an historical document characteristic of the strivings of the age.

In view of its manifold interest, the *dīvān* should be published in

[1] See my *Matériaux pour servir a l'étude . . . des Ahl-i Ḥaqq* (in Russian), Moscow, 1911, pp. 80, 108–110; also my *Notes sur les Ahlé-Haqq*, Paris, 1922, p. 21, and my article "Khaṭā'ī" in *Enc. of Islām*.

its entirety ; but even a proper collation of the manuscripts is impossible in the present state of the world : *jahān dar-ham oftāde chūn mū-ye Zangī* ! I can only sum up some results of my protracted but desultory research in the hope that my article may serve as a stepping stone to some younger scholar living in happier times.

" It is a remarkable fact that while Sulṭān Selīm and Shāh Ismā'īl both possessed poetic talents, the former wrote almost exclusively in Persian, and the latter, under the pen-name of Khaṭā'ī, almost exclusively in Turkish." [1]

The spectacle of the Ottoman sultan, who led his victorious army to Tabriz, becoming a victim of Persian refinement is certainly astonishing, but its significance is somewhat limited : it points only to the prestige of a brilliant tradition among the upper classes of a nation which had not yet found its own literary way. The preference shown by the founder of the Safavid dynasty for a Turkish dialect, which as an instrument of poetical expression stood no comparison with the melodious, easy-flowing, and highly polished Persian, has much deeper roots. As a poet, Selīm appeals to the inner circle of his intimates. Ismā'īl has in view a much larger auditory of his supporters. The Sultan plays with words for his own amusement, and no one will take seriously the master of a well-stocked harem when he laments : " Oh, sultan of the moon-faced, you have killed this dervish." [2] The Shāh's poetry also abounds in commonplaces, but it has personal elements as well, teems with queer religious ideas, and its ostensible purpose is to rally a party round a definite programme.

Founders of esoteric sects are fond of special dialects and symbols intelligible only to their immediate milieu. Faḍlullāh the Ḥurūfī wrote in the dialect of Astarābād ; the hymns of the Ahl-i Ḥaqq are in Gūrānī, the Bābis used a mass of cryptic and conventional terms. Shāh Ismā'īl's ancestors often had recourse to the Iranian patois of the neighbourhood of Ardabil.[3] Gradually the Safavid influence spread among the Turcoman tribes of Āzarbaijān, and especially of Armenia, Northern Syria, and Asia Minor. The sedentary population of Persia

[1] E. G. Browne, *A Hist. of Pers. Lit. in Modern Times*, 1924, p. 12.

[2] See the *Dīvān* edited by P. Horn, Berlin, 1904 (most beautifully printed but not very successfully decorated), and P. Horn, " Der Dichter Sultān Selīm I," *ZDMG.*, lx, 1906, pp. 97–111. Horn does not go beyond saying that Selīm is " a complete master of the poetical technique ".

[3] The specimens occurring in the *Silsilat al-nasab* have been studied by Kasravi in his *Ādharī*, 1304/1926. B. Miller sought to prove the connection of this dialect with Tālishī ; see *K voprosu ob yazike naseleniya Azerbayiana*, in *Ucheniya Zapiski*, I, 199–228.

was still attached to the Sunna,[1] and its conversion to the new Shī'a doctrines could be envisaged only with the help of the supporters of the first hour. Shāh Ismā'īl, even though he must have been bi-lingual [2] from birth, was not writing for his own heart's delight. He had to address his adherents in a language fully intelligible to them, and thus the choice of the Turcoman Turkish became a necessity for him.[3]

Shāh Ismā'īl's son Sām-mīrzā states that his father wrote also in Persian, and as a sample quotes one single verse. Some traces of Persian poetry are found in one Paris MS.; but with this exception, all the known copies of Khatā'ī's *divan* are entirely in Turkish.[4]

II. Manuscripts

The MSS. of Khaṭā'ī's *dīvān* are not very numerous, and vary considerably in their contents, single verses, and spellings. Those of which I possess knowledge are as follows [5]:—

P 1. Bibl. Nat., supp. turc 1307, 83 folios, contains 253 ghazals and three mathnavis: *Fil-munājāt* (24 distichs), another mathnavi beginning: *qadīm-i dhāt-i bī-mithl-u-baqā dur* (18 distichs) and a heroic mathnavi (60 distichs in *mutaqārib*). The MS. was completed in 948/1541, only eighteen years after Shāh Ismā'īl's death. It must form the basis of any future critical edition as giving a number of very outspoken poems and verses which the other scribes preferred to omit. Cf. Blochet, *Cat. des Mss. turcs*, ii, 229.

P 2. Bib. Nat., supp. turc 995 (formerly in Schefer Collection), 64 folios, contains in Turkish: 205 ghazals, 9 quatrains, 2 mathnavis (of which one is the *Naṣīḥat-nāma*, beginning: *sīghīn faḍl-i ḥaqqa, āy ṭālib-i rāh*), and in Persian: one ghazal and a few verses. According to Blochet, op. cit., ii, 123, the MS. was completed in the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D. The MS. may have been copied from the same original as TZ.

[1] See *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 77: "In Tabriz most of the inhabitants are Sunnis of the Shāfi'ite sect."

[2] The admixture of Chaghatay forms in Ismā'īl's poetry would indicate that he did not feel any one definite dialect as his own, but this admixture must have a purely literary origin (influence of Chaghatay *dīvāns*).

[3] I discuss the role of the Turcoman tribes under the Safavids in my book, *A Manual of Safavid Administration* (now being printed).

[4] *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī* (957/1550), Tehran 1314/1935, pp. 6–9. 'Alī-Quli Vālih, in his *Riyāḍ al-shu'arā* (1169/1756), speaks of a Turkish, and a Persian divan by Khaṭā'ī. He quotes in Persian three verses and an inscription on Ismā'īl's signet-ring; see MSS. 57, f. 167v, and 230, f. 171, of the R.A.S. Bengal. I owe this reference to my friend, L. F. Bogdanov-Dugin (Calcutta). The legend of the signet-ring is: *buvad mihr-i 'Aliyy-o āl-i ū chūn jān marā dar bar|ghulām -i shāh -i mardānast Ismā'īl bin Ḥaydar.*

[5] Cf. my article "Khaṭā'ī" in *EI*.

L. British Museum, Or. 3380, contains the *Naṣīḥat-nāma* (168 bayts), the mathnavi beginning: *qadīm-i dhāt*, and the ghazals (ff. 10*b*–83). According to Rieu's *Cat. Turk. MSS.*, pp. 205–6, the MS. is "apparently of the sixteenth century".

TZ. The MS. presented to me by my friend S. H. Taqizadeh, 80 folios, contains 223 ghazals, 9 quatrains, and the *Naṣīḥat-nāma* (167 distichs). Dated 17 Rabī' ii 1245/16th October, 1829, but copied from a MS. presented to the Ardabil sanctuary in 1022/1613 and bearing the seal of Shāh 'Abbās I.

LEN. Leningrad, Oriental Museum of the Academy of Sciences, Or. 297, 75 fols. According to the notes communicated to me in 1923 by my late friend Yuri Marr, it contains the introductory praises to God, 'Ali, etc. (ff. 1–16), and a longish allegory in the form of a mathnavī *Āshiq-va-ma'shūq*, in ten *nāmas* (f. 16–75). Dated 1036/1626.

B. Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Or. fol. 209, ff. 386*a*–419*b*, contains only a selection of 34 ghazals (204 bayts). Dated 1077/1666. Cf. Pertsch, iv, *Pers. Hand. Berlin*, p. 63, No. 18, ii, 4. I personally consulted the MS. in 1922.

VAT. Vatican, turc. 221, of which I could examine only one page in the show-case at the exhibition arranged for the members of the XIXth Congress of Orientalists in 1935.

IS. A MS. belonging to the collection of 'Ali Emīrī Efendi (according to Babinger, *Der Islam*, xii, 1922, 233, in the Umumiye Library). Date unknown. Yūsuf-beg Vezirof, *Ādharbayjān adabiyatīna bir naẓar*, Istanbul, 1337, pp. 27–31, quotes 6 ghazals apparently from this MS.

TS. On Sām-mīrzā's *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, v.s., p. 1008*a*.

Z. Shaykh Ḥusayn Zāhidi, *Silsilat al-nasab-i Ṣafaviya* (*circa* 1059/1649), Berlin, 1343/1922, pp. 68–72, quotes four poems by Khatā'ī glorifying the imāms.

To sum up: the MSS. which claim to contain a complete set of the ghazals are P 1, P 2, L, TZ, and possibly VAT and IS. Of these, the oldest and the most complete is P 1, representing a special tradition. P 2 and TZ go back to the same original, which apparently was presented to the Ardabil Library by Shāh 'Abbās I. As time wore on, many of the extravagances of the early Safavid period looked too far-fetched and the earlier poems of Shāh Ismā'īl had to be cut out from his *dīvān*. On the whole the text of P 2 and TZ reads better, but it has obvious lacunae, and the archaic spellings of P 1 have been simplified and modernized. It is possible that L belongs to the same later tradition. As regards the Mathnavīs, the *Naṣīḥat-nāma* appears in P 2, L, and TZ. Of the mathnavis of P 1, two are otherwise unknown, and the third (*qadīm-i dhāt*) is found also in L. The *'Āshiq-va-ma'shūq* exists only in LEN. [Is it by Shāh Ismā'īl ?]

III. Language [1]

The language of the *dīvān* is a Southern Turkish (Turcoman) dialect directly associated with the so-called "Āzarbāyjān Turkish", as spoken in North-Western Persia and North-Eastern Transcaucasia. Shāh Ismā'īl still uses a number of words and forms which are unknown in the present-day speech. On the other hand, his Turkish already shows traces of decomposition due to the influence of the Iranian milieu; in Polivanov's terminology, it is asynharmonic. The Chaghatay elements of the *dīvān* are very curious, but their purely literary origin, through imitation, is beyond any doubt.

1. *PHONETICS*

A. Vowels

(1) The existence in our text of a narrow *e*, as distinguished from *ä* and *i*, must be postulated from the presence of such a sound in modern AT. In writing, both *e* and *i* are expressed by ای or ی, but the following examples can be read only with *e*: ایتمن (193) *etmān* "I do not"; ایشیکونکی *ešigünü* (230) "thy threshold" (acc.); دیکیل *de-gil* (203) "say (then)"; سیومه *sevmā* (63) "love not"; کیچ *geč* (203) "pass on"; کیرپوچ *kerpüč* (102) "a brick"; یی *ye* (83r) "eat"; ییری *yeri* (83r) "march"; ییک *yeg* (83r) "better".

(2) Vowel *u* predominates in suffixes (WT. *ī*):—

(*a*) In the first syllable of the possessive enclitics of broad stems: جانوم *janum* "my soul"; عشقونک *ašqun* "thy love", but, besides *qīlījum*, *qīlījīm* is also found. *U* does not penetrate into the second syllable of these enclitics: جانومیز *janumīz* "our soul", *ša'runīz* "your sharī'at". Narrow stems have *-im*, *-imiz*: جدمنی *jiddimni* "my endeavour" (acc.); اشکیمدن *äškimdān* "from my tears"; پیریمیز *pīrimiz*.

(*b*) In the genitive suffix: حقونک *ḥaqqun* "of the Right".

(*c*) In the personal endings of the present and past tenses: باخدوم *baxdum* "I looked"; ایتدوم *ayittum* (*äyittüm* ?) "I said".

[1] In this chapter the signs *č*, *š*, *x* are used for *ch*, *sh*, *kh*. Abbreviations: *AT*.—Āzarbāyjān Turkish; *WT*.—Western (Ottoman) Turkish; *Deny*—J. Deny, *Grammaire de la langue turque*, Paris, 1922.

(*d*) In verbal formants: اوکرنور *ögränür* "he learns"; *yapušur* "it sticks"; *yanduran* "he who makes burn".

(*e*) In *-dur* "is" and *dägül* "is not".

(*f*) In adjectives in *-ik*: اکسوک *äksük* "less"; ارتوق *artuq* "more"; *ačux* "open".

(3) Vocalic harmony is weak: ارلیغینه *ärliğinä* "to thy manhood"; اولاجق‌اوز **öläjağuz* (194) "we shall die"; بیلمغ *bilmaǵ* "to know" (AT. *bilmax*); سوسیزلره *susīzlärä* "to the thirsty", but سوسیزلیغیم *susīzlīğīm*. It must be noted that in many cases *alifs* stand only as *matres lectionis* for *ä* (not for *a* or *ā*): ایچندا *ičindä* "inside"; کولداکی *gökdäki* "the one in the heavens"; کجه‌لار *gäjälär* (**gejälär*); ایلاکیل *äylä-gil* "do (then)"; ایلامه *äylämä*; تاکی ایلاسام *tä-ki äyläsäm* "ut faciam"; سیومادوکوم *sevmädügüm* "the one disliked by me".

(4) There are very few traces of labial vowels affecting the syllables following them (Deny: attraction labiale). The possessive suffix of 3 p.s. is always *-i*: حسنی‌نونک *hüsni-nüŋ* "of his beauty"; قولینی *quḷīnī* "servum suum"; کوزین *gözin* "oculum suum"; یولینده *yolīndä* "on his way". Similarly in the accusative ending یوزومنی *yüzümni* "faciem meam"; اغویینی *aǵuyīnī* "venenum suum" (acc.). Also کوندوزین *gündüzin*; سوسیز *susīz*; قورخوسیز *qorxusīz*. In verbal forms: *doǵmīš*, *oḷdī* [on *boḷdum* and *oxïdum* v.s. 1 A (2)].

(5) Very strange is *ü* > *i* in دیشده *dišdä* (for *düšdä*) "in sleep", cf. 17v. Vice versa دوز **düz* (69r) apparently stands for *diz* "a knee". The possibility of such fluctuation is confirmed by the name of the Caucasian town *Shīshä/Shüshä*.

B. Consonants

(1) The initial *b* of WT. before a nasal is regularly represented by *m*: *munī* "hunc"; *miŋ* "a thousand", but exceptionally (203) one finds *bunuŋ*. There are a few cases of the initial *p*: *pozman* (205).

(2) Initial dental stop is usually voiced[1]: *daš*, *datlu*, *daǵ*, *düšti*, but exceptionally one finds *tökmäk*, etc.

[1] By analogy we may presume that such is also the case of the initial guttural stop *g* (*k*).

(3) The guttural stop *q* is either maintained or becomes *x*(*ġ*): قمو *qamu* "all" (but 249: خمو *xamu*, cf. AT. *hamu-sï*), *xačan*, *xansï* "which", *xanï* (?) "where", *xanjaru* or *xanjarï* "wither", *baqïp*, but (163) باخوبن *baxubän* (?), *axar* "it flows", *axšam* (226) يوق (203) but يوخ (224), باشمغ *bašmaġ* (**bašmax*), الجاغ "thus".

(4) The nasal guttural *n* (*saġïr nun*) is usually preserved and transcribed -نك- (*-ng-*), although this group is felt as a simple consonant, as is clearly indicated by scansion: آنكا *ana* "ei", قولنكم *gulun-am* "I am thy slave", *yanaġïnun* "of his cheek". However, some traces of denasalization are noticeable: alongside with اونكدن *öndän* "from before", one finds اوكمدن (83r) *ögümdän* اوكونجه (2) *ögünjä* "before him", and these last forms find a confirmation in "*ughiunda*, davanti" quoted by Pietro della Valle.[1] The slip قامتون (192) for قامتونك "thy stature" is also characteristic of the same tendency.

(5) Among the rare cases of assimilation expressed graphically can be quoted: دوشتى (for دوشدى), توشتى‌لار (95) *töštilär?* (WT. *döšediler*), كيرو پتور (22) *girüp-tür*.

2. ACCIDENCE

A curious feature of our text is the use of certain southern (Turcoman) forms beside the corresponding eastern (Čaġatay) forms. Most probably this indiscriminate practice is to be explained by the literary influence of the Čaġatay works produced at the Timurid court of Herat.

A. Nouns

(1) Stems ending in a consonant, whether simple or provided with the possessive suffix of the 1 and 2 p.s., have double forms in genitive (*un/nun*) and accusative (*i/ni*). Examples of southern forms حقونك حق گنجونك "Deum", عشقونكى (167) "amorem tuum", عاشق لارى. Examples of eastern forms: اژدرنونك (43) *äždärnün*, بلبلنونك (132), فلكنونك (143), اكمكنى *äkmäkni* رخونكنى (230) *ruxunni* زلفنكنى (230), سينمنى (191) *sïnä-m-ni*, بولرنى *bulärni* (?)

[1] See E. Rossi, *Atti del XIX° Congresso dei Orientalisti*, p. 207. In his MS. sketch of Turkish, della Valle, without any doubt, describes the dialect spoken at the court of Shāh 'Abbās I.

"hos, eos", كونكلومنى (65) *gönlümni*. These forms occur side by side in the same poems: *Yūnisi, imāmī, Ya'qūbni* (1); *gönlümi, gönülni* (66).

(2) Stems ending in a vowel have in the accusative a double form *-ni/-i*, the former still surviving in AT, and the latter being usual in WT. Examples: بنده نى *bāndā-ni* "servum" بريرى نى (111) *bir pärini* بوخطائينى (105) but اژدهائى (83r) عطائى (80v).

(3) Stems ending in a vowel form the dative regularly: دلخسته يه *dil-xastā-yā*; but the form بنديه may indicate the passage of the final *ā* (which in Persian becomes *e*!) into *i* before the suffix *-yā*, viz. **bāndiyā* (instead of the theoretical *bāndā-yä*).

(4) Stems accompanied by the possessive suffix of the 3 p.s. usually have the shortened form of the accusative in *-in*: جملنونك كونكلين *jümlānün gönlin*, يارەسين *yaräsin* "his wound" (acc.). In locative and ablative the practice is twofold: يولينده (192) *yolindā* (?), but كيتمه خطائى چشميدن *geimā xatā'ī čāšmidān*, the latter form being Čaġatay.

(5) Apart from the adverb *gündüzin*, the old instrumental case seems to be recognizable in the following verse (79v):—

بوتوحيده باغشلاغيل منى سن

بوتوحيدين اوتوما كيل (sic) منى سن

"Pardon me on account of this *tauḥīd* (profession of God's unity),
"And by dint of this profession (instr. *tauḥīdin* ?) do not dismiss me (**ötürmä-gil*)."

B. Pronouns

Demonstratives: *bu*, acc. pl. *bularnī* (82r), intensified اوشبو (14, 142) "this here"; *ol*, gen. *anun*, plur. *olar*; *šul*.

C. Verbs

(a) *Tenses*

(1) Enclitic endings of the substantive verb: 1 s. *-äm*, 2 s. *-sän*, 1 pl. *-üz*; but alongside with سن مو سن *sän-mü* (?) *sän* "art thou?", one finds سن پادشاه سين *sän padišah sin*. 3 p.s. *dur, durur*, negative دكول *dägül*.

(2) While the living southern dialects form two presents (WT: *baqīyor/baqar*, AT: *baxīr/baxar*), the system of our text is eclectic. One interesting example is vaguely parallel to WT present i: شاه حیدرونک قانی دورهیر "the blood of Sh. Ḥ. remains (unavenged)": *dura-yur* (?) (WT *duru-yor*). The AT form of present i is possibly represented by the bisyllabic دیر (6) *diyir*; but دیرلر (21) is clearly vocalized *diyärlär*, which is present ii. Another form of present ii is represented by دیرم (145) *derām*, دیرسین (159) *dersin*, as well as by ایدیر *aydīr* (*äydir* ?) "he says", *ögränür* "he learns", *yapušur* "he sticks"; with interrogation نیدر *neydār* and *neylār* "quid facit".

As the personal form of the 1 p.s. the alternative form *-mān* (Čag.) is very frequent: *tökärmän, qilurman, yaturman*; this ending has a variant *-min* بیر دیرمین سنی *bir dermin sāni* "I call thee unique".

The negative form of 3 p.s. (present ii) is in *-maz*, e.g. ایمز *imäz* "is not"; it can be intensified by the following *dägül* اولمز نهان ایتمک دکول (66). For the 1 p.s. one has: *-māzām, -mānām*, and *-mān*: *bilmäzām, qilmazam, etmānām* (173), *baxmanam* (120), *eylānān* (65), *bilmān* (31, 83), *dinlāmān, pozman, yuman* (205) "I do not wash". Other persons are دیمزسن *demäzsän* "non dicis", اولمزاوز *olmazuz* "non sumus".

(3) Future in *-jaq* is very scarce اولاجق اوز **öläjaġuz* (*sic*). Forms in *-isär* are not attested.

(4) Past tenses.

(*a*) Simple past in *-di*: اولدی *oldī*; 1 p.s. ایتدوم (212) *ayittum*, باخدوم *baxtum*.

(*b*) Narrative past in *-miš*: چکمیشام (23) *čākmišām*, قویمشم *qoymišām*, or اولمیش من (216) *olmišman*, ایلامیش *eylāmiš*, *olmišdurur* (44, 74), ایتمیش اوز *etmišüz*.

(*c*) Perfect formed from the verbal adverb in *-üp*: کلوبدر *gälüptür* "he is come", دیوبم *diyübäm* "I have said".[1]

The three past tenses are used rather indiscriminately: *tā-ki mān görduim* (157) "since I have seen" side by side with *tā āzād olmišām* (157) "since I have become free", and also *tā görüpmān*

[1] This perfect (in-*üp*) is still in use in AT, but in this dialect the 1 p. is not used.

" since I have seen ". The use of وارميش كمى (194) *varmiš-kimi* " as if it went " is similar to the practice of WT.

(*d*) Imperfect: ديردوم *der-düm*, بيلمز ايدوم *bilmäz-idüm*.

(*e*) Pluperfect: پير بوليشدى *pīr bolmīšdī* " he had become *pīr* ".

(*β*) *Compound Tenses*

(*f*) Participle in *-ur/-ar* + the verb *olmax*: صورر اولسه (137): *sorar olsa* " if he happens to ask "; قيلوراولدي (83r) " he commenced doing " (Russian: стал делать); سنى سيومن ديرلركافر اولدى (81) " the infidels commenced saying: I do not love thee " (?).

(*g*) Verbal adverb in *-a* + the verb *görmäk*. ترحم قيلمدى يالواره كوردوم (137) " he had no pity for me and I was quick in entreating (him) "; اوزونكى خاك ايده كور (96) *edä-gör* (or *äydä gör* ?) " be quick in transforming thyself into dust (or: " in calling thyself dust " ?).

(*γ*) *Moods*

(*a*) Imperative 2 p.s. is often reinforced by the particle *gil*: ايلا كيل (176) *äylä-gil*; ديما كيل (76) *demä-gil*. In the verse رقيبى قويمه قاپونكدن كيدر كيل (214) the particle *gil* is separated by other words from *qoyma* to which it belongs. 2 p.p. is in *un/ün*: كلونك *gälün* بيلينك *bilin* and, in stems ending in a vowel, in *-n/niz*: دينك *den* " say, you ", سانمنك (148) *sanman* or سانمنكيز (162) *sanmanïz* " do not think, you ". 3 p.s. is in *sun/sün* ساخلاسون *saxlasun*, نيلسون *neylasün* " what should he do ? ".

(*b*) Conditional: (*aa*) ايلاسام (28v) *eyläsäm* " suppose I do "; قيلسنك نه اوله (172) *qilsan . . . nä ola* " suppose thou do . . . what will happen "; ايسته‌سم (82) ديله‌سنك; (*bb*) كوررسم (141) *görärsäm* " if I see, should I see "; اولار ايسنك *owlar-isän* " if thou hunt "; دوترسه (236) صوررسه (108); اولمزايسه (26).

The personal ending of 2 p.s. of the conditional is in *-sän*, but in a good many cases *-sän* is found in its place. In some instances the use of 2 p.s. indicative (*-sän*) is quite natural: كرچه منذن در حجاب

اولورسن "although thou art hidden from me" (conditio realis), but the intention of using the conditional is quite obvious in هر نه قیلسن *här-nä qīlsän* "whatever thou do" شاد قیلسن وقتی دور (66) "it is high time thou gladdenedst me"; درمان ایدرسن وقتی دور. This practice accounts also for the following verse نه یرده اکرسن بیترم خانده چاغیرسن یترم *nä yerd'äkärsän bitärām, xandä čağirsän yetärām* "wherever thou sow me I shall grow, whenever thou call me I shall join (thee)".

(*c*) Optative. (*aa*) Non-contracted forms in *-a* + verbum substantivum are scarce: 1 p.s. قیلایم (184) *qīlayīm*, کوریم *görāyim* (in 3 syllables), نیلیم (198) **neyliyim* (AT. *neyniyim*), نوله ایمیم **nola uymīyīm* "what if I do not sleep; 2 p.s. صانه‌سین (113, 217) "thou wouldst think", but اوله سن, probably *ola-sän* as in AT; 3 p.s. تاکیم دکه (236) *tā-kim dāgā*, یازمایه (6) *yazmaya*, but such forms as استر دنکلیه (130) and چیخمیه (156) suggest the reading *dinliyä* and, *čīxmīyä* (*-äyä* > *iyä*). (*bb*) More common are the contracted forms الم (44), اولم (222), ایدم (78, 163), کوسترم داغیدم (193), قیلم (83v), ویرم (139), یتم, یخم (82v), which probably are to be read: *alīm*, *olum*, *edim*, *dağidīm*, etc. In AT. contracted forms *baxīm*, *görüm*, *gätirim* are usual alongside with forms in *-am*, e.g. *alīm/alam*, the difference between the two being difficult to define. (*cc*) Past tense: نولایدی اولایدی بیر اولو سواش (83r) *n'olaydī olaydī bir ulu savaš* "what would happen if a great fight were to happen".

(*d*) Verbal adverb in *-a* + *bilmäk* to express possibility or + *bilmämäk* to express impossibility (as in AT): کوره بیلمن (212) *görä-bilmän* "I cannot see"; باخه بیلمز (131) *baxa-bilmäz*.

(*e*) Verbal adverb in *-a* + *olmax*. Only one example: مینه دلدل ایله براق اولن *minä . . . olan*, apparently in the sense "constantly riding on D. and B." This form is not recorded in Deny, § 820.

(δ) *Impersonal Forms*

(*a*) Infinitive in *mäk/mağ*: ایلمک (89), but *mağ* is found even in soft stems: بیلمغ *bilmağ* (*bilmax*). The infinitive is declinable

جمالين استمزدونك كورمكى (173), but in such cases the infinitive is usually transformed into an abstract noun in *lik/līg*: ايتمكلكه (70), خوبلره باخمغليغى .

(*b*) The form in *-dik* is chiefly used as a verbal noun: سيومادوكوندن (43) *sevmädügündän* (*sic*) "on account of his not having loved"; يوزينه غنچه قارشو كولدوكيچون **güldügi-ičün* "because of his having smiled to someone-with-the-face-like-a-rose-bud". [Not to be confused with ويرمدومچون = *čün vermädüm* "as I gave not".]

(*c*) Participles: (*aa*) in *-an*: كلن دوران "the coming age". It also has a quasi-passive sense (corresponding to *-dik* in WT): ويرن ايماتى سن آيرمه مندن (80r) "withdraw not from me the faith given (by thee)". Cf. AT: *sän verän söz* "the word given by thee".

(*bb*) In *-ār*: سوده بنكزر بوئى كوردوم (159) "I saw in water a similar (*bänzār*) stature"; شاه قتنده محرم اولسون باش وجانندن كچر (102) "let the one who gives up his existence become an intimate of God". But چمنده كشت ايدر كوردوم حبيبى may be an asyndeton: "I saw the beloved: he is walking in a meadow."

(*cc*) In *-miš*: كلميشلردن اوز "we are of those who have come". Sometimes it corresponds to the verbal adverb in *-üp*: يوزندن نقاب الميش كيدر (76): "having taken the veil off his face he goes."

(*dd*) In *-dik*: چكدوكوم جفالر "the hardships undergone by me"; but in such cases it is often replaced by the participle in *-an*, the use of *-dik* being chiefly restricted to verbal nouns (v.s. *b*).

(*ee*) In *-āsi/asī*. This future participle is found only in the ġazal 251: كلاسى دور *gālāsi-dur* "venturus est", تارتلاسى دور *tartīlasī-dur* "will be weighed".

(ε) *Verbal Adverbs* are Numerous and Various

(*a*) *ikän*: *var-ikän Allāh* (14*a*) "there being God", *tökmäktä-ikän* "while being poured".

(*b*) In *-injä*: اولمينجه (211) *olmayīnja* "so long as it is not"; كوندوزين تاشام اولنجه (227) "in the day-time until night falls"; دويينجه (136) **doyunja* "to satiety".

(*c*) In *-a* (twice repeated): صوره صوره *sora-sora* (251) "by

dint of asking, or while asking", یانه یانه (168) *yana-yana*. See also مینه اولن (γ, e).

(*d*) In *-üp* (but باقیب (104) *baqīp*). Often it has the longer form *-übān*: ایلیوبن (p. 79) *eyliyübān* "having done", باخوبن (163) *baxubān* "having looked". The form قورخوبنی (79v) seems to be faulty, the metre requiring *qorxubān*.

(*e*) In *-gač* (cf. Deny, p. 1000) is very common: کورکج (145, 215) *görgač* "as soon as I saw", ایلاکج (242) *āylāgač*. Often it has a longer form in *-gačin*: کورکجین *görgačin* (150, 164*a*, 211, 242).

(*f*) In *-äli*: کورالی (55, 188) *göräli* "since I have seen", دوشلی آیرو (60) "since I have been separated", عاشق اوللی (38) *oḷaḷï*.

(*h*) In *-mädin*: کورمدین (139, 158, 215, 245) "without seeing, or having seen", ایتمدین (158).

(*i*) Very common are adverbs derived from the participle in *-an*: کورنده (163) *görändä* "on seeing", *baġrīm yaxanda* (163): "while my breast is on fire"; کورندن برلو *görändän bärlü* "since having seen".

(*k*) Ditto from the verbal noun in *-dik*: تنده جان اولدوغجه (141) "as long as there is a soul in the body"; جان اولدوغنجه (236); کوردوکجه (139).

(ζ) *Voices*

(*a*) Most of the voices, passive, reciprocal, etc., are formed regularly.

(*b*) Causative: (*aa*) in *-dur*: *azdurur* (45) "makes go astray"; **yutturan* "he who makes swallow". (*bb*) In *-t*: **axättum* "I made flow"; *erit-gil* "make thou melt!"; *görsät* (247) "show thou!" (as in AT), but also *gostär* (247) (as in WT), *yügurt*, *tükürtmä* (Mathnavi No. 3). (*cc*) In *-ar*: *cïxardï*. (*dd*) In *-güz*: *dirgüzdi* "he brought to life".

(*c*) Necessitative is not attested, being replaced by constructions with *gärāk* "it is necessary, il faut": *kiši öz kämālini bilmaǵ gärāk* "a man must know his own perfection". Often *gärāk* stands as a predicate corresponding to Arabic *lāzim*: *särv ayaǵīnä su gärāk dur* (88) "water is necessary to the foot of a cypress"; *māni bilmägä dānālär gärāk dur* (46) "to know me sages are necessary".

3. *SYNTAX*

In general, Turkish and Persian words and constructions are used indiscriminately: *dolu äz āb* (85); *mäh-yüz* ("moon-faced"); *shāhī-ki* (Persian *yāy-i ishārat*!) *jahānuŋ äfḍāli-dur*.

Although Persian constructions with *iḍāfat* are common, the suffix of the *iḍāfat* is often left out: *miskīn khaṭā'ī khästä-yä* (54r): "to the unfortunate, sick Kh." The pronoun *man* "I" is always felt as a Turkish word (= WT *ben*) and not as its Persian homonym: *män gädā* (220) "I, the beggar", similarly to the 2 p.s. *sān mäh-i tābān* (164) "thou, the resplendent moon". On the other hand Turkish words occur as the second part of an *iḍāfat* construction: *'aks-i sač* (225) "the reflection of (thy) tresses"; *qaṣr-i bäŋz* (220): "the castle of thy face (lit. complexion)."

The "pronominal reminder" (Deny, § 1094) of a status constructus is often dropped: *yüzüŋ ṣuḥbätdäki* (for *ṣuḥbätindäki*) (f 65r). The 2 p.s. and 3 p.s. are sometimes confused (i.e. *ŋ* for *n* and *n* for *ŋ*): *väṣlüŋ tābuŋdan*, and *jamāli dilär sänüŋ* (45v): "he longs for thy beauty." Inversion is common: *tā jüdä dušdi göŋül qašī kämānumdan mänim* (f. 53r) "since (my) heart has been separated from my (beloved) whose-eyebrows-are-like-bows"; *täjällī-si ẓuhūr oldī imāmuŋ*.

Turkish "composite epithets" (Deny, § 1090) are used profusely: *fäläklär onuŋ-čün nuh-ayvān olan* (f. 11r). "He for whom the heavens are nine porticos."

Auxiliary verbs: *tajrīd ol* "renounce"; *fikri* (*sic*) *qīlurman* (79); *qīlurman bäd-du'ālar*.

The Participle in *-är*: *kimini qačar qačaġan nar kimi* "(God creates) some who run as a swift stallion" (f. 81v); *bäŋzär boyī gördüm* (54r) "I saw a similar stature". But see *2*, δ, (*c*), *bb*.

Relative sentences formed analytically: *gänjä bänzär eyläkim ol gäldi mär üstünä* (65v) "it resembles a treasure, such as a snake sits upon"; *näsnä-kim ḥaqq-dan gälän dur andan ol-gil bī-günāh* (66v); *daurān-ki jānān dauri-dur* (36v).

Asyndeta: *asīlmīš-dur hamīša gūšdä gördüm* (56v): "I saw (thy words) were ever attached to (my) ears (like ear-rings)"; *noḷa ḥüsnüŋ zakātī būsä versäŋ, ḍa'īfäm, därdümändäm män-gädāyä* (71r) "what if you gave me a kiss as a toll of your beauty (for) I am weak and sick"; *Nuṣayri qïldī yetmiš-iki pāra yina dirgüzdi jān verän 'Alī dur* (16r);

Anacolutha: *bu Xatā'inün yerin* (**yeri*) *oldī ġämiŋdän ṭāq-i hijr*

(78r); and *yüzüni* (**yüzün*) *daġ olmayīnja baġrī qanlu* (68v) may be slips, but *äzäldän sevgüni* (**sevgün*) *var-idi jändä* (79r) is supported by the metre (see above); *hijr oxī baġrumī niččä yer yāra söylāmiz* (41r) "tell my beloved that the arrows of separation (have pierced) my breast in several places".

4. METRICS

I have systematically refrained from making any alterations in the text, however obvious the disturbances of the metre were and however easy the corrections would be. This can be done only after all the available manuscripts have been collated and the text finally established. Even so old a MS. as P I is full of mistakes against the metre. Partly it may be due to the fact that some poems were destined to be sung rather than recited, and partly to the characteristics of the Turkish language, which does not distinguish the length of the vowels. In fact, it is mostly the Arabic and Persian loan-words that give guidance in Turkish metrical poems.

Syllables ending in two consonants are to be read *alla Turca* in two syllables: *fikr* > *fikir* (79v), *shukr* > *shükür*.

Turkish *matres lectionis* (*alif*, *w*, *y*) are of course not considered as lengths, while Turkish vowels are lengthened *ad libitum*; for instance the word *kimiṇi* (spelt *kīmīnī*) is to be scanned as ⏑ — — : *yāratmadī*, (spelt *yārātmādī*) gives ⏑ — — ⏑; *dursa otursa* (spelt *dūrsa ūtūrsa*) gives — — ⏑ — ⏑, the syllable *-sa* being long in the first case and short in the second.

The Persian system of super-long syllables (— ⏑) is only partially observed even in Perso-Arabic words: *'ishq* giving — ⏑, while in *sändän özgä dibärä hīch kim mänä yār olmasun* the word *hīch* counts only one long, similarly to the last syllable of *özgä*!

Apparently the poet was not shocked by such licences, and there is no ground for us to improve his original. In fact many verses merely follow the syllabic pattern of the metre, without much attention to the lengths. One case is particularly worth our attention: the striking appeal to the ghāzīs (No. 18) is an example of the purely syllabic Turkish system which Mehmed Emin-bey re-introduced into the Ottoman poetry under the name of *parmak-hisabī* ("the counting on fingers").[1] The pattern consists of sixteen syllables to a hemistich,

[1] See Minorsky, "Natsionalnīya stihotvoreniya Eminbeya," in *Drevnosti vostochnīya*, II/3 and III/1, Moscow, 1903. M. Emin-bey's *Türkche-shi'irler* was published in Stambul in 1316/1899.

of which the last eight represent the burden. The first eight syllables come usually in groups of four.

Allāh Allāh | dew ghāzīlār | ghāzīlar dīn-i Shāh mān-ām
Qarshu gälüw sijda qīluw, etc.

Somet mes the combination is 3 + 2 + 3 or 2 + 3 + 3.

Uchmaghda | ṭūtī | qushīyām . . .
Nā yärd' | äkar-sän | bitärām || khanda | chaghīr san | yetärām

With regard to rhymes it can be remarked that Turkish words *yüz*, *sōz*, and *duz* (No. 212) are supposed to rhyme, on the strength of their outward appearance in Arabic script!

5. *GLOSSARY*

In the following selection I have incorporated the less common words found in P 1. References are to the single poems as numbered in my own copy of the *divan*; references in brackets are to the pages of the same MS.

ایسم 98, 159, 167 *āpsām* "modest, silent"

اخشم (72v) *axsham* "an evening"

اردم (83r) *ärdām* "gift, talent". This archaic word occurs both in Mongolian (*erdem*) and in older Turkish texts, see Houtsma, *Glossar*, 26, Ḍarīr's *Life of the Prophet*, Chester Beatty Collection, No. 410, f. 78a

اکمک (83r) *ākmāk* "bread"

انجاغ (26r) *anjaġ* "only"

اوخور 100 *oxur* cum dat. "he calls something"; اوخیدوم 159, 169 *oxīdum* (?) "I called"

اوزه (66v) *üzā* "that he may pull out"

اوز (66v) *öz* "self"

اوش 99 *ush*; اوشته 167 *ushtā* "here, voici"

اوصلندی (40r) *uslan-* "he came to his senses".

اوکوش 102 *ōgüsh* "numerous, many"

اوکومدن (83v) *ōgümdän* "from my front"

اولاشدیلر 252 *ulash-* "they met, joined"

اومرم (80r) *umarīm* "I expect"

ایتوردی 2 *itürdi* "he lost"; (82r) *itürür* "he loses"

ایدیر 65, 125, 134 *ayīdīr* (or *äyidir*) "he says"; ایتدوم 212 and ایتدیم 193, 212 "I said"

ایراغ (50r) *īraġ* "far"

ایسرادن برو 18 **isra'adan-bärü* "from beyond, from the eve (?)"; cf. AT *isra'a güni* "the day before yesterday"

ایکیت (83r) *igit* "a champion"

ایل (52r) *el* "a stranger"

ایلترلر 251 *ilätärlär* "they push, hustle"

ایله که 231 *elā-ki* "so that"

ایمه شیطانه 249 *uyma* "pander not to the devil"
ایمدی 204 *imdi* "now" (but 66: *shimdi*)
ایی (80r) *āyi* good
بای (79r) *bay* "rich"; cum dat. *hüsnä bay* (55v) "rich in beauty"
برلو 131 *bärlü* برو 53 بری 18 "since"
بنکزر 69 *bānzār* "he resembles"
بوز ات *boz-at* "a grey horse"
بولدی 59, 131, 243 *boldī* "he became"
بولدوم 188, etc., *buldum* "I found"
بیرجوه 128 *birjüvä* "together with"
بیرله 14a *birlā* بیرلن 190, بیلن 241 بیله 96 "with"
بیلیجی 167 *bīliji* "an expert"
پاس (66v) *pas* "rust"
پوزمن (64v) *pozman* "I do not break"
تاپمیشدور 106 *tapmīshdur* "he found"
تاشینه (73v) cum acc. *kim ešikünü tašïna* "whoever aims at, or visits your threshold", cf. داشینه
تانکری 65, 140 *tanrī* "God" (AT *tarī*)
تکی تک "like", *mān-täk* (77v), *mān-täki* 92 *sänün-täk* (76v), *dīvānā-dāk* 90 = *dālü-dag* 113
توخور 7 *toxur* (?) "he touches" (cf. *toqun-maq*, rather than *toq-* "satiated" from which no verb is known).
توش اولور (72r) *tüš olur* "happens"
توکنور (39v) *tükänür* "it ends, it is exhausted"
چاخر (42r) *chaxīr* "wine"
چری (82r) *chäri* "army"
چزکنم (47v) *basha chizginim* "may I wind myself round (thy) head"
چوره (61v) *chävrä* "circumference"
چی (67r) *chiy* "dew"
چین (58r) *chin* "truth, true"
خاچان (49v) *xachan* "when"
خانسی (72v) *xansī* "which"
خانده کیم (72v) *xandä-kim* "whereever"
خانی (52v) *xanī* "where"
خنجرو (76v) *xanjaru* "in what direction"
داپو (55v) *dapu* "adoration"
داخ (13v) *dax* "also"
داشدی (32v) *dash-* "overflowed"
داشینه (39v) *dashīna* cum dat. "may he aim at", cf. *tashïna*
دانکله (64r, 79v) *dan-la* "at dawn, on the morrow"
دکمه (23v, 39r, 68v) *dägmä* "every, common"
دوپتالو (52r, 69r) *dop-talu* (*sic*) "brimful"
دوز (69r) *duz* "salt"
دوز (69r) *düz* "a knee" (? for *diz*)
دوزتمیش (67r) *düzätmiš* "he arranged"
دک دق *see* تک
دورلو (45r) *dürlü* "various"
دون (61r) *dün* "a night": *dün-vä-gün* "day and night"
دون (78v) *don* "clothes, garments, an avatar" (in the latter sense usual in the Ahl-i Ḥaqq hymns)
دیشده (71v) *dišdä* (?) "in a dream" but (17v) *düshdä*

دینکلمن (25v) *dinlāmān* "I hear, I understand" دەیندم (47v) *dāynādim* "I understood", دینه ده (73r) *dāynā-dā* "understand then"; cf. *chīx-da* (20r) "go out then"

ساپدی (45r) *sapdī* "pierced", WT *sapladī*

ساچی *sachī* "a (wedding) present"

ساغینما کیل (39v, 82v) *saġīnma-gil* "believe not, expect not!", cf. Budagov, i, 688

سواش (39r) *savash* "a fight"

سوروب (48v) *sorup* (?) "having asked"

سورولوب (62v, 162v) *sürülüp* "having crawled"

سوکر 45 *sökär* "he splits, pierces"

سوکو (79r) *sevgü* (?) "love"; سوکو یار (49r, 59v) *sevgü yār* "beloved friend"; سولو یاروم (76r) (* سوکو ?)

سون (49v) *sun* "pour in!" سونمدی (45r) "did not pour in" or *sönmädi* "did not go out, was not extinguished"

سین (39v) *sīn* "a tomb"

سینامادین (82r) *sīnamadīn* "without having tried, explored", Radloff, iv, 630

صندی (79r) *sīndī* "scissors" الندن صندی دوشدی "the scissors fell from his hand", *Kāš.*, i, 350: *sīndu* "scissors"?

صورر (48v) *sorur* (?) "he inquires", AT *sorushur*

صونکی (16r) "after" (perhaps *son* + expletive *ki* ?)

عورت (82v) *avrāt* > *arvat* "a woman, a female"

قات *qat* "a side, a layer": *hār qatla* (51r) "in every way"; *bir qatla* (76v) "at once"; *qatīnda* (39r) "at his side, with him", *qatīna* (read: *qatna*) (25v, 36r) "to his side, for him"

قاتی (50r) *qatī* "strongly, very"

قاچغن (81v) *qačaġan* "nimble, ready to flee", Deny, p. 569

قارشنور (78v) cum acc. *qarshīnur* "he meets, affronts"

قارقیش (79r) *qarqīsh* "a curse"

قال ایوی (24r) *qal-evi* "foundry, smelter"

قامو (2r) *qamu* "all"

قاندہ (26v) "where", cf. خاندہ (15v, 23r)

قایرمز (63v) *qayīrmaz* "he does not make"

قلاش (26v, 48r) *qallash* "a rogue"

قلماش (26v) *qalmāsh* or *qulmāsh* "futile, unreasonable", said to be derived from Ar. *qul mā ši'ta*, Vullers, ii, 739, cf. Mathnavi, iv, 3810; vi, 1637

قورخوتما (78r) *qorxutma* "frighten not!"

قوشان (7r) *qoshan* "gird!"

قولباش (39r), pronunciation and meaning doubtful: *qul-baš* "chief of slaves" or *qol-baš* "chief of a wing, detachment"?

قیر (33r) *qīyar* "he minces, kills", Budagov, ii, 105

قیرغو (73r) *qīrġu* "a bird of prey (kestrel ?)"

قیلاو (62v) *qīlau* "sharp"

کپک (83v) *käpäk* "bran"; probably *کمیک *kamik* "a bone"

گر . . . یا (48r) *gär . . . yā* "either . . . or"

گز *gäz* "a turn": *bir gäz* "once"

کسلو (82r): *yaratmadī täng äldä beš barmaǧī, ki här käslü bilä yolīn varmaǧī* "did he not create five fingers to a narrow hand that (each) should know how to proceed with its own match (?)". Cf. Deny, § 537

کلبه (73v) *külbä* "a hut"

کنه (65v) *gänä* "again", also ینه (69r) *yinä*

گوده (76v) *gävdä* "a body"

کوزکو (66v) *gözgü* "a mirror"

کوزلرم (76r) *gözlärām* "I shall look, wait for"

کونمه (79r) *güvänmä* cum dat. "boast not"

کیرپوچ (39r) *kerpüch* "a brick"

کیرو دوران (39r) *gerü duran* "the one staying back"; کیرو قویان "the one putting away" (?)

کیمی (73r) *kimi* "like", but also کیبی (76v) *kibi, gibi*

کی — expletive: *äzäldän sevgün-ki var idi janda* "thy love was certainly in the heart" (spelt سوکونکی), cf. also [22v]: *hijrün-ki* (?) and [16r] *son-ki* (?)

لش (83r) *läsh* "a carcass"

-län (17v) "with": *sänünlän*. Also *-inän*: *ṣafā-inän* (13v)

مخنث (82r) "a coward"

موجک (81v) *mūchäk* (?) "a little hair" (?), the word may refer to some insignificant, despicable utensil ("a whisk" ?)

مونجه (17r) *munja* "thus"

می (30r), an interrogative particle (very scarce)

نچوک (22v, 35v) *nächük* "how"

نیره (15v) *näyrä* "whither"

نیشه (70r) *nä* + *ishä* "what for"

نیچون (22v) *nichün* "why"

نیجه (54r) *näjä* "how"

نیچه (52v, 66v) *nichchä* "how many"

هر (72r) "ever": *män qapunda här gadāy*, cf. 75r: *bu gün här jän-fidā-yäm*

یارا (32v) یاره (30v) یرا (76r) *yara* "a wound"

یارلیغارم (66v) *yarlīǧarīm* "I pardon, I have mercy on"

یالغوز (83v) *yalǧuz* "alone"

یامان (80r) *yaman* "bad, evil"

یخدی (60v, 64r) *yīxdī* "he smashed, crushed"

یخشی (25v) *yaxshī* "good, fine", AT *yaxchi*

ینکا (58r) *yanä* "a side"

ینکلدن (59v, 69v) *yänildän* (?): "again, anew" (hardly *yünüldän* from *yünül* "light, slight")

یوکورت (83r) *yügürt* "make leap up!"

یوکوش (19v, 56v, 75r) "many, much", cf. اوکوش, Radlov, iii, 447

یولوخدوم cum dat. (82v) *yoluxdum* "I met with"

یری (73v) *yeri* "it is a place for, it becomes", cf. *miskin yerä* (40r) "wretchedly" (?)

ییری (83r) *yeri* "go, march", as in AT

یک or ییک (25v, 54r) *yeg* "better", also یکرک 82v *yegräk*

IV. Contents

The contents of the *dīvān* are threefold :—

(1) poems with autobiographical hints ;

(2) poems of religious character ;

(3) ordinary lyrics in which pagan hedonism is often interwoven with Sufi ecstasy.

I. Autobiographical details, which form a particular feature of P 1, are sparse. The royal poet several times manifests his pride in his ancestors (Nos. 15, 195, 249), and speaks of the family home (*khānadān*) of Ardabīl (Nos. 12, 168). The slogan of his personal action is Revenge : in No. 92 he says that the blood of his father is still unavenged, but from No. 15 it appears that the vendetta had been consummated. In the latter case Ismā'īl can refer either to the death of the Shirvān-shāh Farrukh-Yasār in 1500, or, more probably, to the final conquest of Shirvān in the winter of 1509–1510. The early struggles with Shirvān and the Aq-qoyunlu Turcomans of Baghdad are reflected in the curious No. 103 (v.i.), in which Tabriz appears as the capital of Ismā'īl and *mulk-i 'Ajam* is the designation of Persia.

The Mathnavi No. 3 is also curious for the political side of Ismā'īl's activities. Most probably it was composed by Ismā'īl in his early youth : its childish and comic braggadocio attests a complete lack of experience. Ismā'īl discloses his plans of conquests, in which the Franks are included ; he gives his views on the inequality of men, on leadership, on valour, etc. (v.i.).

II. The *dīvān* opens with the usual praises of God, the Prophet, Ali, and the Imāms. Single poems are inspired with common feelings of a pious Muslim ; such is the vision of the Last Judgment (No. 204), which makes Khaṭā'ī shudder at the thought of his future destiny. The interest of the collection centres, however, in the poems reflecting the intimate religious views of the author. The *dīvān* alone [1] gives a clue to the secret heresy of the early Safavids. These dynamic ideas, mystical and religious as they were on the surface, easily found their expression in direct action. They formed the political platform of the elements which constituted the spearhead of the movement.

In P 1 'Ali's panegyric precedes that of Muḥammad.[2] 'Ali is given the usual Shī'a titles of *Shāh* (Nos. 101, 195), *Shāh-i mardān*, *Baḥr-i*

[1] Hinz, *Aufstieg*, 16–19, 76–7, speaks briefly of the organization of the Ṣafavi order, but admits that the data of his sources are very meagre ("sehr spärlich"). The more important is Khatā'ī's *dīvān* with its mass of authentic facts.

[2] In L and TZ the *dīvān* begins with a poem praising God for having created 'Ali.

haqīqat "the Sea of True Reality". He is proclaimed God (*Ḥaqq*), and those who refuse him this distinction are called unbelievers (No. 194). Muḥammad is only a Prophet, while 'Ali is a "Manifestation of God" (*maẓhar-i Ḥaqq*) (ff. 2v, 5v), "God's light" (*nūr-i ilāhī*) (2v). In a long litany (11r), having the burden:

'Alī dur, 'Alī dur, 'Alī dur, 'Ali
'Aliyyun, 'Aẓīmun, Shafī'un, Walī

'Ali is presented as the creator of Heaven and Earth.

"Do not call a man him who opens to the world the door of Islām, know him as God. . . ."

"He was God (*Ḥaqq*) and came down from Heaven to Earth, to show himself to men. . . ."

"His names are a thousand, his aspects (*ṣifāt*) a million, the day and the night revolve by his order. One of his names is 'Ali, but he is the Demiurge (*kardigār*). Heaven and Earth hold firm through his word." [1]

Ismā'īl is proud of his descent from 'Ali (through Ḥusayn, No. 101) and Fāṭima (No. 15). He believes in the reincarnation of the divine substance of 'Ali. He himself used to abide with God, but now he has appeared in the world (No. 237). Both the prophetic and imamite gifts are combined in his person (No. 15). He calls himself *Valī* Shāh Ismā'īl (corrected in the later versions into *va-lākin*!). He had already appeared in the world by order of 'Ali (No. 168). He is of the same essence as 'Ali and is composed of the latter's Mystery (No. 211). A man can be a manifestation of Godhead; Ismā'īl is the Adam having put on new clothes. He has come as God's light, as the Seal of the Prophets, as a Perfect Guide (No. 249), as the guiding Imām (No. 249). He is *Agens Absolutus*, *Oculus Dei* (or even *Deus ipse*!), his body is God's house, he commands the Sun and the Moon (No. 204). With more circumlocution, he is "separate from what is not-God" (No. 249). The Ḥallājian formula *anā'l-Ḥaqq* lives in his soul, he is Absolute Truth (or God) (No. 195).

Quite particularly Ismā'īl insists on the *sijda*, *sujūd* "obeisance, prostration", which his adherents owe to him (Nos. 18, 204, 249). This claim of divine rights was especially distasteful to the orthodox. We find the confirmation and criticism of this claim in a letter which 'Ubaydullāh-khān addressed to Shāh Tahmāsp in 936/1529. The Uzbeg ruler presses the Shāh to answer his question: "Whom did

[1] However, 14r, 'Ali is called only "the shining moon of the Sun-Muḥammad".

('Ali) command: 'prostrate yourself before me'? The Prophet says: 'were *sijda* permissible with regard to any one but God, I should have ordered the females to prostrate themselves before their husbands,' whence it results that *sijda* is not permissible with regard to anyone but God and is a blasphemy"; see *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, ed. Seddon, 231.

Alongside with this extravagance Ismā'īl humbly insists on his attachment to 'Ali, and calls himself his Qanbar, slave and lowest menial (Nos. 15, 195). He is ready to sacrifice his soul for the Beloved, i.e. 'Ali (Nos. 194, 239).

Ismā'īl addresses his supporters as a community of militant dervishes, whom he calls *ghāzī*, *ṣūfī*, *akhī* (No. 7). Very interesting are the general mystic terms which he uses: *ahl-i iqrār* "Men of recognition" (No. 204) and especially *ahl-i Ḥaqq* "Men of Truth, God's men" (No. 92). The former are spoken of as pantheists for whom Heaven and Earth are God. The latter term in the technical sense belongs to the adherents of a special sect which has incorporated Shah Ismā'īl among its saints, v.s., p. 1006*a*.

In No. 211 is found the well-known term *qïzïl-bash* "Red Heads". Originally, this nickname must have been used by the opponents of the Safavids, but in due course was adopted by their adherents as a title of honour. No. 211 suggests that only those who can show the stigmas of their mortification can claim the name of Qïzïl-bash. The red caps introduced by Ismā'īl's father are frequently referred to as *qïzïl tāj* (No. 7), *qïrmïzï tāj* (No. 18), *tāj-i sa'ādat* (No. 193), *tāj-i daulat* (No. 249). The banners of the Sufi army are also red (*qïzïl*) (No. 7). Of himself Ismā'īl speaks as a commander mounted on a sorrel, or grey, charger and leading an army of dervishes. The poem No. 18 is especially curious as a genuine hymn meant to raise the spirit of the followers. In it occurs the invocation *Allāh, Allāh* which was the particular *dhikr* of the Ṣafavī order.[1]

The front of Ismā'īl's religious action is turned against his opponents who are the enemies of 'Ali and whom he intends to destroy. He calls them giaours (*gabr*), "hypocrites" (*munāfiq*), "outsiders" (*bīgāna*, No. 101, *khavārij*, Nos. 168, 211), or gives them the names of the Omayyads distasteful to the 'Alids: Yazīd, Marvān.

III. Of the purely lyrical poetry two specimens will suffice. No. 30 lacks originality, but shows considerable skill. The images of No. 123, as if borrowed from the martyrdom of St. Sebastian, are

[1] *'Ālam-ārā*, 489: "the fighters raised the shout *Allāh-Allāh*, which is the distinctive rallying cry (*shi'ār*) of the *Qizil-bash*."

unusual; but, as a counterpart, its technique is clumsy. For the rest, we shall only examine the resources of Khaṭā'ī's imagery.

China, etc. The *nom de plume* adopted by Shāh Ismā'īl admits of an easy calembour on *Khaṭā'ī*, "Sinner" (cf. *khaṭālū*, 71r), and *Khiṭā'ī* "Chinese" (71r). This further leads to puns on *Chīn* "China" and *chīn* "a fold, a curl" (32v, 33r, 67r), and *chin* "true". "Since I have set my heart on the curls (*chīn*) (falling on) thy white face, the clime of (the white) Byzantines, Chīn and Khiṭā belong to Khaṭā'ī" (44v, cf. 48v, 67r). "It is true (*chin*) that a good Chinaman (Khiṭā'ī) is faithful" (58r). To the same series of images belongs the presentation of the beloved as "a Khotan Turk", the fragrance of whose tresses has relegated ambergris to the navel (*nāfa*) of the desert (76v). Or, "tell that Tatar whose tresses are as fragrant as the navel (of the musk-deer, *nāfa*) that the gazelle of his eyes made Khaṭā'ī roam in the desert" (41r). References to musk, Khotan, etc., are numerous: "not every cane produces sugar, and the musk (*nāfa*) of the intoxicated Tatar is not found in the navel of every deer (*geyik*)" (21r). "Thy gazelle eyes take a levy from the kingdom of Khotan, and thy august locks tax the Emperor of China" (40v).

Games, etc. "Give up your life as an offering and go for a round of polo (*charkh*) with your head. Know your soul and then throw it into your dice-bowl" (66v, cf. 33r). Presents of gold and silver filled the skirts (of the Garden) which began to "scatter pearls (as) in a wedding parade (*majlis-i shābāsh*)" (37v). Drinking bouts are described con gusto: "When a reveller (*majlis-ahli*) drinks wine (*chakhīr*) holding the goblet in his hand, you would think it is a candle, for its top is aglow" (42r): "this goblet has the stature of a comely heart-ravisher" (74r).

Market-place. Even in the highest Persian lyrics (Ḥāfiẓ)[1] the terminology of trade is not considered unworthy of a poet's tongue. "I have entered the bazaar of Love and want a customer. I wish no profit or loss, I need some operations (*kirdār*)" (56r). "We are money experts (*ṣarrāf*), and, in this bazaar, look for real pearls; we accept no donkey-beads (*khar-muhra*)" (59v). "You said: 'the price of one kiss of mine is one hundred lives,' I wish there were no other customer of this commodity (*matā'*) but myself."

Hunting and War. Hunting recollections naturally find numerous echoes: "The Almighty shaped the brow of thy beloved like a bow

[1] And even in the *Qor'ān*; see Torrey, *The commercial-theological terms in the Koran*. A dissertation, Leyden, 1892.

to hunt the gazelle of thy heart" (30r). "Thy pointed eye-lashes are arrows on the bent bow of thy eye-brows" (79r, also 37v). Echoes of battles pervade many poems: arrows, shields, and armour, armies and drills form the background of a ghazel (45r); two kinds of arrows (*okh* and *khadang*) appear in one verse (79r), etc.

On the whole, the world in which the royal poet moves is purely traditional. He often refers to Qor'ānic legends of Moses, Abraham, Jacob and Isaac, Jonah and Solomon (1v, 15v, 46b); allusions are found to Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj (15v, 56r, 64r, 65v), Majnūn (35r), and, in a lesser [1] degree, Iranian heroes (64r).

Original images are very scarce indeed. "Think not that the ship on the sea is but a mirage, nor that this tearful eye is but a screen" (55r) may be a reminiscence of Ismā'īl's early years in Gilan. Speaking of the tresses of the beloved: "I wonder why these ravens are perched on this rose" (70v). "The proverb says that dragons watch over treasures: such is thy beauty hidden in thy locks" (31r), and further "the treasure is one, why are the dragons two" (78v). "Thy mole is a midge on thy lip of honey" (41v), or an "Abyssinian traveller in Greece" (65r). "O listen to my words, for pearls suit the ears of a beauty" (35r, also 46v). "At night I wake and weep bitterly: (what you see) in the sky are my (open) eyes" (28v, cf. 41r, 51r, 58v). "(O God) every night you put to sleep every eye, and keep awake the eyes of the stars" (1v).

A Turkish proverb is appositely quoted in the verse: "The rival intrigues worry me not, for I have heard that he who digs a well falls himself into it" (79r). Another popular saying [2] must have inspired the hyperbole: "Were the sea all ink," it would be impossible to state the virtues of 'Alī (5v).

[1] Except in the final mathnavi (81r–83v).
[2] Cf. *Qor'ān*, xxxi, 26.

V. Turkish Text

Bib. Nat. supp. turc 1307

No 7 (f. 7)

1. او سلطان کرم صاحب هنر دور — ولایت دور یقین نور بصر دور
قوشانسه غازیلر سیف و سلاحی — منافق جاننه خوف و خطر دور
یزیدونک لشکری یوز مینک اولورسه — ولایت لشکرندن بیر یتر دور
اشارت قیلدوغچون بیر نظر شاه — اوکنده کبر و مروان دربدر دور
5. نشانی شول قمر طلعتلو شاهونک — باشنده تاج و بیلینده کمر دور
ولایت سرّینه یول بولمیانلر — کوزی اعمی و احمق بیخبر دور
جهانده غازیلر میدانه کیرسه — خوارجلر ایاغده پا و سر دور
علی بحر حقیقت دور یقین بیل — حیات جاودان معتبر دور
قیزیل علم قیزیل بیرق قیزیل تاج — کینسه غازیلر اولکون حذر دور
10. معاوی لشکری بیر غازی کورسه — قویون کیم قورت توخوراندن بتر دور
نفس کوهر دوراخی بیر بیلن لر — سوزی بیر سویلین لر کرچک ار دور
12. خطائی شاه بولینده جان فدا دور — چه جای ملک و مال و سیم و زر دور

Variants – TZ No 24: v. 1 بو شاه پر کرم صاحب نظر در v. 4 هر نظر... v. 5 کونش طلعتلو v. 6 بیلمین لر v. 7 جهانکیر v. 9 قزل v. 10 قویون که قوردی کورا(؟) v. 11 اونی یارادان لر(؟) . The Ms. adds 3 verses:
(a) اولر که چهل تندر سر قدرت — اونی عارف بیلور اینجه خبر در

(b) بو رحمت یغموری ایردی زمینه — که هر بیر قازیننک (!) یور(بوز) نام وردر
(c) یزیده زخم تیر و سیف و خنجر — باشندن کیتمین تیغ و تبر در

No 15 (f.13v.)

1. آدوم شاه اسمعیل حقونک سرّیم — بو جمله غازیلرونک سروریم
انام دور فاطمه اتام علی دور — اون ایکی امامونک من داغ پیریم
اتامونک قانینی الدوم یزیددن — یقین بیلکیل که نقد حیدریم
خضر زنده ایله عیسی مریم — زمانه اهلینونک اسکندریم
5. یزید و مشرک و ملعونی کورکیم — منافق قبله سندن من برّیم
نبوّت منده دور سرّ ولایت — محمّد مصطفانونک پی رویم
جهادی تیغ ایله قیلدوم مسخّر — علیّ مرتضانونک قنبریم
اولو بابا صفی اتام حیدر — شجاعت اهلینونک حق جعفریم
9. حسینی یم یزیده لعنتوم وار — خطائی ام شاهونک بیرچاکریم

Variants - P², f.34a, TZ, No 133, both closely related:
v.1 ... حقنک سرّیم که مونجه غازیلرنک ... منم شاه v.2 بو اون ایکی ... من بریم
v.5 P² یزید ملعونی مشرکی طعن ایت v.7 کورکیم TZ ... پیرویم ... قیلدی مسخر
v.8 P² ... بوکون میدان ایچنده ... علی ننک چاکریم v.9 اولی بابام TZ الو بابام
Another similar poem is TZ, No 132 (cf. P² f.33b):
آدم اسمعیل ابن حیدریم — علی ننک چاکری ننک چاکریم
حسینی مذهبم من دین ایچنده — مولائی اولاننک من رهبریم
مُنم غازیلرومه حرمت ایلنک — کونکل ایونده اولارنک پیریم
منی اولاردن آیرو صانمنکز سز* — ولیکن اونلارنک من سروریم
منم هم پیر و هم سلطان عالم — خطائی یم شاهنک بر کمتریم

* As in P². In TZ صانمیورسز

No 18 (f. 15v)

1. الله الله دینک غازیلر غازیلر دینِ شاه منم
قارشو کلونک سجده قیلونک غازیلر دینِ شاه منم
اوچماغده طوطی قوشیم اغیر لشکر ار باشیم
من صوفی لار یولدا شیم غازیلر دینِ شاه منم
نه یرده اکرسن بیترم خانده چاغیرسن یترم
صوفیلر الین دوترم غازیلر دینِ شاه منم
منصور ایله دارده ایدیم خلیل ایله نارده ایدیم
موسی ایله طوردہ ایدیم غازیلر دینِ شاه منم
5. ایسرادن* بری کلونک نوروز ایدنک شاهه یتونک
هی غازیلر سجده قیلونک غازیلر دینِ شاه منم
قرمزی تاجلو بوز اتلو اغیر لشکری نسبتلو
یوسف پیغمبر صفتلو غازیلر دینِ شاه منم
خطائی ام آل آتلویم سوزی شکردن داتلویم
مرتضی علی ذاتلویم غازیلر دینِ شاه منم

Marginal variant – v. 5 تحقیق ایله شاهی تانونک *read: isra'adan

No 22 (f. 17)

1. یقین بیل کیم خدائی دور خطائی محمّد مصطفائی دور خطائی
صفی نسلی جنید حیدر اوغلی علیّ مرتضائی دور خطائی
حسن عشقینه میدانه کیروپتور حسینِ کربلائی دور خطائی
علی زین العباد باقر وجعفر کاظم موسی رضائی دور خطائی
5. محمد تقی دور علی نقی هم حسن عسکر لقائی دور خطائی
محمد مهدی صاحب زمانونک قاپوسنده کدائی دور خطائی
منوم آدوم ولی شاه اسمعیل دور خطائی دور خطائی

Variants – P², f.47b, TZ, No189: v.1 امام زین العباد v.4 یقین بیلنک
ولیکن آدیله شاه... تخلّصی خطائی v.7 ایشکنده کدائی v.6 عسکر لوائی v.5

No 30 (f.19)

1. صانه کیم سن کیتدونک ای آی یوزلو جان قالدی منکا
جان سنوکله کیتدی جسم ناتوان قالدی منکا
تاکه سن کیتدونک یانومدن ای دلارامم منوم
حالیا وصلونک کونکولده پاسبان قالدی منکا
کرچه کلزار جمالونک کیتدی قاشومدن منوم
دلده مهر قامتونک سرو روان قالدی منکا
کر زهان اولدی کوزومدن اول پری پیکر صنم
کوکده مه انونک یوزندن بر نشان قالدی منکا
5. تاکه سندن آیرو دوشدی بو خطائی خسته دل
بوی و موینک مشک ایله عنبر فشان قالدی منکا

Variants – P², f.2b, TZ, No7: v.1 P² آه کیم سن کتدن (کتدنک TZ)
بوی موینک v.5 اوننک v.4 دلارامم منم v.2

No 92 (f.36)

1. حقّونک نسخه لرنده بیر بیان وار مقرّر بیل که انکا قانه قان وار
باشوم قربان یولینده مرشد حقّ نیچه یوز من تکی جانه قیان وار
الونک وار بخشی قردونک سن یزیدی جهاندار اوله سن تا کیم جهان وار
هنوز شاه حیدرونک قانی دوره یر یزیده بر داخی کلّی قران وار
5. یقین اخلاص کرک عشقونک یولینده یری منکر لعین سندن کمان وار
سنکا منکر دیرم کورمز سن انی کونشدن اهل حقّ (قاتن) عیان وار
طهارتسیز بو یوله کیتمک ایلن نیجه انکار ایدرسن سوزه قان وار

منوم حالوم شاهه عرض ایتمک ایچون یری بادِ صبا سن هر زمان وار

و خطائی دور یری سن بیر سفر قیل! که شهر ازدبیل ده خاندان وار

Variants - TZ, No 78, L, both closely related (and possibly P2).
v.1 مفرّر بیلونکز کیم قانه v.2 سنکا ای مرشد حقّ v.3 النک وررسن (وارسن)
v.4 فانی قالبدر v.5 ... حق بولنده کبت ای v.6 (L قاتنه) اهل حق قاتن
v.7 شها عرض هر لحظه سن وار v.8 بو یوله وارمغ اولمز رهنماسز نیجه انکار اولاسن
v.9 سفر قیل دور اوتورمه ای خطائی . TZ and L add two verses:
اوکوش خوف ایلن عشقنک بولنده رفیقم قازی(!) لردن (غازیلردن) کاروان وار
موذّن کیجه کوندوز چاغرر "حی" امام کلدی نمازه دَور وآن (اوبان) وار

No 101 (f. 39)

1. ازلدن شاه بیزیم سلطانومیز دور پیریمیز مرشدیمیز جانومیز دور

شاه آدین دیوبن کز دوک بو یوله حسینی اوز بو کون دورانومیز دور

بیز امام قول لاری اوز صادقانه شهیدلوق غازیلوق نشانومیز دور

بولمیز اینجه دور اینجه دن اینجه بو بولده باش ویرمکه ارکانومز دور

5. خطائی ام ازلدن سرّ حیدر مونی حق بیلمین بیکانه مز دور

Variants - P2, f. 19, TZ No 79: v.2 کزر اوز شاهدی میدان ایچنده
v.4 کذروز(!) شاه دیوب P2 v.5 باش ویرن TZ باش ویرمک P2 موالی در خطائی
Both Mss. omit v.3 but add two verses.
شها تحفه کتوردک بیز بو جانی شاهنک کفتی بیزم ایمانمز دور
دو رویه (چوروکه P2) یوف دیروز یالانجیه مرک که کیرچک (کرچک لر: TZ) صحبتی برهانمز دور

No 102 (f. 39)

1. عشق میداننده هر کیم جان ایلن باش اوینادور
یار اوکنده غمزه و کیریوک ایله قاش اوینادور

شاه مردانونک یولینده چوخ کیشی وار دور ولی
افرین اول باشه کیم مینک باشه بیر باش اوینادور
شاه قاتنده محرم اولسون باش وجاننده کچر
صانمه کیل کیم یار اوکنده دکمه قرّاش اوینادور
چوخ کیشی سواش کونده جان و باشنده کچر
انی باشنده کیرو دوراندہ قولباش اوینادور
5. ای خطائی غم یمه چون دشمنونک اولدی اوکوش
مدّعی دائم ایراقدن کیرپوچ و داش اوینادور

No. 103 (f. 39v)

1. بغداش قوروب اوتورسه نکاروم فغان قوپار
دورسه اوتورسه فتنهٔ اخر زمان قوپار
شروان خلایقی خامو تبریزه داشینه
ملک عجم سورر که قیامت خاچان قوپار
یندوکجه توکنور عربونک کوهی (کوئی ؟) مسکنی
بغداد ایچنده هر نیچه کیم ترکمان قوپار
چیقسه سرای دن بو جهان واری سین دوتر
هر مرشد طریقت پیر و جوان قوپار
5. کورمیشدی تا خطائی ازلدن یقین مونی
نوحونک علامتی کلور آندن طوفان قوپار

No. 123 (f. 45)

1. اود یانر سینمنی ساپدی دورلو پیکان اوخلارونک
سو یرینه سونمدی کلدی فراوان اوخلارونک
یاورو قوشلر دور صانه سین کیم اوچر فریاد ایلن
چیخسه یایدن بس قیلور هر لحظه افغان اوخلارونک
سینمونک میدانیدا صف چکلدی قوشون باغلادی
پادشاهوم سن بویوردونک کیم ویرور سان اوخلارونک
اولورم بو درد ایلن کیم کونکلوم آهندن دکول
بو جانومده قالمدی جسمومده پرّان اوخلارونک
5. بو خطائی سینه سین قیلسنک مشبّک نه عجب
جبّه وجوشن سوکر پولاد [و] قالخان اوخلارونک

No 168 (f. 57)

1. منم که بو زمانه شیمدی کلدوم روان اولدوم روانه شیمدی کلدوم
عاشقم مست و حیران شاهه چون من محبّم خاندانه شیمدی کلدوم
شاهه مشتاق ایدیم قایتده بالله شکر کیم آستانه شیمدی کلدوم
یزید و مشرکونک کوکین کسرم چراغه یانه یانه شیمدی کلدوم
5. ازلدن کلمیشم شاه امری ایلن ساغینما کیل جهانه شیمدی کلدوم
محبّم اون ایکی شاهه ازلدن ولیکن بو دکانه شیمدی کلدوم
سلیمان خاتمی موسی عصاسی عالمه نوح طوفانه شیمدی کلدوم
محمد معجزی شاه ذو الفقاری الومده دور نشانه شیمدی کلدوم
9. خوارج اصلینی قویمن جهانه خطائی ام برهانه (؟) شیمدی کلدوم

Variants P2, f. 34, TZ, No 134: v. 4 چراغم... قانن توکرم v. 9 برهانه شیمدی کلدوم

No 194 (f. 64)

1. ای منوم چوخ سیو دوکوم عالمده سلطان دور بوکون
یار اگر قبول ایدر جانومی قربان دور بوکون
ای آدم سن عاقل ایسنک دنیایه ویرمه کونکول
دنیایا ویرن کونکول بو یولده نادان دور بوکون
علینی حق بیلمین لر کافر مطلق اولور
دینی یوخ ایمانی یوخ اول نا مسلمان دور بوکون
بیر کونکول آولار ایسنک یورنکا وارمیش کمی دور
بیر کونکول یخر ایسنک یوز مله ویران دور بوکون
5. ای خطائی جان غنیمت دور اوزینی تانی کور
دانکله کون اولاجق اوز جان تنده مهمان دور بوکون

No. 195 (f. 64)

1. بو کون کلدوم جهانه سرورم من یقین بیلونک که ابن حیدرم من
فریدون خسرو وجمشید و ضحاک که ابن زال هم اسکندرم من
انا الحق سرّی اوشن کونکلومده کیزلو که حق مطلقم حق سویلرم من
موالی مذهبم شاهونک یولنده "مسلمانم" دیانه رهبرم من
5. نشانوم دور منوم تاج سعادت سلیمان الینه انکشترم من
محمد نوردن دور علی سرّدن حقیقت بحر ایچنده کوهرم من
7. خطائی ام شاهه آکسکلو قولم قاپونکده بر کمینه کمترم من

Variants – L: v.1 بیلن v.3 حقم v.5 یارماغنده v.6 محمد نورننک علی سرندن

No. 204 (f. 66v)

1. عین اللهم عین اللهم عین الله کل ایمدی حقی کور ای کور کمراه
منم اول فاعل مطلق که دیرلار منوم حکمومده دور خرشید ایله ماه
وجودوم بیت الله دور یقین بیل سجودوم سنکا دور شام و سحرگاه
یقین بیل اهل اقرارونک یاننده یر و کوک جمله حق دور اولمه کمراه
5. ولایت باغینونک بیر میوه سی دور خاچان اوزه اونی هر دست کوتاه
دیلرسن حقی حقه وصل ایتمک ایریشدی فی مقام میم الله
علوقی پاک اوزه سیران ایدورکه خطائی اوغردی بیر کنجه ناکاه

No.211 (f.68v)

1. کل اغاجدن بیتدی کلدی شاهه بولداش اولمغه
سرّ شاه ایدی ازلدن کلدی سرداش اولمغه
*بورکی داغ اولمینجه باغری قانلو لعل تک [Ms. بوزونکی]
هیچ کیمسننک حدّی یوخ دورکیم قیریل باش اولمغه
کنت کنزونک سرّی دورنده محمد نوری دور
قرمزی تاج ایله کلدی عالمه فاش اولمغه
4. اسمی اسمعیل دوراورا هم ذات امیر المؤمنین
یوزینی کورکج خوارج راضی دور داش اولمغه

No.237 (f.75)

1. من اول مست لقایم کلدیم ایمدی همیشه با خدایم کلدیم ایمدی
منی زنهار سن بیر غیر بیلمه همان اول دلربایم کلدیم ایمدی
جهان ایچندا بیر عاقل منی بیل هم اول صدق و صفایم کلدیم ایمدی
منافق جانله با ضرب شمشیر بو کون حقدن بلایم کلدم ایمدی
5 محبّونک حقینه ای اهل دین لار بو کون بیر جان فدایم کلدم ایمدی
زغیر حق منی بیکانه* بیلکیل بحضرت اشنایم کلدیم ایمدی
منی بیلکیل همیشه واصل حق زغیر حق جدایم کلدیم ایمدی
مغارب اهلی چون اوج فلکدن بمعنی چون همایم کلدیم ایمدی
9. بو کوش جانلار ایچون جان اولمکامن خطائی جان فدایم کلدیم ایمدی

Variants - TZ. No 182, L; f.71: v.2 TZ بیلمنک v.3. ای غافل منی بیل
v.4. خوارج حقنه v.5 ای اهل دل لر v.6 P1 بیلمیس v.8 TZ مقرب حقنه
L مقرّ سن حقّنه then both TZ and L: معیّن بیر همایم کلدم ایمدی

No.249 (f.78v)

1. تعالی الله کل ای کورکیم ینه نور خدا کلدی
جمیع انبیا ختمی محمد مصطفی کلدی
سوندی جان عاشقلر اچلدی بخت صادقلر
اویاندی روح مؤمنلر صفا کلدی صفا کلدی
زمینلرده زمانلرده صلاح الخیر مقدم دور
فلکلردن ملکلردن هزاران مرحبا کلدی
ایریشدی مرشد کامل خاموخلقه ایمان اولدی
سوندی غازیلر جمله که ختم انبیا کلدی
5. حقه مظهر دورور آدم سجود ایت اویما شیطانه
که آدم دونینه کیرمش خدا کلدی خدا کلدی
فرشته ایندی کوکلردن بشارت اهل عرفانه
خوارجه اجل ایندی یزید لاره بلا کلدی
ضلالت ایچره ظالمتدن ایتومیش دونک چراغونکی
کوزونک آچ چیخ بو ظلمتدن که دین بدر دجا کلدی
خلیل الله دونین کیمیش دیریلمیش آدی اسمعیل
انکا قربان اولونک جانلر که الله دن ندا کلدی
کوزل شاهوم قمر ماهوم مراد کاهوم کونکول خواهوم
جمالی مظهر اللهوم کزین اولیا کلدی
10. عزازیل ادلو شیطانونک تیر تقلیدینه اویما
الین دوت حق یولین کورست امام رهنما کلدی
جهانی سحر ایلن فرعون اوزینه تابع ایتمشدی
اولاری یوتمغه موسی عصاسی اژدها کلدی
بهادر غازیلر قویدی باشنده تاج دولت وار
اولور مهدی زمان دوری جهان نور بقا کلدی
کوزی صاد و دیلی طاها ینکافی قاف والقران
قاشی نون و ساچی واللیل یوزی شمس الضحا کلدی
امام شاه حیدر اوغلینه دل و جاندن رضا ویرکیل
اماموم جعفر صادق علی موسی رضا کلدی
15. خطائی خسته شول شاهونک جمالین وصلینی ایستر
روان ویرجان صاتون آلکیل که علم جان بها کلدی

Marginal variants: v.1 تعالی شانه کورکیم v.4 امام اولدی...

No.251 (f.78)

1. نلر کلدی کلاسی دور مدد هی — جهان اهلی اولاسی دور مدد هی
کلور حکم الٓهی اسرافیله — اولو صوری اولاسی دور مدد هی
کنه کارلار کناهی صورمغ ایچون — اولو دیوان دوراسی دور مدد هی
قورولور عدل ایچون نیران ترازو — عمل لار تارتلاسی دور مدد هی
5. پیمبرلر قاچر امّت لرندن — که نفسانفس اولاسی دور مدد هی
صوره صوره ایلترلر صراطه — نیچه لر سیرلاسی دور مدد هی
7. خطائی دردینه درمان بولنمز — یا رب حالی نولاسی دور مدد هی

MATHNAVĪ No.3 (f.81)

1. بنام خداوند حیّ کریم — کیم اول دور توانا بذات قدیم
3. قیلن صرصری همچو باد سموم — قیامت ییل ایلن ایدن داشی موم
7. کیمین عالم ایچره ایدن شهریار — کیمین گل قیلوین کیمین ایده خار
8. کیمین اهل تخت و کیمین تاج ایدن — کیمنی یاریم پوله محتاج ایدن
12. کیمینی دوشر سد سکندر کیبی — کیمینی قاچر قاچغن نر کیبی
قامونی یرادان بیر الله دور — جمیعونک ایشندن اول آکاه دور
یاراتمادی تنک الده بش بارماغی — که هر کسلو بیله یولین وارماغی
15. اکر جمله عالم برابر اوله — خاچان عالم ایشی میسّر اوله
جواردن اره فرق وار دوریقین — برابر ایمز آسمان و زمین
کیشی اوز کمالینی بیلمغ کرک — الندن کلور ایشی قیلمغ کرک
یابانده سیچان دیرکه شرّم ولی — برابر اولنده ایتورور یولی
بولارنی سینا ما دین اینانماکیل — مخنّث دیوارینه دایانماکیل
20. که حق دور جهانده مددکار اولن — قولنه یامان کونده غمخوار اولان
قامو روم و چین و خراسان و شام — آچر بیر بک ایکیت بولرنی تمام
اره لشکر ایلن واران ارمیدور؟ — عنیمی باسن لار لشکرمیدور؟
ارن لار باسرلار سواشده اری — چریده بک اولور بیر ار سروری

من اولم زهنک ایله جنک ایلرم — نبردی به ببر و پلنک ایلرم
25 من اولم کیم اوغرشسه افراسیاب — باشینه اوروب کرزی دنک ایلرم
من اولم غنیمه واروب قورخوسیز — ساغینمه که باخوب درنک ایلرم
یخم قلعهٔ خیبری مشت ایلن — چه پروای توپ و تفنک ایلرم
آلوب روم و شامی مسخّر قیلوب — پس اندن هوای فرنک ایلرم
منوملن غنیم اولسه افراسیاب — انونکلن اوروشماغه تنک ایلرم
30 سواشده اگر کلسه ایش باشونکا — دونوب قاچمه هاو ایله یولداشونکا
دریغا کر اولسیدی رسم و یری — کوریدی اوزیندن اویکرک اری
32 دریغا بودم اولسه اسفندیار — نه تختین قویایدوم نه ملک و دیار
37 دریغا که بند اولدوم عورت لره — یولوخدوم محنت له نا مردلره
دریغا که قالمدی ار قیمتی — یل صف شکن شیر نر قیمتی
غنیم رستم اولمز و بیجن منکا — حکومت قیلور اولدی پیرزن منکا
40 نولایدی اولایدی بیر اولو سواش — چیخیدوم غنیم ایله من باشه باش
بیله لار که دوغمیش انادن بیر ار — دوبه هر کیشی ار دمندن خبر
ایکیت ارلیک ایلن یتیر اکمکی — دیمیشدور بو سوزی ارنلر یکی
یمک اکمکی رایکان خانده دور — هر اکمک بیر اژدر نونک اغزنده دور
بیری اژدهایی(!) ارادن کوتور — اول اکمکنی اغزندن آلوب کوتور
45 آلهی قیلیجوم ایتی قیل منوم — که کسسون اولومدن کلن دشمنوم
جدمنی الومدن سرافراز قیل — قاچرسم اوزون عمرومی آز قیل
جدمنی الومده حسوده یوکورت — یوزومه توکورته لشمه توکورت
غنیم ایله منکا اوتوز مینک اری — که رستم تک اوله انونک هر بیری
چو میدان هواسنه آهنک ایدم — اولر کلسه یالغوز انکا جنک ایدم
50 کیچورم قیلیچدن انونک جمله سین — نه آهنک بیله نه خود حمله سین
ارنلر چکرمی اولومدن ملال؟ — یامیشش دوتایم کمیک پر(بیر؟) جوال
دیمز کیمسه "ار دور" حمیت سیزه — اولوم بیک یالانجیه غیرت سیزه
منی قیلمه یولداش نامرد ایلن — که عورت دن السوکدورور مرد ایلن
قیلیجم اوزاتکیل یتم دشمنه — داغیدوم اوکومدن صف و میمنه
55 هم اسفندیاره قیلم یری تنک — که ضربومه دورمز هزبر و پلنک
منکا یاری ویرکیل سن ای شهریار — که کر رستم اولسه قیلم تارومار
آلهی قبول ایله حاجاتومی — قاپونکده نیاز و مناجاتومی
بحق رسولی که ایه کلام(؟) — بحق علیّ امام تمام
آباخوآبن چویرمدیلر یوزلرین — بو یولده فدا قیلدیلار اوزلرین
60 ..... ونک صفنده قویارکیل منی — قیلیج له ایدرلر زبون دشمنی

VI. English Translation

No. 7

That Sultan of generosity is the Master of Reason; he is Sanctity and the light of the eyes.
Should the ghāzīs put on their swords and arms, fear of danger will invade the soul of hypocrites.
Let Yazīd's host be one hundred thousand, one man from the host of Sanctity is enough (to defeat them).
Should the Shāh with a glance make a sign, before it all the giaours and Marvāns will be scattered.
5. The moon-faced Shāh can be recognized by the *tāj* on his head and the precious belt round his waist.
The one who does not find the way to the Mystery of Sanctity is a blind man and an ignorant fool.
When the ghāzīs enter the arena, the "outsiders"[1] will be utterly (lit. head and foot) under their feet.
Know for certain: 'Ali is the Sea of Truth (*ḥaqīqat*), he is the eternal life of honour.
The day the ghāzīs (preceded by) the red pennons and banners, don their red *tāj*, will be the day of warning.
10. Mo'āwiya's host on seeing one ghāzī will grow worse than that sheep at which a wolf clutches (?).
The akhīs who recognize the Pīr are true (?) pearls; those whose word is but one are true men.
In the path of the Shāh, Khatā'ī sacrifices his soul, to say nothing of the kingdom, property, gold, and silver.

No. 15

My name is Shāh Ismā'īl. I am God's mystery. I am the leader of all these ghāzīs.
My mother is Fāṭima, my father is 'Ali; and eke I am the Pīr of the Twelve Imāms.
I have recovered my father's blood from Yazīd. Be sure that I am of Ḥaydarian[2] essence.
I am the living Khiḍr and Jesus, son of Mary. I am the Alexander of (my) contemporaries.
5. Look you, Yazīd, polytheist and the adept of the Accursed one, I am free from the Ka'ba of hypocrites.
In me is Prophethood (and) the mystery of Holiness. I follow the path of Muḥammad Muṣṭafā.
I have conquered the world at the point of (my) sword. I am the Qanbar of Murtaḍā 'Ali.
My sire is Ṣafī, my father Ḥaydar. Truly I am the Ja'far of the audacious.

[1] Not "the Khārijites" in the technical sense.
[2] Referring both to his father Ḥaydar and to the Imām 'Alī (Ḥaydar).

9. I am a Ḥusaynid and have curses for Yazīd. I am Khatā'ī, a servant of the Shāh's.

No. 18

O, fighters in the path of God, say: "*Allāh, Allāh*! I am the faith of the Shāh (i.e. 'Ali).
Come to meet (me), prostrate yourselves (*sijda*).[1] I am the faith of the Shāh.
In flying [2] I am a parakeet, I am the leader of a mighty army, a companion of Sufis.
Wherever you sow me, I will grow; whenever you call me, I will come up. I shall catch the Sufis by the hand.
5. I was on the gibbet with Manṣūr; with Abraham in the fire, and with Moses on Sinai.
Come from the eve, celebrate the New Year, join the King.
With discernment come to know the King. O ghāzīs, prostrate yourselves.
I wear a red crown, my charger is grey, I (lead a) mighty army. I have the virtues of the Prophet Joseph (i.e. am beautiful).
9. I am Khatā'ī, my charger is sorrel; my words are sweeter than sugar, I have the essence of Murtaḍā 'Ali. I am the faith of the Shāh.

No. 22

Know for certain that Khatā'ī is of divine nature, that he is related to Muḥammad Muṣṭafā;
He is issued from Ṣafi, he is the scion of Junayd [and] Ḥaydar, he is related to 'Ali Murtaḍā.
For the love of Ḥasan he has entered the arena, (for) he is related to Ḥusayn of Kerbela.
[He possesses the qualities of the other Imāms.]
He is like a beggar at the gate of Mahdi, Master of the Time.
7. My name is Valī Shāh Ismā'īl; my surname is Khaṭā'ī.

No. 30

Do not think, o moon-faced one, that my soul remains to me after thou hast gone.
My soul has gone after you and (only) the impotent body remains to me.
Since thou hast quitted my side, o peace of my heart, only the (dream) of my joining you keeps watch over my heart.
Although the flower-garden of thy beauty has gone from my eyes, in my heart grows the stately poplar of thy sunny forms.

[1] Cf. Nos. 204, v. 3 and 249, v. 5.
[2] *Učmaqda* might also mean "in Paradise".

5. Let that Peri-like idol be hidden from my looks, the moon in the sky is for me a symbol of (her) face.
From the moment this sick-hearted Khaṭā'ī became separated from thee, the musk of thy fragrant tresses has remained with me as a perfume-spreader.

No. 92

There is a commandment in God's books: know for certain that it decrees blood for blood.
May my head be a sacrifice on the path of the Guide of Truth: there are many hundreds like me (ready to) destroy their lives.
(O Khatā'ī) thou hast a hand: (how) thoroughly hast thou defeated Yazīd; mayst thou be ruler of the world as long as the world exists.
The blood of Shāh Ḥaydar is still (unavenged); Yazīd still awaits a crushing defeat.
5. Truly, in the path of love sincerity is wanted.
Go away, thou accursed denier, there is a doubt in thee!
I call thee denier: thou dost not see that the Companions of Truth (*Ahl-i Ḥaqq*) possess evidence clearer than the Sun.
Treading this path in the state of impurity, how canst thou deny the word: there is some blood unavenged.
Go, o zephyr, it is high time[1] (for you) to represent to the Shāh in what state I am.
10. Rise and march, o Khatā'ī, make a journey; for (thy) paternal home is in the town of Ardabil.

No. 101

From Pre-Eternity the Shāh is our Sultan, our pīr and murshid, our soul.
Having pronounced the name of the Shāh we have walked along this path. We are Ḥusaynī, to-day is our period.
We are slaves of the Imāms, in all sincerity. Our token is to be martyrs and ghāzīs.
Our path is narrow, narrower than anything. This time our fundamental rule is to give our heads away.
5. I am Khaṭā'ī. From Pre-Eternity I am the Mystery of Ḥaydar. He who does not recognize him (Ḥaydar?) as Truth (*Ḥaqq*) is a stranger to us.

No. 102

In the arena of love, he who risks (lit. plays) his head and life, sports wantonly with his eyes, eye-lashes, and eye-brows before the Beloved.

[1] Or: "go every moment."

On the path of the King of Men there are many people, but praise to the head which alone opposes a thousand heads!
Let him be an intimate friend of the Shāh, who is ready to part with his head and life.
Do not think that a common farrāsh would (be allowed) to flirt in the presence of the Beloved.
5. On the day of battle many give up their heads and lives; but should someone self-willed (*bashīnda*) stay behind, the *qulbash* (corporal ?) will make him play!
O Khaṭā'ī, do not grieve if all have become your enemies. A challenger always flings bricks and stones from afar (?).

No. 103

The meaning of this poem is dark. The author considers three eventualities: the Beauty (Shāh Ismā'īl himself ?) either sits quietly, or rises for a moment, or comes out of the palace. The corresponding results grow more and more terrific. Verses 2 and 3 refer to Ismā'īl's enemies. Should the people of Shirvān, responsible for the death of Ismā'īl's grandfather and father, attack Tabriz, the Last Judgment is reserved for them. In Baghdad the Aq-qoyunlu hordes may be numerous, but Ismā'īl will destroy this home of the Arabs. Shāh Ismā'īl killed the Shirvānshāh Farrukh-yasār in 915/1509. After the expulsion of the Aq-qoyunlus 'Irāq was occupied in 913/1508. Consequently the unsettled situation which is reflected in the poem is earlier than 1508, and the poem must have been written by Ismā'īl (born in 892/1487) when he was twenty years old, or even younger.

"Should my beauty sit (with crossed legs), groans will be roused (in the world); should he rise and sit down, the ordeal of the end of the world will burst out.
Let all the people of Shirvān rush to Tabriz, the Persian (*'Ajam*) kingdom will (but) ask: when is the Last Day to come ?
As he arrives, the streets and homes of the Arabs will cease to exist, however many Turcomans may turn out from Baghdad.
If (my Beauty) comes out of the palace, the tomb (*sīn*) will engulf the stock of the world[1] and a[2] Guide to the *ṭarīqat*, old and young (at the same time), will suddenly appear.
5. Since in Pre-Eternity Khaṭā'ī had contemplated the certainty of this issue, the signs of Noah have appeared in him and the Flood is to burst out.

[1] Or "he will seize whatever there is (*var-ī-sī*) in the world".
[2] Reading: *bir*.

No. 123

Thy numerous arrows have pierced my breast, which is burning with fire.

They came in multitudes, thy arrows, they did not pour water (*sunmadī*) where water was needed (?) [1]

You would think that fledgelings are flying with screams. Every moment, as thy arrows leave the bow, they make me groan.

On the square of my breast they have formed an army in fighting array. Thou art my king over the land (*yurt*) where thy arrows are arrayed in review.

5. I am dying of that pain, and the groans of my suffering have annihilated (?) my heart; thy flying arrows have not even left my soul in my body.[2]

No wonder you make a lattice of Khaṭā'ī's breast, for thy arrows pierce armour, coats of mail, and shields of steel.

No. 168

1. It is I who have come now for this epoch (var. "to this world"). I have set myself in motion and have entered a soul (manifested myself in a soul ?).
2. I am intoxicated with love for the Shāh and dazzled by him. As a lover I have come to (my) family (home).
3. By God, I was sorely longing for the Shāh! Thanks to God, I have now come to the sanctuary.
4. I shall uproot Yazīd and the heretics, a-burning I have come to the source of light.
5. By the Shāh's command I had come in Pre-Eternity. Do not be troubled, (for) now I have come (again).
6. From Pre-Eternity I am in love with the "Twelve Shāhs" (Imāms) but now I have come to this shop (i.e. this mundane world).
7. (Like ?) Solomon's ring and the staff of Moses I have come to the world, as Noah (during) the Flood.
8. Muḥammad's miracles, the Shāh's (sword) Ḏhul-Fiqār are signs in my hand. Here I have come.
9. I shall exterminate outsiders from the world. I am Khaṭā'ī, I have come to serve as a proof (of Truth).

No. 194

1. Lo, my truly Beloved is now Sultan in the world. If my friend accept my soul, to-day it is his sacrifice.

[1] Or "they did not become extinguished (*sönmädi*) at the place of water" (i.e. in my blood ?).

[2] It is possible that under the influence of Persian *māndan*, which means both "to remain" and "to leave", *qalmadī* is also used here in the sense "has not left". A parallel use of the verb *qalmaq* is found in an Ahl-i Ḥaqq hymn, see Minorsky, *Notes*, p. 170.

2. O man, if thou hast brains, give not thy heart to the world; he who does so, shows his ignorance on (of ?) the path.
3. Those who do not recognize 'Ali as Truth (or "God") are absolute unbelievers. They have no creed, no faith, and are not Muslims.
4. If you capture *one* heart, for you it will amount to a hundred. If you destroy one heart, one hundred Mekkas will lie in ruins.
5. O Khaṭā'ī, life is a boon (to profit by): know thyself. To-morrow we shall die,[1] but to-day life is still a guest in your body.

No. 195

1. To-day I have come to the world as a Master. Know truly that I am Ḥaydar's son.
2. I am Farīdūn, Khosrau, Jamshīd, and Zohāk (!). I am Zāl's son (Rustam) and Alexander.
3. The mystery of *Anā'l-Ḥaqq* is hidden in this my heart. I am the Absolute Truth (or "God") and what I say is Truth.
4. I belong to the religion of the "Adherents of the Valī (i.e. 'Ali)" and on the Shāh's path I am a guide to every one who says: "I am a Muslim."
5. My sign is the "Crown of Happiness".[2] I am the signet-ring on Solomon's finger.
6. Muḥammad is made of light, 'Ali of Mystery. I am a pearl in the sea of Absolute Reality.
7. I am Khaṭā'ī, the Shāh's slave full of shortcomings. At thy gate I am the smallest and the last (servant).

No. 204

1. I am God's eye (or "God Himself"!); come now, o blind man gone astray, to behold Truth (God).
2. I am that Absolute Doer of whom they speak. Sun and Moon are in my power.
3. My being is God's House, know it for certain. Prostration before me is incumbent on thee,[3] in the morn and even.
4. Know for certain, that with the People of Recognition (*ahl-i iqrār*) Heaven and Earth are all Truth. Do not stray!
5. The garden of Sanctity has produced a (or *one*) fruit. How can it be plucked by a short-handed one?
6. If you wish to join Truth to Truth, (here is) God who has reached the stage of Mīm.[4]
7. The one of pure connections considers his own person. Suddenly[5] Khaṭā'ī has come by a treasure.

[1] Read: *ölā-jaq-uz*, without vocalic harmony. *Alif* is only a *mater lectionis*.
[2] Apparently the head-gear (*tāj-i Ḥaydarī*) which Ismā'īl's father introduced for his adherents (the *Qizil-bash* "Red heads").
[3] This is the only possible interpretation of: "my *sujūd* is for thee," cf. No. 18, v. 2.
[4] i.e. "if you wish to connect this manifestation of God with its origin".... I do not know what *maqām-i mīm* means. Perhaps "the letter *m* of *bism(illāh)*".
[5] i.e. by means of *Γνῶθι σεαυτόν*.

No. 211

A flower has blossomed on the tree, and is now come to be a companion to the Shāh.
In Pre-Eternity it was the Mystery of the Shāh, and now it has come to be a companion of his Mystery.
No one can become a Qīzīl-bash, until his heart (**yüragi* instead of *yüzüni*) is a-burning and his breast a-bleeding like a ṛuby.
In the time of the mystery of *kuntu kanzan*[1] he (was) the Light of Muḥammad, and now he has manifested himself to the world crowned with a red crown.
5. His name is Ismā'īl, he is homoousian with the Prince of the Faithful ('Ali); on seeing him the outsiders would prefer to turn to stone.

No. 237

1. I am the one intoxicated with beauty who has come to-day. I am always with God, (but) to-day I have come (here).
2. Beware, do not take me for a stranger. I am that very Ravisher of hearts (whom you know).
3. In (this) world, recognize me, o Ignoramus, (for) I am that Veracity and Purity (of which you have heard).
4. To-day I am the God-sent calamity to smite with a sword the soul of the hypocrite.
5. O people of (the true) religion, on behalf of the lover I sacrifice my soul.
6. The outsider considered me as non-Truth, but I am acquainted with the King.
7. Know that I am constantly joined to Truth and separate from non-Truth.
8. From the highest point of the sky I have come as (lit. "with the meaning of") a *humāy*[2] for the Mystics.[3]
9. I have come to suffer death in my soul on behalf of all souls. I am Khaṭā'ī who offers his soul as a sacrifice.

No. 249

1. By the Lord! Come and behold: God's light has reappeared; Muḥammad Muṣṭafa, the Seal of the Prophets has come!
2. The hearts of the lovers are gladdened, the luck of the faithful is revealed, the spirit of the believers is awake, Purity has come!

[1] i.e. in Pre-Eternity when God said: *Kuntu kanzan makhfiyyan wa-aḥbabtu an u'rafa.*

[2] He upon whose head falls the shadow of the wings of a *humāy* is bound to become a king.

[3] Reading: *ma'ārif* instead of *maghārib* ("the Wests"?); cf. No. 249, v. 6.

3. For (every) land and (every) period, this is the blessed Weal of the Advent. From the heavens, from the angels thousands of welcomes reach (the ear).
4. The Perfect Guide has arrived. Faith has been (brought) to all. All the Ghāzīs are full of joy at the coming of the Seal of the Prophets.
5. A man (has become) a manifestation of Truth. Prostrate thyself! Pander not to Satan! Adam has put on new clothes, God has come.
6. An angel has descended from the skies. Good tidings to the men of mystic knowledge! Death has descended upon the outsiders, calamity has befallen the Yazīds.
7. Darkness was the cause that, amidst errings, thou hadst lost the lamp. Open thy eyes, come out of Darkness, for Faith has appeared like a full moon in the dark night.
8. God's Friend (Abraham) has put on a (new) garment and come to life. His name is Ismā'īl. Let souls be his sacrifice, for an appeal has come from God.
9. Oh my beautiful Shāh, my Moon, the Fulfilment of my desires, the Beloved of my heart, o Thou, in whose beauty God manifests himself, the Elect of the Saints has come.
10. Do not succumb to the arrow of hypocrisy of the Demon called 'Azāzīl. The Guiding Imām has come! Seize his hand, show him the way.
11. The Pharaoh had subjugated the world by magic; but the staff of Moses has become a dragon to swallow up.
12. The heroic ghāzīs have come forth with "crowns of happiness" [1] on their heads. The Mahdi's period has begun. The light of eternal life has dawned (upon) the world.
13. His eye is the letter *ṣād*, his tongue is *Tā-hā*, his cheeks are *Qāf* and *al-Qor'ān*, his eye-brows are the letter *nūn*, his hair reminds one of *al-Layl*, his face is "the Sun in its splendour".[2]
14. With all your heart, accept the scion of Imām Shāh Ḥaydar. My Imāms Ja'far-i Ṣādiq and 'Ali Mūsa Riḍā have come!
15. The (heart)-worn Khaṭā'ī longs for the beauty of that Shāh and for the union with him. Surrender thy (old) soul and (thereby) acquire a new one, for a science has appeared which is worth the soul.

No. 251

1. Whatever happened (was) bound to happen, oh for assistance! The people of this world are bound to die, oh for aid!
2. God's command comes to Isrāfil, and his great trumpet shall sound.
3. A great tribunal shall sit to examine the sins of the sinners.

[1] V.s., p. 1027a.
[2] The references are to the *sūras* of the *Qor'an*.

4. For Justice's sake Fire [1] and Scales shall be set up and actions weighed.
5. The Prophets will flee from their communities, for the souls shall be tried one by one.
6. While being interrogated, they shall be pushed towards the (bridge of) Ṣirāṭ, and oh how many will slip!
7. All these unfortunate sons of Adam shall fill the Seven Hells.
8. No remedy can be found to Khaṭā'ī's pain, o Lord; what shall be his state (on that day)?

Mathnavi No. 3 (*mutaqārib*)

The Mathnavi No. 3 holds a special place by itself among Khaṭā'ī's poems. Its poetical merits are nil; but the leisurely epic metre and the unconventional flow of oratory gave the poet much more freedom than the shorter poems on religious and love subjects. Both in vocabulary and grammar it is original.

The Mathnavi opens with a praise to God in which stress is laid on the diversity of God's creatures (vv. 1–12). Inequality is the law of the world; but claims to superiority must be examined (vv. 13–19). God is the Helper and will assist the brave prince (*bāg-igit*), leading his "lads" (*ärän*) to conquests. Ismā'īl challenges the heroes of the *Shāh-nāma* and complains of the absence of a worthy opponent (vv. 20–41). No success is to be achieved without struggle (vv. 42–4). God's assistance is invoked in a coming strife (vv. 45–50). Brave men are not afraid of death (vv. 51–5). The Mathnavi ends with a final appeal to God (vv. 56–60).[2]

1. In the name of God, Living and Bountiful, for His is might and His nature is old.
2. It is He who exalts the "Nine Heavens" [3] and purifies the face of the earth.
3. He produces the storm like unto Simoom; by the wind of the Day of Resurrection he softens stones to wax.
4. He makes some superior to others, some is suspense (?) and some lowly;
5. Some like Solomon, and some like ants, some vilified and some strong.
6. He makes some superior to the whole world, and some a refuge to men.

[1] *Nīrān*, perhaps **mīzān* "a balance".

[2] It is curious to compare this Mathnavi with Sultan Selim's poems Nos. 189 and 204 in which he gloats over his victories in Persia and Egypt, doing this in a matter of fact way without any tinge of mysticism.

[3] Read: *āsmānī* instead of *asāmī*.

7. He makes some lords of the world, and while He treats some as flowers, he creates others as thorns.
8. He makes some (sit on) the throne and (wear) a crown; he makes others needy of half-a-farthing.
9. He makes some awful like Rustam, and others less than a small hair (*mūchak?*);
10. Some endowed with courage (lit. *liver*), others without courage and carrion-like.
11. To some He gives swords and good horses, while He checkmates others on their carpet.
12. He creates some (as if) to stand (lit. *fall*) as Alexander's wall, and some as if to flee like deserters (or "like swift stallions"?).
13. God is the Creator of all, He is cognizant of everybody's affairs.
14. Has He not created five fingers to a narrow hand so that each of them (?) should know its way?
15. Were all the world equal, how would the affairs of the world be successful?
16. Surely there is a difference between slave-girls and a man; Heaven and Earth are not equal.
17. A man must know his perfection and do what work he can do.
18. A mouse in the desert says: "I am wicked," but when it is confronted (with an enemy) it loses its way.
19. Do not believe such (pretensions) before you have scanned them, do not lean on the wall of an unmanly person.
20. God (*Ḥaqq*) is the Helper in this world; in bad days he shares the sorrow of his slaves.
21. A brave beg (*bāg-igit*) will conquer all lands: all Asia Minor (*Rūm*), China, Khorasan, and Syria.
22. Is he a man, he who marches with an army against a (single) man? Is an army (necessary) to crush an enemy?
23. In a fight, lads (*ārān*) would crush one single man, but in an army the beg becomes the leader of men (*ār-sārvāri*).
24. I am he[1] who will fight a crocodile, and wage war with the tiger and the panther.
25. I am such that should I meet Afrāsiyāb, I will smite his head with my mace and stun him.
26. I am he who will march without fear against the foe; do not be afraid that on looking (at him) I shall show hesitancy.
27. I shall smash the fortress of Khaybar with my fist; shall I (ever) fear cannon and guns?
28. I shall conquer Asia Minor and Syria, and then think of the Franks.
29. Should Afrāsiyāb be my foe, I shall take it for a dishonour to come to blows with him.
30. Should something happen to you in a fight, turn not your back, run not with shouts towards your companion.

[1] Hardly: *mān ölām* "may I die, by my death".

A SONG OF LOVERS. By 'IRĀQĪ. Edited and translated by ARTHUR J. ARBERRY. (Islamic Research Association, No. 8.) Oxford University Press, 1939.

The series of publications of the Islamic Research Association of Bombay grows ever longer and more impressive. This latest volume contains the text and translation of the *'Ushshāq-Nāma* of 'Irāqī. This thirteenth-century poet, perhaps one of the greatest of the God-intoxicated mystics of Persia, has hitherto been known only by two rather faulty lithographs and by a passage in Browne's *Literary History of the Persians*. Dr. Arberry has thus rendered an important service to Persian letters in publishing a critical text of the *'Ushshāq-Nāma*, based on four manuscripts. By way of preface the editor appends a biography of the poet drawn from an Istanbul manuscript of the *Dīvān*. This account of the mystic's progress is by no means the least interesting part of the book.

It was a good idea to add to the Persian text an English verse-translation of the poem, in which the spirit of the original is admirably rendered. In reading through this Persian record of "*L'amor che move il sole e l'altre stelle*" one is often reminded of poets nearer home. The lines—

> "What men are evil, their acts die with them
> And only good repute attains the Fount of Life"

to take but one example, evoke a famous contradiction from the gloomier occident.

B. L.

HISTORY OF SHĀH ISMĀ'ĪL ṢAFAWĪ. By GHULĀM SARWAR. pp. xiii + 127. Aligarh: Muslim University, 1939.

Bellan's book on Shāh 'Abbās, 1932, the studies of Hinz on the origins of the dynasty (1936) and on Ismā'īl, ii (1933), and the quite recent (early 1939) thesis of H. R. Roemer on the period of A.D. 1577–1581 are the important new works on the Safavid period (1500–1722). Dr. Ghulam Sarwar's thesis (Aligarh) on the founder of the dynasty is another welcome contribution to the history of the epoch in which the foundations of modern Persia were laid.

Dr. Sarwar carefully studies his authorities and classes them by order of importance (pp. 3–16), then stage by stage he goes through his hero's origins, rise, and early struggles (pp. 16–42); his wars with

local rulers (pp. 43–57); his campaigns in the East (against the Uzbeks) and in the West (against the Ottomans) (pp. 58–85); his defeat at Chaldiran and the subsequent events down to his death (pp. 86–99). After this, the author gives a short outline of Ismā'īl's character and administration (pp. 99–104).

As regards the sources, he establishes two interesting facts with regard to the anonymous B.M. Or. 3248, which the lamented Sir E. D. Ross studied in his thesis (published in *JRAS.*, April, 1896): (1) he contradicts the idea that Or. 3248 is identical with the *Futūḥāt* of Ṣadr al-Dīn Haravi, and (2) suggests that the real author's name appears in a marginal note as Bījan. The note has been mutilated at the book-binder's and cannot be read entirely, but the suggestion merits our attention. (In the translation of the note there are several slips: *radd-u-badal* refers to an exchange of diplomatic documents; *nushkha-yi nā-marbūṭ* is not "incomplete History", but "incoherent draft"; *yūz* (**yüz*)-*bāshī* is not "master of panthers", but "a centurion").

The first volume of the *Afḍal al-tawārīkh*, which the author thinks lost (p. 6), is represented by Eton College M. 172 (probably a companion volume to B.M. Or. 4678, which is its direct continuation).

Our author gives only a passing notice (p. 101) to the *dīvān* which Shāh Ismā'īl wrote under the *nom de plume* of *Khaṭā'ī*. This collection of Turkish poetry throws much light on the character of the Shī'a extremism propounded by the crowned poet. A preliminary account of the *dīvān* was available in *EI.* (s.v. *Khaṭā'ī*), and a fairly complete analysis of its contents will be found in the present issue of the *Bulletin*.

Dr. Ghulam Sarwar gives a convenient outline of political events under Shāh Ismā'īl I, but the more difficult questions of the coming-into-being of the Safavid state still await a special investigation. The chief problem is to trace the transformation of the potential energy accumulated under a purely religious banner into the explosive political force which swept away rival influences and moulded Persia into its present form. The other important aspect is the building up of political power with the help of Turcoman tribes. It appears that the role of the westernmost tribes of Anatolia, Syria, and Armenia was paramount. The facts contained in Or. 3248 ought to have been worked into some general conclusions.

We shall now consider some single points.

P. 38. To say that in 1501 Ismā'īl was received "with great éclat"

by the dignitaries of Tabriz is quite misleading, as we know that Sunnites formed the majority of the population and that the advent of the Shī'a extremism was a hard blow to them. The author has not paid due attention to the hints of the *'Ālam-ārā*, 21 (*shu'la-yi tīgh-i ātashbārash zabāna ba-falak-i athīr kashīda*) or to the direct testimony of a Venetian resident: see *EI.*, s.v. *Tabrīz*.

P. 74. The legend about the Sultan having assumed the title of caliph after 1517 was destroyed by Barthold: cf. Sir T. Arnold, *Caliphate*, 1924, p. 143.

Chapter VIII ("Character of Shāh Ismā'īl") could be completed by many more important details from Italian sources: see Babinger, *M. Sanuto's Tagebücher*, in *A Volume . . . presented to E. G. Browne*, 28–50; Hinz, *Irans Aufstieg*, 75.

Chapter IX on administration is spoilt by the inadequate rendering of the terms. *Qurchi* (literally: "archers") were not "horse-riders" but "tribal cavalry". *Eshik-aqasi* (not *ishak*, which means "a donkey"), lit. "master of the threshold". The use of English terms on p. 104 is vague. Ḥusayn Beg is called "counsellor and premier" (*Ḥabīb al-siyar*, 341, *vakīl-i nafs-i nafīs*, which amounts almost to vice-royalty); Najm al-Dīn—"counsellor" (*Ḥ.-S.*, 349; *amīr al-umarā*); Niẓām al-Dīn—"chancellor" (*Aḥsan*, 128: *ṣadr*, which was an office along the religious line); Shāh Ḥusayn—"master of ceremonies" (*Aḥsan*, 177: *vazīr-i dārūgha-yi Isfahān* "vazīr to the governor of the capital"); Shāh Qulī—"keeper of the Saddle-Room" (*rikābkhāna* technically is "Royal Wardrobe", its master being the Lord-Chamberlain); Jalāl al-Dīn—"counsellor" (*Aḥsan*, 184: *vazīr*).

For his Appendix A on the Aq-qoyunlu the author might have found some useful details in the article *Uzun Hasan* in *EI.* and in Hinz, *Irans Aufstieg*.

The list of dates and a detailed index are very welcome. On the other hand the system of references to the authorities as *A*, *B*, *C*, etc., is inconvenient: it is always preferable to use such abbreviations as are suggestive of the original names of the books, e.g. *AT* for *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, etc.

Geography and Turkish names are the two stumbling blocks of this thesis. On p. 24 the "Charkas" (of Daghestan) are coupled with *Trebizond* (read *Ṭabarsarān*, as a few lines down); on p. 88 there appears a "king of Switzerland" (for king of Lusitania, i.e. Portugal !), etc. Many names are misunderstood or utterly misspelt. P. 14

Iwūghlī for **Ev-oghli*, as "pages" were called at the Safavid court; p. 57 *Jāyān Sultan*, read *Chayan*, a typical Turkish name, "Scorpion"; p. 65 *Jījiktū*, read *Chechektü*, in Mongolian "(a place) with flowers"; p. 75 *Pīshbārmāq* read *Besh-barmaq*, "Five Fingers": p. 53 Qarā-Ḥamīd should be explained as "Black Amid", i.e. the fortress of Diyārbakr; p. 35 *Yāsīn*, read *Pāsīn* (in Armenia), and *Qūmīn Ūlamī*, read *Qoyun-olumī* "the Sheep ford"; p. 44 *Aslamash*, read *Asūlmīsh*, "the one hanged"; p. 49 Ārd-Sanad, read *Ardahand*; p. 51 *Ūlang-i Kanīz*, read *Olang Kayiz*, cf. H. Schindler, *JRAS.*, 1897, pp. 114–17, etc. In numerous cases, the critical remarks published in recent years in *BSOS.* would have enabled the author to avoid such mistakes.

Altogether the thesis on Shāh Ismā'īl is a useful and orderly digest of facts, and Professor Hadi Hasan in his Preface is right in speaking of the "minute care . . . restraint . . . and the sober style" of his pupil. It remains to future biographers to complete it from non-Persian sources (Egyptian, Ottoman, European, and Caucasian) and to stress the major historical issues.

V. MINORSKY.

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1. THE DEBATES COMMENTARY (KATHĀVATTHUPPAKARAṆA-AṬṬHAKATHĀ). Translated by BIMALA CHURN LAW. (Pali Text Translation Series.) pp. xii, 248. London, 1940.
2. THE BOOK OF THE DISCIPLINE (VINAYA-PIṬAKA), Vol. II. Translated by J. B. HORNER. (Sacred Books of the Buddhists, Vol. XI.) London: Oxford University Press, 1940.

1. The "Debates Commentary" represents a translation of the Commentary on the *Kathāvatthu*, one of the most important books of the Pali Abhidhamma Piṭaka, which in its turn had been translated under the title "Points of Controversy" by Mrs. Rhys Davids and Shwe Zan Aung.

With his translation Dr. Law satisfies a long-felt want, and he satisfies it well, for the translation is correct and clear—clearer than several of his previous translations in this series. The wording of the text references is that of the "Points", and the rendering of technical terms corresponds. As regards the English spelling of the Pali word "arahant", Dr. Law wavers between *arahan* and *arahant*. Dr. Law was hampered in his task by the imperfect constitution of the text of the Commentary, which was one of the earliest P.T.S. publications (1889, by Minayeff), when Pali studies were only in their beginnings,

and the readings are often doubtful and sometimes wrong. Our author has improved on some (e.g. p. 32 vuccati for pucchati), but a good many are still faulty, as e.g. ṭhatvā on p. 34, rendered as "taking his stand on", but which should with better sense be emended to bodhetvā, "arousing his understanding," as evidenced by the parallel passage in *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī*, ii, 383.

The get-up of the book is attractive, like that of the companion volumes in this series.

2. The *Book of the Discipline* is important because it gives us in plain and often crude and outspoken language a picture of the early Buddhist monastic institutions, of the habits of the members of the Order, both male and female, and of the discipline established through tradition and exemplified by notorious cases, in order to keep the life of the "Brethren" and "Sisters" on decent lines, so as to ensure the possibility of these "seekers after the truth in seclusion" reaching a stage of life which was proclaimed by the Founder to be one of "worthiness" (Arahantship). Miss Horner deserves great credit for making this discipline accessible to and understandable by European scholars and students of Buddhism, by her masterly translation and exegesis of the many rules collected here. In this sense the book forms a valuable sequel to two of Miss Horner's previous books, viz. *Woman under Primitive Buddhism* and *The Early Buddhist Theory of Man Perfected* (*arahan*). The first volume of the *Discipline* appeared in 1938, and the third (and last) is awaited in the near future.

The translation (more than a mere rendering of words) is in every way excellent and scholarly. It is accompanied by copious and helpful footnotes and by a comprehensive index of subject-matter, of proper names and Pali words. The discussion of difficult terms (in the "Translator's Introduction") is clear and to the point, and full of references to relevant literature. There is hardly anything to be added to the footnotes, but if I might be allowed to add one reference it would be in connection with the interesting Pali phrase describing a famine (Vin. III. 6, 15, 87; IV, 23, commented on by Buddhaghosa on Vin. III. 268), which occurs also in a stereotyped Buddhist Sanskrit form in Divyāvadāna, p. 131 (ed. Cowell and Neil), where *cañcu* takes the place of *dvīhitika*.

W. STEDE.

THREE CHAPTERS FROM THE SAMĀDHIRĀJASŪTRA. By K. RÉGAMEY. (The Warsaw Society of Sciences and Letters.) pp. 113. Warsaw, 1938.

Dr. Régamey and Professor Schayer have planned a complete edition of the Samādhirājasūtra. The present volume is therefore only a brief preliminary study of three selected chapters, nos, 8, 19, and (counting as one) 22 and 23. For his purpose Mr. Régamey had four modern copies, now in Europe, of the Sanskrit text, the Chinese version of Narendrayaśas (Taishō edition, no. 639), and two other incomplete versions, together with the Tibetan version of the Kanjur in Narthang and Peking editions, and the commentary Kīrtimālā of Mañjuśrīkīrti. He does not refer to the Derge edition, and evidently had no access to it. A collation of chapter 8 in the Derge text in the Cambridge University Library (vol. 55, fol. 1 ff.) shows little of importance. I may note the following: §§ 7. *ćhig*; 9. *rća-ba*; 15. *daṅ-ṅe*; *bklags*; 19. *des* (not *ḥdis*); *spras* (not *sbras*); 21. *kyis*; 22. *rab ḥdug-nas* (so read = Bud. Skt. *sthihitvā*); *kun-tu* (not *du*); 24. *rća-ba*; 25. *ci yaṅ* (not *'aṅ*); 26. *źes*; 27. *ḥchal*; 31. *źes*. These are small matters. The author has given Sanskrit and Tibetan texts with English translation and full commentary, and has added a Sanskrit-Tibetan-Chinese index.

In his introduction he has shown reasons for dating the earliest form of the Samādhirājasūtra not later than the fourth century. The doctrinal standpoint is considered to be neither radical śūnyavāda nor developed vijñānavāda: the basis of the text is that expressed by the full title, the thesis of the equality, in essence, of all dharmas (*sarvadharmasvabhāvasamatāvipañcita-samādhirāja*). A linguistic discussion of the Buddhist Sanskrit of this text and analysis of the prosody are included, and show the author's full competency in these matters.

The brief work is excellently done, and the larger study promised will, if it is achieved, be of great importance.

H. W. BAILEY.

1. THE CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION. By SĀDHU ŚĀNTINĀTHA. Vols. I, II. pp. 1110. Amalner, 1938.
2. MĀYĀVĀDA, OR THE NON-DUALISTIC PHILOSOPHY (VEDĀNTA). By SĀDHU ŚĀNTINĀTHA. pp. v, 153, 18. Poona, 1938.
3. THE PHILOSOPHY OF ADVAITA. By T. M. P. MAHADEVAN. pp. xvi, 284. London: Luzac and Co., 1938.
4. THE POSITIVE BACKGROUND OF HINDU SOCIOLOGY. By BENOY KUMAR SARKAR. Book I: Introduction to Hindu Positivism. (The Sacred Books of the Hindus, Vol. XXXII.) pp. 697. Allahabad, 1937.
5. EASTERN RELIGIONS AND WESTERN THOUGHT. By Sir S. RADHAKRISHNAN. pp. xiii, 394. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939.
6. A HISTORY OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY. By SURENDRANATH DASGUPTA. Vol. III. pp. xiii, 614. Cambridge: University Press, 1940.
7. THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF INDIA. Edited by Sri Ramakrishna Centenary Committee. Vol. I. pp. xxx, 608. Calcutta: Belur Math, 1937.
8. LA DOCTRINE MORALE ET MÉTAPHYSIQUE DE RĀMĀNUJA. By OLIVIER LACOMBE. pp. 132, ix, 255. Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1938.
9. WAYFARER'S WORDS. By Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS. Vol. I. pp. x, 371. London: Luzac and Co., 1940.
10. TATTVABINDU WITH TATTVAVIBHĀVANĀ. Edited by V. A. RĀMASWĀMI ŚĀSTRI. (Anamalai University Sanskrit Series, no. 3.) pp. xix, 197, 161, 5. 1936.
11. EAST AND WEST. By RENÉ GUÉNON. Translated by WILLIAM MASSEY. pp. 257. London: Luzac and Co., 1941.
12. CONCEPTS OF RĪTI AND GUṆA IN SANSKRIT POETICS IN THEIR HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT. By P. C. LAHIRI. pp. iv, 310. Ramna, Dacca, 1937.

1. The title of the first of these books is both ambitious and promising, but on the whole the author has mastered his difficult task. He has wisely limited himself to the sphere of Indian philosophy of religion, and treats only in the appendices of each chapter the analogous questions of the West. His work is the fruit of forty years of rational and irrational training in the Indian systems. Yogic trance and scholarly study of published and unpublished texts have been his means of preparation. Thus unaddicted to one system only, though

starting from, and deeply versed in, the Vedānta, he comes to the conclusion that every systematic truth is only an individualistic one and that each distinctive system gives by its very position support to all kind of contrary argumentations. Besides, all systematic thoughts are dependent on social, historical, and other conditions of their place of origin. Thus there results a comparative study of all possible approaches to the fundamental problems, which all are of a specific, though only relative, value. The aim of his researches is not to bring about a synthesis of all faiths, which should efface each of them, but to stress the dogmatic truth that none of them can satisfy purely rational logic, but fulfils solely the irrational tendencies which are inherent in the human mind beside logical reasoning.

As methodical as his general outlook is his treatment of the ideas which he considers fundamental to religion and philosophy. The first part of his work is devoted to the problems which are centred round the concept of God, His relation to the material elements of the world (atoms), to the psychological and intellectual factors (souls), and their biological and ethical development (karma). Thus the second chief task is the exposition of the various statements about the soul in the six orthodox Hindu systems (with special reference to the earlier and later Vedāntic Vaiṣṇava schools). The third chapter deals with the problem of karma in its wider aspect as the general law of cause and effect. Its last consequence of a cosmic responsibility and preparation for final perfection is treated duly as but one of its aspects. Ultimate truth, ultimate good, and supreme duty, the final epistemological and ethical aims, are interpreted as an outcome of the ontological idea of karmic development.

In true Indian manner the preliminary question of the validity of holy Scriptures is dogmatically investigated as a foundation of all knowledge.

A systematic index, not a mere compilation of names and terms, is added.

In short, this book is a fine specimen of Indian scholarship: a vast knowledge of texts, a good interpretation of Indian philosophical terms, and nearness to the native literature and problems, while an objective systematic mind emerges from the embarrassing multitude of facts, and uses the ambiguity and complexity of material with masterly critical power.

2. The author's gift of detached and positive criticism has less

opportunity to shine in the second of the works here noticed, which propounds the ideas of his own sect, though it is evident in short surveys of non-Vedāntic theories which are occasionally inserted (e.g. on Error, pp. 120 f.). This "Māyāvāda" propagates and profusely expounds metaphysical concepts of the Vedānta. Besides the dogma of Māyā proper, the author explains in great detail the Vedāntic concept of the "witness-consciousness", its specific nature which is free from transformation and "intrinsic and extrinsic objectivation". This "subject- and objectless witness-consciousness" he tries to combine with the two supra-mundane entities, that of the impersonal cosmic Brahman and that of a personal God. Besides, he aims at explaining the epistemological problem how this "witness-consciousness" can be the revealer of knowledge and of ignorance as well. Furthermore, he tries to reconcile the two different concepts of a material cause of the world: Brahman as the unmodified material cause, and cosmic Ignorance, also a positive entity, as the modified material cause of the world.

Many of the intricacies of the Vedāntic system and of its exposition in this essay originate from the peculiar Vedāntic method of working on two different levels simultaneously, while applying alternatively the noumenal and the empirical standpoints. A second difficulty arises from the fact that in the Vedānta, and obviously in this interpretation, ontological and epistemological concepts are often intermixed.

3. *The Philosophy of Advaita* is a very good specimen of a synthesis of Western and Indian methods of exposition and setting of problems. Though firmly attached to the Indian presupposition of the fundamental *pramāṇa* of *śabda* as a foremost canon of truth and imbued specially with the Vedānta thought to which he is devoted, Dr. Mahadevan is detached enough to give on the whole an objective account and to do justice to the different aspects which are possible on the basis of Advaita. As the bibliography shows, and as is obvious throughout his expositions, he has thoroughly studied the other Indian systems and Western philosophers as well, and is thus enabled to throw into full relief the special setting of the general philosophical problems of Matter (Spirit) and Body, subjectivism and objectivism, intermixture of epistemology and ontology, etc.

Not only with regard to the contents, but also with regard to the formulation of his problems, the author has attained a successful

synthesis of Western and Indian philosophical methods. India's special gift for illustrating and elucidating problems by adding striking similes is used to the advantage of the reader; lucid and plain language is a further asset which may perhaps be attributed to his Western training. This is evident in his expositions, and also in the glossary of terms which is added. The fact that in spite of this some superfluous repetitions of single formulations and too frequent paraphrases occur I do not venture to attribute exclusively to Western or Indian philosophical usage.

The subject-matter is well arranged. According to his statement that Indian philosophy takes its starting-point from the question of the ways and means of knowledge, the author deals in his first chapters with these general problems of epistemology, to which he adds psychologico-epistemological discussions of truth and error; then he proceeds to propound the ontological problems of existence in general, stressing their subjective aspects of reality as a merely mental conception and of reality as an emotional bliss. Here comes in the question about the bearer of consciousness, the supreme Self, which is beyond the division of Subject-Object and the higher and lower agents, Īśvara and Jīva. The following chapter is devoted to the problem of the empirical world as created by either of these agents: Māyā as a world of distinctive forms presented ontologically by the Īśvara and epistemologically by the Jīva. The two last chapters, the Path to Perfection and Release, represent the striving from the changeable subjective world back to the immutable objective Brahman.

Besides these assets in the treatment of his subject-matter, there is a further asset in the choice of his subject-matter. He bases his book on the lesser known parts of Vedānta, the post-Śaṅkara Vedānta, with special reference to Bhāratītīrtha-Vidyāraṇya (fourteenth century).

4. B. K. Sarkar, the fertile author and eloquent propagator of India's up-to-date theories of economic structure, has published a second edition of his book on Hindu sociology enriched by a new first chapter. In the preface, pp. 1–57, the publisher deals with the former books of Mr. Sarkar and strongly praises his achievements. According to these introductory notes his knowledge of the languages and scientific literatures of the West is certainly stupendous.

The standpoint of the author is clear-cut. He divides scholars

and amateurs who treat Indian problems into two groups: those who specialize in philosophical and religious problems of India are all, according to his view, old-fashioned (i.e. of nineteenth century standards), while the others who deal with the economic and social problems are acknowledged as the only "new indologists". It is, indeed, a welcome supplement to the philosophico-religious aspect of Hindu civilization, that now the socio-economic problems of India are also taken into consideration. It is another question, however, whether through this addition the philosophical view-point has become obsolete. Mr. Sarkar seems to have overlooked the fact that in recent publications on India's predominantly religio-philosophical literature a definitely new outlook is taken, which might, in a way, corroborate his statements. Positivism, dynamism, concretivism, in short, all the fundamental principles which the author emphasizes, are stressed in these recent studies on Indian logic, ontology, and even metaphysics (cf. among others my "Indian and Western Philosophy"). Mr. Sarkar is perfectly correct in stating not the world-remote, but the empirico-positive attitude of Hindu mentality. But in one point these modern philosophical researches fundamentally differ from Mr. Sarkar's position: not an analogy with the West, but a contrast to the West results from these recent studies of India's preferably positive aspects of philosophical thought. Mr. Sarkar, on the other hand, tries to show an inner relationship with the West in dealing only with the so-called practical sciences, and uses the method of minimizing specific differences between the historical or social factors which are fundamental respectively to India and the West. Some texts, generally neglected by scholars while considered as of minor importance for the general trend of Hindu thought, are taken by the author as of major significance. We are grateful to him for completing our knowledge of India's literature, but the problem remains whether his method of selecting texts does not dislocate the weight. It is true that in all cultures all divergent tendencies are represented, but we have to investigate which are the central, and which are the merely peripheral problems of each single civilization.

We can accept Mr. Sarkar's key-word of positivism for Hindu thought, we appreciate his studies of economic and social problems from this angle, but we still claim that religio-philosophical questions are the leading ideas of genuine Hindu mentality even in matters of social and economic structure.

5. Sir S. Radhakrishnan's recent book gives a survey of a gigantic matter. In some measure he limits the wide frame, however, by proclaiming that India is for him the representative of the East (though the Near and the Far East may from several view-points be distinctly separated from India). On the other hand, he widens his subject by his careful method of taking into consideration all standard works of each specific period with which he has to deal in his investigation of world-thought through at least fifty centuries.

He simplifies and, at the same time, complicates his subject by the very method he has chosen. On p. 116 he states his special aims as "to refer merely to the mystic movements of East and West and to indicate their affinity of type more than to elucidate their origin and last source." In this way he cautiously avoids the difficult and controversial problem about the ultimate sources; on the other hand, he forces himself to a most intricate and detailed exposition of all divergent forms and shades of appearance of mystic general movements and passing individual attitudes of isolated mystics. This leads him to an exhaustive historical survey of facts and data. The presupposition of his researches is that one problem, say mysticism, is so all-embracing that we may view under this aspect Eastern religions and Western thoughts (see title of his book). Secondly, he presupposes that mysticism is essentially the same in its psychological, ecstatic, and deductive tendencies under all divergent geographical and social conditions. As to the former hypothesis, it may be said that he widens the concept of mysticism to serve this purpose so that it can become all-embracing; he does not confine mysticism merely to the attempts to seek unification between Man and the Divine, as the very name (*muéo*) suggests, but includes all ethical, psychological, social, ritual, even all political, cultural expressions. Thus he can bring into the frame-work of this book all problems (except perhaps those of merely profane poetry) which were ever raised in the past of East and West, and even those which are going to arise in the politics of certain European countries.

As to his second presupposition, that of excluding investigations into the origin of mystic movements, and his affirmation that mysticism at all times is essentially the same, it nevertheless may be gathered as his opinion, in spite of his careful statements, that even the Western developments of mystic movements can more or less be traced back to Indian origins, or at least to decisive Indian influences. He applies in favour of this view historical facts of political and commercial

contact between India and the West through all periods of pre- and post-Christian times. To bring nearer to the general Western trend of thought the specific ideas of India and thereby provide the possibility of assimilation, he emphasizes strongly the individualistic outlook in Indian thought. Thus he stresses the concepts of a personal God and of human ethics on Indian soil. There may be some doubts, however, whether the predominantly neutral idea of the Divine in India, the "It", can be exactly interpreted as a "He", and whether accordingly *brahma-loka* can be rendered as "Kingdom of God" (p. 183). Kāṭhaka Upaniṣad 2, 23, in which he sees the concept of the grace of God (p. 299), may well be taken in the yogic sense of self-development from within (see even the term *aiśvaryam* in Yoga-sūtras, 1, 15, text and commentary, which is expressly explained as psychological mastery and not as any reference to the power of *īśvara*, God). To support his theistic theory, he chooses the few and late Upaniṣadic texts like the Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad or Bhagavadgītā. But even in these Scriptures of a passing period of eclectic Indian theism we cannot overlook the significant fact that no concept similar to Western theism, but only definite Indian pantheism, is here taught. One favourite, but not a unique God, is here introduced. The authority whom our author gladly follows in his theistic interpretation is the German theologian Rudolf Otto (e.g. p. 227, esp. ann. 2).

The same applies to his interpretation of ethics. He correctly emphasizes that India's frame in the treatment of ethical problems is elastic and wide, and the specific development of the idea of tolerance is its consequent outcome. But Indian ethics on the whole may be traced back to India's fundamental ontological standpoint. Concepts like humanity, fraternity (pp. 144, 301, 316, etc.) are, strangely enough for the Westerner, not even wide enough. India has conceived as her leading dogma that human, animated, and inanimate beings are interwoven, and thus acknowledges a "social contract", not only between Man of all races and religions, but between all cosmic phenomena in general. Even when a highest psychologico-individual principle, the Ātman, is established, the specific Indian consequence of thought never admits that this human Ātman is something essentially different from the vital force which permeates all other cosmic beings. The Karma-theory also is not fundamentally a doctrine of personal human ethics (reward and punishment, p. 145), but a biological general law of action and reaction or of growth and development; *karma-bīja*, karma-seed, develops into its adequate

karma-fruit. Besides, we cannot overlook the fact that *karma* is in the Vaiśeṣika-system a mere category of motion, just as even *dharma* is in Jaina theory not an ethical, but a physical concept (cf. *The Cultural Heritage of India*, pp. 226 f.). In this wider aspect our author seems to acknowledge the karma-concept when he speaks on page 212 about the influence of Indian karma-theory on Plotinus, who teaches that each soul after death goes whither its tendency leads it. More controversial is the statement of the influence of Indian ideas on Pythagoras and his school. It is true that some smaller details of Pythagorean prescriptions (e.g. the prescription of merely vegetarian food with the further prohibition of using certain spices and fruits) are in some way to be found also in India (but not with the same details), and that the Pythagorean mathematical theorem also is discovered in India (though not in Pythagoreas' deductive manner, but merely inductively). But all these rather vague and differently voiced facts do not compel the assumption of special Indian influence. Moreover, the chief tenet of the Pythagorean school, the cult of numbers as pre-existent, perfect, and independent entities, is a concept definitely un-Indian (cf. my "Significance of Numbers in Hindu Philosophical Texts", *Journ. Ind. Soc. Or. Art*, Calcutta, 1938).

The author's assertion that "In them (the mystery-cults and the teachings of Pythagoras and Plato) we find a break with the Greek tradition of rationalism and humanism" (p. 135) is also open to criticism. Were Greek rationalism and humanism at that period already developed, or is it not rather the fact that those thinkers enumerated were still cosmic, i.e. so to speak, pre-Greek, thinkers? (About this see in greater detail my *Indian and Western Philosophy*, 1937.)

The student of Indian thought especially welcomes in this work those chapters which are presented in the admirable Indian tradition. The description of the Yoga-system gives a classical interpretation of the Yoga-sūtras. It is a masterly account of the psychological contents of Yoga and of the *Yoga-āsanas*. These expositions may help finally to put aside the usual Western misinterpretation of the teachings of the Haṭhayoga as "forced and painful" Yoga; the exercises of the postures are expressly taught to attain balance and ease, though they may prove difficult and unnatural for our Western untrained limbs. And yet another result of the author's inborn Indian capacity may be fully praised. This time it does not concern the exposition of a single teaching, but the general method of his book: the innate Indian gift for pregnant similes as an illustration and

evidence of truth is frequently applied and enlivens the mass of scholarly exposition of historical facts and abundant quotations of, and references to, learned treatises of Western experts.

6. The third volume of Dasgupta's *History of Indian Philosophy* does not require a special introduction. It is once more representative of his thorough studies in India's philosophical tradition and of his vast knowledge of texts and unpublished manuscripts. The specifically Indian mode of representing philosophic problems is followed successfully. He uses not a biographical nor a chronological but an ideographic method. According to Indian tradition he keeps to the practice of putting forward the views of the school under discussion by a *saṁvāda* with rival schools. Thus are thrown into full relief the basic problems of Indian philosophy, and how they developed within and between the different schools. I should like to point out some of them which are in the foreground of the arguments in this volume.

Here are the main ontological and theological questions: matter and spirit, body and soul; the theory of substance and its quality of change and modification; the various problems of the inherence of the effect in its cause; discussion of the atom-theory; "pure" and "impure" creation; the world as a product of an intelligent person or persons; *māyā* and *ajñāna* as a joint material cause with Brahman, or as an independent substantive entity; God and His influence on the fruition of *karma* and on human salvation; God and the possibility of His being proved by logic; God the dynamic and/or instrumental agent; God while creating *kṣobha* or *kṣobhya*, disturber or disturbed (p. 498); Kṛṣṇa in the Vaiṣṇava systems the highest Puruṣa, not God Himself; qualities of God based on His essence, or as accessory attributes imposed on Him by Prakṛti; His will and thoughts as not eternal; the problem of God as union between Prakṛti and Puruṣa; His identification with, or differentiation from, the liberated soul. Fundamental psychological problems are also treated in full detail: the different kinds of individuated and unindividuated, higher and lower Puruṣas; the question whether the individual souls are the efficient cause of their own experience; the problem of the eternity or mere production of souls; discussion of the various theories of awareness, memory, doubt, and illusion; intuitive knowledge of *ajñāna* in dreamless sleep; the different motives of *bhakti*; the absolute or relative perfection in the state of *kaivalya*; pleasure and displeasure as inherent or accessory qualities of the self.

Here are also some of the epistemologico-logical problems treated: the relationship between the different kinds of *ajñāna* and final knowledge; the acceptance of one, three, four, or eight *pramāṇas* within the various schools, and the reasons for their application; difference as a separate category or as a mutual reference; *vyāpti* and its restrictions; a discussion of the relation between the whole and its parts, and an investigation of the positive character of negation.

All these basic problems are treated while the author discusses the views of the Vaiṣṇava sects connected with the Rāmānuja schools (Āṛvārs, Rāmānujīyas proper, Naimbārkas, and some related earlier Purāṇic views). In true Indian manner the expositions of the Rāmānujīya systems include the treatment, i.e. refutation, of views adopted by the other systems, not only of the chief opponent Śaṅkara, but also of the other six orthodox Hindu and the heterodox Jaina, Buddhist, and Lokāyata schools (the treatment of the latter doctrines, meant as an appendix to Volume I, is suitably inserted in this third volume). The intricacy and entanglement of the discussion of the above-mentioned problems in all their different shades certainly does not make Dasgupta's work easy and pleasant reading, but gives it rather the value of a reference-book on these problems.

It is regrettable that this special value of the book is not kept in mind by the compiler of the Index. Instead of concentrating on a real concise problem-index, an index of 65 double pages is produced in which are inserted vague key-words like "question", "burning question", "false" (fifty-seven times quoted without a closer definition), etc., which do not fulfil the purpose of giving that lead which is urgently needed for the use of such a complicated work.

A more general suggestion, though a minor one, may be given as to the transliteration of Sanskrit words. The method of separating compound-terms into their component parts by the use of a hyphen is definitely welcome. Doubtful, however, is the method adopted of dropping then the beginning of the second word in the case of a *saṅdhi*-vowel, e.g. *vyavahārā-nuguṇam; dvārā-ṇtara; paramā-tman.* Would it not be better to leave the beginning of the next word unchanged and drop the ending of the preceding one, endings being generally subject to alterations in Sanskrit grammar, or, rather, to leave ending and beginning of both words unchanged for the sake of clearness? Besides, when two prefixes are presented, the second of which is

definitely connected with the noun, both prefixes are written in one and thus separated from the substantive, a method which interferes with the meaning. I think of *prāga-bhāva* (so written throughout the book with only one or two exceptions).

These two last criticisms, however, are not meant to detract from the achievements of Dasgupta's book, but only to suggest some technical improvements for the easier use of this standard work.

7. By an interesting epistemological and psychological experiment the cultural heritage of India is in *The Cultural Heritage of India* represented exclusively by the heirs themselves. The assets of such an undertaking are evident. Living under the nearly unchanged geographical surroundings of ancient India, gifted with the keen sense-organs required for the dangers of their mainly tropical landscape, imbued with religious devotion to the tradition of their schools, versed in the continuous commentaries of ancient and modern times (thus presenting also some texts little known in the West), acquainted with the suggestive similes and anecdotes which illustrate the doctrines of their sects, endowed with the strange ability of rational and irrational cognition alike, trained from yore in the instructive Indian methods of research, the *saṁvāda*, the discussion of their own views in comparison with those of rival schools, and thus viewing things from more than one angle only, the Indians are most apt for expounding the research-work of their own religious and philosophical systems. Besides, some of these modern Indian scholars are also proficient in applying the achievements of Western thinkers in Indian studies from their independent Western standpoint. This latter fact helps Indian scholars to a wide objective outlook and to a view of the different approaches to the philosophical problems in general. Not only occasional remarks which are directly connected with Indian systems but also those which give an exposition of specific Western problematics are handled with mastery. I think of the short sketch on the development of modern Western science in the essay "Vedānta and Science". Here a *fundamental* comparison between East and West is given, not a superficial analogy only of some accidental single sayings. Thus the achievements gained in this book are definitely remarkable.

These obvious assets naturally involve some drawbacks, too, as the Indians with their inborn sense of polarity are bound readily to accept. Sometimes a justified pride in national accomplishment, as

is evident in this volume, turns to under-estimating the Western contributions and the way of culture which the West has found for itself. Religious devotion to the task takes occasionally the form of a too subjective fervour and praise for the way of salvation which the writer's particular school has developed. Apologetic attempts are made to turn some ethical or social deficiencies into the opposite. The unbroken tradition of his sect sometimes leads an author to over-emphasize its antiquity, historically not to be proved, or to give it a modern post-classical and somewhat mistaken interpretation. The study of Western contributions, too, is partly one-sided; either the results of Western science are passionately repudiated (man does not descend from the ape !), or those Western scholars who enthusiastically praise the system in hand are gladly quoted as authorities; and some collaborators go so far in their easy adaptation of Western handling of problems that their contributions seem to be far-fetched as to their Indian systems with which they have to deal. Besides some of these scholars adopt too hastily Western methods and devote too much of their efforts to disentangle a problem hardly soluble in India, namely the problem of defining historically and biographically an author's personality; or they interpret Indian ideas from the fundamentally different Western standpoint (*fear* of de-individualization and annihilation by merging into the super-individual Brahman or Nirvāṇa; *fear* of death, which has no place in the Indian dogma of series of lives). The ethical and religious emphasis and missionary tendency sometimes is so strong that the epistemological aspects, which are also provided by the system itself, are too shortly treated or even neglected; cf. the treatment of Rāmānuja's system and the shortness of the expositions of linguistic problems in Mīmāṁsā (a more detailed confrontation of the *sphoṭa* and *artha* theory and of the different aspects of *artha* in Mīmāṁsā is needed). Finally the admirable Indian training in discussion leads some collaborators to over-stress the eristic aspect with regard to their Indian and Western co-scholars. But on the whole, the assets widely outweigh the drawbacks.

As is natural in all selections, there can be here too a difference of opinion with regard to the choice of the single systems and the length of their treatment. We gratefully acknowledge, for an external and internal reason, that the late eclectic Hindu systems have also found their place in this representation of Hindu thought; cf. Nimbārka and Vallabha. The external reason is, that these late schools are generally omitted in the Western treatment of the Hindu philosophical

systems; the more important internal reason is, that these very eclectic systems combine the different angles of view held in the more one-sided earlier schools. A difference of opinion, on the other hand, may be voiced as to the space allotted to the various systems treated. The expositions of the Cārvāka philosophy, for example, though exhaustive in the tracing of its four stages of development and the connection of materialism with other Indian schools, might well have been given in greater detail, at any rate for a Western reader. The significance of the Vedānta-system, on the other hand, though fully acknowledged by the reviewer, has found for its pre-systematic and systematic development an exposition which fills nearly a third of the whole volume and has sometimes led to a vague and perhaps unnecessary repetition. But the reviewer gladly acknowledges such formulations of the Māyā-theory as "creative energy" and as a non-illusionistic concept which is brought out by some of the Vedāntic collaborators. The important inherent Vedāntic dogma of the polarity of all limited size and all unlimited, be it infinitely great or small (*śūna* and *śūnya*) is aptly propounded. The peculiar Indian tinge of theism, too, which has little resemblance to any Western theistic dogmas, shines forth in some of the essays. It is noteworthy that even the advocates of a personal theism among the contributors have difficulty in reconciling their interpretations of the "He"-God with the more Indian super-personal divine concept of the "It". Here are some more striking formulations which are proffered: God as a limit of the limitless world; God, creator of the world, but not of the selves. Interesting, too, is the representation of God and His motives for creation from the fundamental concept of God as the "Beautiful" (cf. Rāmānuja); creation as a divine play (*līlā*), while having no teleological ends, but being a continuous series of interchanging emanations and reabsorptions, etc.

The expositions of the Smṛtis, epics and Purāṇas, though not strictly falling under the scope of the reviewer's philosophical point of view, are appreciated as on the whole being most instructive for their clever descriptions of the social and ethical foundations of India's cultural structure.

The reviewer has ventured to adopt for her comments the admirable Indian way of stating ideas instead of dealing with the personalities of the authors concerned, but wishes to congratulate them on their achievements.

8. Monsieur Lacombe provides the first French translation of Rāmānuja's Mahābhāṣyam under the sub-title "La Doctrine Morale et Métaphysique de Rāmānuja". This wider aim of not merely translating, but also presenting the systematic tenet of R.'s philosophy results in an addition of copious notes (986), which mostly are devoted to explanations not of grammatico-philological, but religio-metaphysical exegesis. Furthermore, they are meant to be supplemented by the detailed treatment of the problems concerned given in the author's book *L'absolu selon le Vedānta*. Besides, M. Lacombe supplies a minute table of contents (11 pages), the clearly defined headlines of which do honour not only to Rāmānuja's, but also to M. Lacombe's systématic thinking.

A further asset of this work is that it takes into account not only the current English and German translations of the Mahābhāṣyam, but also, and even more frequently, its ancient Sanskrit commentaries and the work of its recent editor and commentator Pandit Vasudev Shastri Abhyankar (whose edition of the text is added in anastatic reprint).

As to the translation itself, only a general remark will be made. We come here upon the fundamental problem whether in any European language, and the more so in the clear-cut logic of French diction, we can ever do justice to the productive ambiguity of Sanskrit philosophical expression and intentional polarity of thought.

9. *Wayfarer's Words* is a collection of thirty essays selected from articles and addresses published and delivered by the author in Oriental journals and societies all over the world during the last decade. They are representative of her original and consistent interpretation of early Buddhism, laid down in many of her recent books. The titles of the essays (some unchanged and some altered since their original publications) are strikingly suggestive, while containing in a nutshell the teachings to which each of them is devoted. Dynamism, activism ("*ago ergo sum*", p. 147), voluntarism, Man as the Spirit and not merely as a combination of body and mind, ethical development to the "More" and to the "Most", Heaven not an ideal of final rest, but a stage of development to the last human perfection, these are the keywords for her work and for the concepts of early Buddhism, as she represents it to scholars and laymen alike. Her theories are corroborated and illustrated by her vast knowledge of Buddhist Scriptures and Western religious, scientific, artistic, and even recent

political thoughts. Fundamental is her historical outlook, or better, her psychologico-historical method of tracing the sources of ideas back beyond their actual presentations in scholastic Buddhism. Moreover, her investigations into the history of single terms of Buddhist and pre-Buddhist dogma and her conclusions from the fact of their vague occurrence or complete lack (no Indian term for "philosophy" in general; no term for "potential" and "actual"; "will" or "willer") are of importance. Her excursions into pre-Buddhistic texts may be welcomed by specialists in Upaniṣadic studies, though naturally some of her interpretations may be there controversial. For instance, shall we all agree with her statement on page 217 that "it is to read the new into the old, to see any special Indian or Buddhist sympathy with animals as being by nature akin to Man"? Do we really see here "an influence of the modern West in its excessive cult of the animal"? Can we really regard the Bodhisattva's reincarnation in animal-shape, as represented in the Jātakas, merely as an entertaining artistic form (p. 176)? The student of Hindu thought may recall the "artistic" representation of animals from the earliest times of Mohenjo Daro throughout the whole Hinduistic periods, of the animal-faced Gods, or Gods entirely shaped as animals, beside the depiction of animals as *vāhanas* of the Gods. As to the question of the kinship of animal and Man, the fundamental saying of the pre-Buddhistic Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad 1, 3, 22 may be quoted: "The Ātman in Man is the same in the ant, the gnat, the elephant, etc." Furthermore her question whether the static or the dynamic ideal is predominant in Upaniṣadic thought may be answered by the fact that the *ontological* aspect of Man as identical with Brahman is definitely static, while the *epistemological* aspect of Man becoming aware of this immanent identity gives room for a dynamic interpretation. Besides, the student of Vedānta may not agree with the author's deprecation of the Vedāntic ideal of de-individualization by merging into the All and the One (p. 239), a statement which is a consequence of her fundamental dogma of the personal Man as the Highest.

But these considerations of doubt which arise from the author's stimulating statements have a positive value. We have to be grateful to a scholar who pursues her problems in such a consistent, systematic, and original manner.

10. The title of this book does not quite convey all that it contains. Mr. Rāmaswāmi Śāstrī here not only presents himself as the editor of

Vācaspati Miśra's *Tattvabindu* and its subcommentary, but he provides also an independent work on the history on the Pūrva-mīmāṁsā-śāstra. In 149 pages he supplies a survey of seventy authors of the Mīmāṁsā School from Jaimini (whom he assigns to about 300 B.C.) to Vāñcheśvara Yajvan (1760–1830). As he asserts (p. 149), he has purposely omitted a full discussion of the doctrinal side of the Mīmāṁsā system.

For the historian of Indian philosophy this study once more makes evident characteristic facts of Indian philosophy, which demands research different in method from all those on Western philosophy. In accordance with the Indian tendency to emphasize the work and not the author, biographical facts, in spite of all painstaking efforts, can hardly be established in detail. As to the personalities of the writers, only their names, the names of their parents and patrons, and their place of origin can be stated with any certainty. The exact dates of their lives are already subject to conjecture. The merely personal data which have no direct bearing on their work were not considered by their contemporaries sufficiently important to be handed down in tradition (if they have not a mythological interest).

Another difficulty in presenting biographies of Indian philosophers is also evident in this survey of the Mīmāṁsakas. The most outstanding and prolific Indian philosophers have generally commented upon several systems, not only upon their own. The four main Schools (in the author's view the Mīmāṁsā, the Vedānta, the Nyāya, and the Vyākaraṇa) are interwoven; the Naiyāyika method of discussion is prevalent for them all. Indian systems do not develop spiritually secluded in their own sphere, but some general problems common to them all are discussed and elaborated through their joint efforts. From all these facts one is driven to advocate a treatment of Indian philosophy not from the biographical standpoint, not even from an exclusively systematic outlook, but a treatment in which Indian philosophy is presented as a development of some few central problems (as I once ventured to suggest: treatment of the history of Indian philosophy as a "doxography"). Hence, though one may heartily welcome these biographical studies, which add to our knowledge of Mīmāṁsā writers and works by making use also of unprinted manuscripts, one may regret that the writer has decided to omit doctrinal expositions in his study.

The analysis of the *Tattvabindu* and the edition of the text with its subcommentary is in itself a valuable contribution to Indian

philosophy, because it draws attention to the characteristic Indian *sphoṭa*-theory by presenting the discussions of the Mīmāṁsakas in controversy with the grammarians on this most important problem.

11. It seems not to be an accident that recently there have appeared several books concerned with the very same problem: the confrontation of East and West.[1] All of them regard it as their task to bring the West nearer to an understanding of the East. All of them take India as the most adequate representative of Eastern ideas, though not all supply detailed reasons for this choice. The approach to the East-West problem is, however, made in all of them from different angles and worked out with different methods. Radhakrishnan applies to the treatment of this problem the fullness of historical facts of India and the West through the centuries. The second book mentioned has chosen the psychologico-philological standpoint and has mostly supplied an implicit comparison by pointing out the Indian concepts and their basis, taking the Western ideas as generally known. The present author, on the other hand, though he has published beforehand some monographs on the Vedānta and other Hindu doctrines, provides in this book a more general exposition without adding detailed concrete facts for his conclusions. In contrast to the two other authors, he limits his scope by confronting only the modern West with the East. His main dogma is the thesis that the only decisive canon of value is the respective attitude towards metaphysic, which he defines as the knowledge of universal principles on which all phenomena depend directly or indirectly (p. 57). He maintains that only the East has gained and retained this true knowledge, of which religion and philosophy are but a part. In his enthusiasm for this true metaphysic he deprecates modern Western trends of thoughts. He goes even so far as to deny any permanent value to Western science and scholarship. He voices his plea in such an uncompromising way that even one who takes, for instance, philology more as a necessary and reliable means than as a final aim in itself, feels inclined to take the part of his opponents.

Beside single abusive references to "scholarship" *passim* throughout his book, e.g. scholarship as expression of ignorance, I may mention statements like that on page 43: "Western civilization is an anomaly,

[1] S. Radhakrishnan, *Eastern Religions and Western Thought*, Oxford, 1939; B. Heimann, *Indian and Western Philosophy, A Study in Contrasts*, London, 1937.

not to say a monstrosity." Such sweeping remarks cannot be shared even by critics of Western achievements.

There are certainly some valuable single observations made by the present author. They corroborate what from other angles other recent interpreters of the East-West problem have already pointed out. I recall the thesis that Western civilization is not the only possible one, that the West revels in analysis and dispersion, while the East has an innate better understanding for synthesis and concentration. Other welcome statements are that the merely historical method does not yield the same good results for both the Eastern and the Western civilizations alike, and that a confrontation instead of a comparison is a safer method for the treatment of the East-West problem.

With regard to single questions one is glad to find once more here the assertion that pessimism in the Western sense has never had a real hold on Indian thought, either in Buddhism or in Hinduism.

Noteworthy are some of Mr. Guénon's definitions, e.g. that the Eastern concept of the Immutable is not contrary to Change, but is above it; furthermore, that true tradition has to be distinguished from mere customs and habits; that the concept of science should not be confused with the aims of industry; and that, logically and psychologically, counterparts like humility and arrogance are nearly interrelated.

As to the positive solution of the East-West problem, the author's assumption may be stressed that one truth underlies all divergent civilizations and that a synthesis between them all is possible, but not in the sense of an easy assimilation or eclecticism, but as a kind of association or co-operation.

Mr. Guénon's original solution is that the West must take the initiative for a rapprochement and that a few "elects" must bring about this synthesis. In accord with Indian ideas, however, he does not believe that a spontaneous enlightenment of these "elects" can take place, but that it is indispensable for them to find a "guru" who will help them to attain initiation.

12. In spite of the title this essay on the chief concepts of Indian poetics has not been undertaken from the usual historical angle, which, as the author asserts in his preface, has been already sufficiently approached by previous writers. Dr. Lahiri deals with the historical problem preferably in a dogmatic manner, pointing out the development of *rīti* and *guṇa* and their different interpretation and valuation

among writers on *Alaṁkāra* from Bharata to Jagannātha. He clearly outlines the two different tendencies of the *Ālaṁkārikas*. First he presents those who are concerned with the formal structure of words and sentences, the so-called orthodox school. Then he characterizes the *dhvani*-theorists who subordinate all *alaṁkāras* under the psychological viewpoint, under the theory of *Rasa*, the impression which is produced by poetry. The last part of his work is devoted to the post-*dhvani* writers, who brought more into the foreground either the objective, formal element or the psychological element.

Dr. Lahiri has set himself the difficult task to investigate in each single writer the consistency or inconsistency, originality or dependence, of his doctrines on poetics. This methodical research is highly welcome, but sometimes this over-subtlety of variation leads to difficulty in grasping the contours of *guṇa*, *rīti*, *alaṁkāra*, etc., in their unchangeable basic shape. But this drawback, which is the consequence of an over-specifying critical attitude, is generally adjusted by the author's method of presenting lists of opposites, *guṇas* and *doṣas*, which mutually explain each other. This is especially well carried out in his treatment of Bhoja. Though the present author blames Bhoja's inconsistency, he appears on Dr. Lahiri's own representation as one of the clearest and most systematic writers on *Alaṁkāra*.

BETTY HEIMANN.

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1. ŚABDAMAṆIDARPAṆA BY KEŚIRĀJA WITH THE COMMENTARY OF LINGAṆĀRĀDHYA. Editors: A. VENKATA RAO and H. SESHA AYYANGAR. (Madras University Kannada Series, no. 5.) pp. 4, 116, xx, 468, 8. Madras, 1940.
2. ABHIDHĀNARATNAMĀLĀ OF HALĀYUDHA WITH THE KANNADA ṬĪKĀ OF NĀGAVARMA. Edited by A. VEṄKAṬA RAO and H. SESHA AYYAṄGAR. (Madras University Kannada Series, no. 6.) pp. 30, ii, 142. Madras, 1940.

The volumes of the new Kannada series of the Madras University continue to appear with praiseworthy rapidity. Carefully edited and handsomely printed, the series is well on the way to becoming an indispensable component of any Kannada library. Further publications will be awaited with interest. It is with regret that we learn that one of the editors, A. Venkaṭa Rao, died prematurely before the appearance of these two volumes.

The *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* is one of the most important, though not the oldest, of the native Kannada grammars. It forms the basis of

Kittel's *Grammar*, and it was also edited by him. A revised edition of Kittel's work by P. Mangesha Rau (Mangalore, 1920) is available, as is also an edition published by the Karnāṭaka-sāhitya-pariṣad in the same year. The present edition differs from these two in containing the commentary of Liṅgaṇārādhya, hitherto unpublished. Of Liṅgaṇārādhya's date nothing is known beyond the fact that he lived earlier than the date when the solitary manuscript from which the text of his commentary is edited, *i.e.* 1724, was written. The work is preceded by a long introduction by H. Chennakeśvara Ayyangar, now head of the department of Kannada. This forms a running commentary on Keśirāja's exposition, with occasional excursuses into general linguistic problems of the Dravidian languages. It should prove useful to students.

The second work entered above consists of the well-known lexicon of Halāyudha with a fairly old commentary giving the meanings in Kannada terms. This commentary was used by Kittel in preparing his dictionary and is to a large extent incorporated in that work. It has, however, remained unpublished till now, and furthermore the MS. used by Kittel could not be traced by the editors. The present edition is based on a single MS. discovered in the Jaina Siddhanta Bhavana Library, Arrah, North India. As an important source of Kittel's dictionary it is useful to have the work available. In the introduction Mr. Sesha Ayyangar gives an account of the development of Sanskrit lexicography and of Halāyudha Bhaṭṭa in particular. This is hardly necessary in a work such as the present, where an account of the history of Kannada lexicography would have been more to the point. He also discusses the authorship of the *ṭīkā* (which is anonymous in the MS.) and ascribes it on grounds that seem totally inadequate to Nāgavarma (*c.* 1150), author of the *Abhidhāna-vastu-kōṣa* (No. 3 of this series). Certainly the grounds adduced are not enough to justify the introduction of Nāgavarma's name on the title-page. It may also be observed that Nāgavarma in the above-mentioned work never uses *h* for old *p* in Kannada words, whereas in the work at present edited *h* predominates over *p*. Other medieval forms also occur, so that the term "Halagannaḍa" used in the English preface to describe the work seems not fully justified. A careful study of the linguistic material contained here might have formed a basis for the approximate dating of the work, but this, it is to be regretted, the editors have not attempted.

T. Burrow.

1. SOURCES OF KARṆĀṬAKA HISTORY. Vol. I. By S. ŚRĪKAṆṬHA ŚĀSTRI. (Mysore University Historical Series.) pp. xlvii, 238. Mysore, 1940.

2. A HISTORY OF TIRUPATI. By Rajasevasakta Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. KRISHNASVAMI AIYANGAR. Vol. I. pp. i, i, vii, 488, ii, 17 plates. Tirumalai-Tirupati Devastanam: Madras printed, 1940.

3. OUTLINES OF JAINISM. By JAGMANDERLAL JAINI. Edited (with preliminary note) by F. W. THOMAS. (Jain Literature Society.) pp. xl, 159. London: Cambridge University Press, 1940.

1. The design of this source-book is good. The introduction, twenty-six pages in length, comprises outlines of the geography and political history of the ancient Carnatic and brief sketches of its literature, religion, social and economic conditions, and culture, with pedigree-tables of the chief dynasties that ruled in it and a useful list of the chief coin-types of the Calukyas and Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Then follow the sources, 133 in all, which consist of (*a*) relevant extracts from the Periplus, Ptolemy, and the much discussed Greek farce in the Oxyrrhynchos Papyri, (*b*) a large number of inscriptions, some complete and others in extracts, beginning with the Banavasi record of Viṇhukaḍa Cuṭukulānanda, and (*c*) excerpts from Tamil, Sanskrit, Kanarese, and other writings which throw some light upon conditions in the Carnatic, all arranged in chronological order from the earliest recorded times down to the period of the Yādavas of Devagiri.

The manner in which this design is executed, however, leaves something to be desired. In the spelling of names diacritics are scattered about in the English text with most perverse irregularity and inaccuracy. To quote a few instances, we find "Kāḷachūryas" (p. vi), "Skāndavarman," "Śimhavarman," "Śimhanandin," "Nāgaḍatta," and "Raviḍatta" (all on p. xi), "Durviniṭa" (p. xii), "Chaṇḍrāditya" (p. xiii), "Tabāri" (p. xliv), and "Ṭabāri" (p. 48), "Bhāvakīrtī" (p. 70), "Vīranirvaṇā" (p. 95), etc. Other blunders in copying also abound. When we turn to the first "source" on pp. xliii and 1, we find with astonishment that it is labelled "Periplus Mari Erithriaea"; and then we observe with equal amazement that, while it purports in the footnote to be excerpted from Dr. Schoff's translation, it is in reality a hash made up of scraps copied from Schoff and McCrindle

with such inaccuracy and with so little explanatory context as to be practically worthless.[1]

Nor does the second source, Ptolemy's Geography, fare much better at the hands of Mr. Śrīkaṇṭha Śāstri, who has merely cut snippets out of McCrindle's book without acknowledgment and served them up with a few misprints of his own. There are also errors of other sorts. The form "Ḍutukulānanda" (pp. xliii and 11) is quite wrong, as Rapson has shown; and the form "Vishṇuskanda", which is presented as the Sanskrit original of the name Viṇhukaḍa (p. 11), is mythical. The assertion that Śaṅkara Ācārya wrote his commentaries in the Calukya kingdom during the sixth century (p. xxi) is more than doubtful; and that the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj traced their descent from Nandapāla, who became a king of Karnāṭa (p. xxvi), is a statement that lacks authority. On p. vii we read that the Greek farce quoted as a source because of its supposed Kanarese passages was written in the third century; but on p. xx it is ascribed to the second century, with a doubt as to the correctness of the proposed interpretations of these passages, despite which we find them printed in the text on pp. 5–9 without any sign of question.[2] The manner in which the other quotations are presented is to some extent open to the charge of occasional looseness and inaccuracy in the matter of references and the like; but at least we may be thankful to have them in this convenient form. The sources quoted are of course far from exhaustive; such a thing would be impossible of attainment. They are, however, for the most part well chosen and instructive; and despite minor defects the book will be useful to students.

2. Tirupati, the "Blessed Dwelling", which, "as every schoolboy knows," is the most famous seat of Viṣṇu-worship in Southern India,

[1] A few instances will suffice to justify these strictures. Barygaza is said to be "a part of Ozene on Namados", which apparently is meant for "a port of Ozene on the River Nammadus". Tagara is said to be in Ariake, which is true; but then follows a parenthesis three lines long which is not in the Periplus. "Akābarous" [*sic*] is mentioned with no explanation at all, "Oopara" with the jejune gloss "(Sopāra)". Sandares, as the name is spelt in Schoff's Periplus, appears here as "Sandanees". According to Mr. Śrīkaṇṭha Śāstri the Periplus states that "Kalliena" had been "abandoned"; what it really says, as Schoff shows, is that the port was "much obstructed". "Toparon" is given more correctly by Schoff as "Togarum"; and his reading "Aurannoboas" is at least more plausible than the nonsensical "Turamios boas" presented by Mr. Śrīkaṇṭha Śāstri.

[2] It is very doubtful whether these passages are Kanarese at all. The attempts at interpretation vary hugely, and are most unconvincing to all but their authors. For the latest see B. A. Saletore, *Ancient Karnāṭaka*, i, pp. 584 ff.

is happy in having had no history, except of a parochial kind. A history of this temple that should be limited to a narrative of what happened to it and in it would therefore be somewhat exiguous, and the learned Dewan Bahadur has accordingly widened the scope of his work so as to include much else, to wit, an almost complete account of South Indian Vaiṣṇavism in general and a series of narratives of the great political developments which took place in the peninsula and left some traces, however slight, on Tirupati. In fact, the book might almost be termed a history of South India and its Vaiṣṇavism with special reference to Tirupati.

It opens with a chapter entitled "General Geographical Features", which, however, contains likewise much concerning the history and legend of Tirupati, chiefly as regards the legendary founder of the local festival, whom tradition terms a Toṇḍaimān. Around this point the Dewan Bahadur gives us some copious and rather bewildering[1] discussions as to who this Toṇḍaimān was, finally concluding that he was not Iḷan-tiraiyan, but earlier than he. After a discussion of the Toṇḍaimān in chapter ii, chapters iii–vii survey the evidence for the religious importance of Tirupati that is to be found in the hymns of the Āḷvārs and the Śilappadhikāram; chapters viii–ix sketch the history of the Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam, the vast territory which has Tirupati (Vēṅgaḍam) for its northern boundary, down to the reign of Vikrama Cōḷa, and note the inscriptions of this period that exist in the records of Tirupati; chapters x–xii describe the religious activities of the Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas from Nātha Muni down to Rāmānuja and Anantārya; chapter xiii tells the story of the last Cōḷas and their successors; and chapter xiv relates the history of the Yādava-rāyas, the local dynasty who rose on the ruins of the Cōḷa empire. Chapter xv, somewhat misleadingly labelled "Tondaman Chakravarti—the human founder of Tirupati", repeats much of what has been given in previous chapters as regards the Toṇḍaimān (*Ecce iterum Crispinus*),

[1] We use this adjective advisedly and with all respect for the learned author, for it is difficult to follow his course of thought in passages such as the following: "we have to take it that Iḷam Tiraiyan came in the same generation as the great Chōḷa Karikāla. As a matter of fact we have reason to regard him as coming in the second generation after Karikāla and may possibly be even in the third" (pp. 27 f.). Moreover, there seems to be a weakness in the argument of pages 17–30: the verse of Māmūlanār (*Aganānūṟu* 61) quoted on p. 17, speaks of Pulli as a chieftain dwelling in Vēṅgaḍam which is "famous for holding festival", but the Dewan Bahadur, accepting the tradition that the festival was founded by a Toṇḍaimān, concludes on p. 30 that he was later than Pulli.

the Vaiṣṇava nature of the sanctuary, its cult in the age of the Ācāryas and Rāmānuja, and its administration by the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava community. Chapters xvi–xvii end the volume with a long account (30 pages) of the rise of the Vijayanagara Empire under the Saṅgama dynasty, of the reflection of their rule in the archives of Tirupati, and of the accession of Sāḷuva Narasiṃha; by an awkward arrangement the survey of the inscriptions belonging to the Sāḷuva dynasty is left over for the second volume.

From a scholar who holds so high a rank among historians as the Dewan Bahadur one expects more than from lesser lights. It is therefore the more regrettable that this work should be marred not only by repetitions and defective arrangement but also by minor slips in style and spelling. The sentences are sometimes involved and obscure, a few even chaotic in structure [1]; there is frequent misuse of "would" and "could" for the corresponding indicatives; "dominance" is perpetually spelt "dominence"; the name *Hoysala* is always written, without any reason, as *Hoyśāla*; and the influence of his native Tamil pronunciation has led the author into errors of transliteration such as *Yadōktakāri* for *Yathōktakāri* and *Nādamuni* for *Nātha Muni*. But in judging a work we should regard not only the parts but also the whole; and from this standpoint we may pay a tribute of respect to the present book as a monument of the author's deep learning and fine enthusiasm for the cultural glories of his native land, for which we may justly be grateful.

3. When the first edition of this useful little book appeared in 1916, its outstanding merits were speedily recognized. Its modest aim was a simple statement of the orthodox doctrine, practice, and traditions of Jainism supported by a selection of illustrative passages from Prakrit and Sanskrit writings; and this object was fully attained by the author, aided by the fine scholarship of Professor Thomas. The present edition is a reprint of the first, with some additions to the bibliography; it will be heartily welcomed.

L. D. B.

[1] An example will be seen on p. 277, ll. 21 ff.

LOVEDALE: SOUTH AFRICA. The Story of a Century, 1841–1941. By ROBERT H. W. SHEPHERD, M.A. pp. xv + 531, 31 plates, 1 map. Lovedale, 1940. 10*s*. 6*d*.

This volume chronicling the history of a missionary institution during the 100 years of its existence touches on many questions, a full review of which would require the considered judgment of different types of people. We confine ourselves here, however, to one or two points which will be of outstanding interest to readers of this journal, viz. the linguistic and literary work achieved at Lovedale. It goes without saying that Lovedale being a Scottish foundation, education went hand in hand with mission work, and it is a matter for congratulation that good linguists were among the first pioneers. Dr. Bennie, one of the original missionaries, was particularly gifted, and with the enthusiasm of one who "even in my native land could not enjoy the happiness which I derive from the study of a language yet unwritten" set himself to learn the Xhosa language and "reduce to form and rule this language which hitherto floated in the wind". He not only left notable contributions to the study of this language in his *Systematic Vocabulary of the Kaffrarian Language* (1826), but bequeathed to his descendants a similar enthusiasm and linguistic skill, so that we still have a Bennie who is working on vernacular literature for the African to-day.

The translation of the Scriptures into Xhosa soon became a paramount task, and the workers, aware of its difficulty and the importance of an accurate translation, subjected every portion to minute scrutiny by all who were concerned in the work. A printing-press was brought out in 1823, and a few days after its arrival we find Dr. Bennie writing to the donor, "We threw off 50 copies," adding that "a new era has begun in the history of the Kaffir nation". It certainly had, and the present Lovedale Press has to its credit many works of outstanding importance in Bantu studies both in English and in Bantu languages, including Dr. Kropf's monumental *Kaffir Dictionary*. Lovedale was also responsible for vernacular newspapers: in 1862 *Indaba* (*The News*) was issued, and in 1870 the *Kaffir Express*, partly in English and partly in Xhosa, the Xhosa section being later issued as *The Xhosa Messenger*, which ran for nearly eighteen years.

As early as 1867 a translation of *Pilgrim's Progress*, the work of a Bantu author, the Rev. Tiyo Soga, was published, which is still regarded as a work of supreme literary merit. The Press has followed

up this early printing of a work by an African and can claim in recent years to have published at its own risk and cost books by fifteen Bantu authors and works by eight musicians. A still further line of encouragement has been started in the meetings of Bantu authors, convened in 1936 and 1937 in order "to encourage and assist African writers and to consult with them regarding the steps which could be taken for the development of the literature of the Bantu languages of South Africa". This last step is perhaps one of the most interesting developments with regard to vernacular literature in the whole of Africa: certainly the first meeting, at the house of Senator J. D. Rheinallt Jones, is unique as a first meeting of African authors. The aim of these meetings, "to encourage—and to consult," quoted above, shows that the Europeans responsible for this movement have the right attitude about the relation of European and African in the production of vernacular literature.

IDA C. WARD.

DIWANI YA MUYAKA BIN HAJI AL-GHASSANIY. SWAHILI POEMS OF MUYAKA. Edited by W. HICHENS. (The Bantu Treasury, IV.) pp. 1 + 1 + 115. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand Press, 1940. 2*s*. 6*d*.

The appearance of a book of Swahili poetry, published especially for the Swahili people, fills a real want. A very large number of manuscripts have been known for some time to exist, but none has so far appeared in print, except for the benefit of the European, with translations and notes. At last the African is to be able to see his own literature in print.

It is to be hoped that this book will not only be read by coast-dwellers—many of whom are doubtless familiar with the verses already—but by others to whom it will be a revelation that such things exist. If this is the case, however, it is a pity that no translation is given of some of the more obscure words and phrases, such as Arabic words whose Bantu equivalents are used in ordinary speech, and typically Mombasa words and constructions unfamiliar in other parts of the Swahili-speaking area. The Mombasa spelling may also prove a stumbling-block to those who have learnt to read Standard Swahili.

Bwana Muyaka was not only a fertile, but a versatile poet. This collection of his verses ranges from topical and comic verses and wise-cracks—many lines from his poems appear as proverbs in Taylor's

African Aphorisms—to haunting love-poems such as "Laiti siwele nyuni" with its refrain "Kwako natamani kuya, lakini sina idhini". There is something to appeal to all tastes, and the biography of the poet provides a background to the verses and presents him as a very real and human person.

In spite of its inexpensiveness, which places it within the reach even of many African purses, this little book is strongly bound and pleasant in appearance, with legible print and a refreshing absence of misprints.

M. A. BRYAN.

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1. AN INTRODUCTION TO SPOKEN HAUSA AND HAUSA READER FOR EUROPEAN STUDENTS. By Captain R. C. ABRAHAM. pp. viii, 213. London: Crown Agents for the Colonies, 1940.
2. A MODERN GRAMMAR OF SPOKEN HAUSA. By Captain R. C. ABRAHAM. pp. vii, 172. London: Crown Agents for the Colonies, 1941.

Captain Abraham has produced two books on the Hausa language under the above titles; they are the result of a number of years of research, and they shed light on much in Hausa Grammar that has hitherto not been fully appreciated.

An Introduction to Spoken Hausa is in fact an abridged version of *A Modern Grammar of Spoken Hausa*, with the Reader added. The first work is, according to the author, intended to be nothing more than a mere outline for one who wishes to obtain a knowledge of the guiding principles of the language. Nevertheless, since *A Modern Grammar of Spoken Hausa* covers the same ground as *An Introduction to Spoken Hausa*, even to the numbering of the paragraphs, albeit in greater detail and with appendices added, one cannot help feeling that the second book would have sufficed. The Reader could have been incorporated with it and the less advanced student catered for by an arrangement of the text of the Grammar indicating the passages to be reserved for more advanced study. In the remarks that follow the two works are referred to as one, except where a specific reference to one or the other has been found necessary.

To those who have already made some acquaintance with the language both grammars are strongly commended. This commendation is extended to all above that class—however high; they will be

surprised at the discoveries they will make. Opinions, though, will differ with regard to the "small effort" which the author states in his Preface to the first volume is all that the book requires to enable a student to "speak and write the language accurately".

Captain Abraham obviously intends the Grammars for the use of students in Nigeria who have the benefit of a native-born Hausa speaker to assist them. This is eminently sound, but no special provision seems to have been made for students beginning the language and no explicit directions are offered on how they should set about their studies. To students with no previous knowledge of Hausa, desirous of acquiring a preliminary grounding before going to Nigeria, *An Introduction to Spoken Hausa* is not well suited. This class of student, on account of the lack of native-born Hausa speakers to listen to, and by reason of the exigencies of examinations as hitherto conducted, needs must learn more of the written than the spoken word. To assist in this, as much as to benefit beginners in general, certain aids are necessary which these Grammars do not provide. Of such are exercises to be worked by the student, illustrative of grammatical points; a really elementary Reader; vocabularies to be learned in context as progress is made; tabulated lists of the vitally important Personal Pronouns and recapitulatory exercises. The teacher, on the other hand, will find much food for thought and much valuable material on which to base his instruction.

The author's claim that the bulk of the matters treated in his books are there stated for the first time, a claim he bases on the argument that previous works are guides to Hausa as spoken by their authors rather than by the Hausas themselves, is open to criticism. Those who have made an intelligent study of F. W. Taylor's *Hausa Grammar*, Miss E. P. Miller's *Wata Biyu* and of Dr. Bargery's *Hausa Dictionary* will have something to say on this score. For example, a student of the Dictionary and the Introduction thereto—to which Captain Abraham contributed much original work—will have been able to learn something about the intricacies of Tone, the mysteries of Unchanging and Changing Verbs and, though they are not classified as such in the Dictionary, how the Relative forms of the subject Personal Pronouns are used.

The importance of acquiring an early knowledge of the principles and application of Tone cannot be over-estimated. The author has emphasized this throughout the Grammars and has made it possible for the student to gain a practical knowledge of the Tone system of

the language and taught him not to regard it as a rather remote form of "Higher Standard" refinement. It has been made clear that Tone has important grammatical functions and that familiarity with Tones is essential if the language is to be spoken with accuracy. A welcome simplification is the grouping of the mid, the high falling to low, the mid falling to low, and the low falling to lower Tones of the Dictionary, as one general falling tone. Thus the number of tones is reduced from six to three—a high, a low, and a falling tone—and the number of signs required to indicate the tones from five to two, low and falling tones only being marked. The system followed throughout the Grammars of writing every example twice (with a few exceptions), the first time in plain letters and the second showing tones and the quantities of vowels, is most helpful. More light on the Tone and Stress system is shed in Appendix II to *A Modern Grammar of Spoken Hausa*. All this is a great advance on anything yet published.

The discovery of the Classification of Verbs, first made by Captain Abraham when working on the Dictionary, was a landmark in Hausa grammar. The chapters in the Grammars dealing with the verbs should be of great assistance to those who have hitherto depended on the guidance given in the Dictionary, good though that is. The Table of the Verbs, given in Appendix IV to *A Modern Grammar of Spoken Hausa*, is most useful as a guide to the behaviour of Unchanging, Changing, and Causal Verbs.

An equally important feature of the Grammars is to be found in those chapters which deal with the Relative forms of the subject Personal Pronouns used with the Past and Continuous Tenses. Here for the first time is given a comprehensive view of these forms, which will repay close study by the student. The first mention of them is not, however, made until we reach chapter xxvii—on the Relative. The correct use of these pronouns is so perplexing to a beginner that the sooner they can be mastered the better, since both they and the ordinary forms of the subject Personal Pronouns are to be met with in the most elementary stages of instruction. Much confusion is likely to be caused in the learner's mind if the two sets of forms are not distinguished the one from the other early in the proceedings. It would therefore have been better, from the beginner's point of view, if the Relative forms could have been introduced, at any rate briefly, at the same time as the ordinary forms in chapter iv, leaving detailed exposition to later chapters. A tabular summary of all the Personal

Pronouns in the form of an appendix would have been of further assistance.

Lack of space precludes more detailed discussion of other important matters; the use of the Continuous Tense (here called "Progressive") and its particular Personal Pronouns may, however, be mentioned in passing. Here, more stress might have been laid on the fact that this Tense can refer to events in Past, Present, as well as Future time, a point which is constantly overlooked by a beginner.

The Reader included with *An Introduction to Spoken Hausa* contains a useful set of pieces of prose of moderately easy standard. No particular attempt appears to have been made to grade them in order of difficulty, and there are no elementary pieces suitable for a beginner. The author's aim is to teach vocabulary from context rather than by rote. The texts are designed to consolidate the principles taught in the Grammars and to familiarize the student with Hausa ways and thought as well as to teach the language. The parallel literal translations are helpful and the section on idiomatic sentences admirable.

The books lose some of their value on account of the way the material is presented, which is more in the manner of a work of reference than in that of a teaching Grammar. The absence of an index is an important omission, while the vast numbers of cross-references, no doubt employed to save space and repetition, are tiresome. The author is inclined to introduce into his examples matters which are not explained until later in the text. This may be difficult to avoid, but it is particularly hard on a beginner. For example, in the case of pronouns used as objects of verbs (chapter x, paragraph 49), we are informed that we saw in chapters vii and viii that certain pronouns are used after verbs. If the chapters are referred to, it is true that these pronouns are to be found, but they are scattered through the chapters in various examples on the behaviour of Unchanging and Changing Verbs, with no reference forward or other explanation of their presence—obvious enough to one who knows the language but not to a beginner. Again in paragraphs 16, 38, and 39 are to be found examples in which Possessive pronouns occur (called "Final" Pronouns in this work), but these pronouns are not dealt with in the text until we reach paragraph 47. The author evidently expects much of the student!

Although in its present form the first Grammar is deemed unsuitable for beginners, to those who have already acquired some knowledge

of the language, to advanced students, and to teachers of the language as well, the works should prove invaluable.

Captain Abraham is to be congratulated on the result of years of research which have born fruit in these works. Much in the grammar of Hausa which has hitherto been obscure or unexplained is now rationalized and placed on a logical basis.

L. S. WARD.

LAND TENURE IN AN IBO VILLAGE IN SOUTH-EASTERN NIGERIA. By M. M. GREEN. Published for the London School of Economics by Percy Lund, Humphries, and Co., Ltd., with diagram and map. pp. x, 44. London, 1941. Paper bound. 4*s*.

Of all the problems which have to be faced in Africa in the immediate future, that of land tenure is probably the most pressing. Native systems have been thrown out of gear, not so much by the intrusion of European legal conceptions as by new economic factors such as the introduction of permanent crops like cocoa, coupled with a very rapid expansion of population. All the Colonial governments are alive to the need for readjustment, but few are in possession of data sufficient for a frontal attack. Miss Green's contribution to the Nigerian data is all the more welcome, since it deals not merely with one of the largest and most important tribes in Africa, but one in which the pressure of population is creating land problems of the utmost urgency.

Miss Green paid two visits to the Ibo—in 1935 and 1937—as a Leverhulme Research Fellow. Her researches were not confined to land, and, in addition to the limitation of time, she had to contend with a people who are peculiarly sensitive to inquiries, particularly those concerning land. She introduces her subject by a brief description of the social organization, and then goes on to show that the communal system of popular imagination does not in fact exist. Land is divided up among small land-owning groups, each consisting of one to half a dozen or more close relatives. Each man farms his share of the land and owns his own produce. The whole of an extended family may, it is true, still own a reserve area in common, but even this is not used communally, since it is divided out annually for the farming season.

But, though communal ownership of land is non-existent, it does not follow that there is full individual ownership with right of sale. The sale of land, in fact, as distinct from pledging and leasing, is unequivocally forbidden. "Land," says the Ibo proverb, "can never be lost." But it can be and is frequently pledged for a sum of money. The owner, however, can always redeem the land by repaying the sum borrowed. Nevertheless there are forms of pledging which almost amount to sale. A farmer who is, perhaps, anxious to round off his own property, may acquire a piece of a neighbour's land on pledge for a larger loan than would normally be given. The owner does not lose his right to redeem the land, but he is unlikely to exercise his right, since he can obtain other land elsewhere for a lesser sum. And so it happens that a great deal of land received in return for a loan is transmitted from father to son. It is handed down as personal property and not as family land. Various other complications occur when pledged land is repledged or when it is planted up with economic trees. It is in developments of this kind that governments are faced with difficult problems. What, for instance, is to be the position of a man who has inherited pledged land from his father and has planted it up with cocoa—a crop which takes six or seven years to bear? Native systems are being severely strained.

Miss Green provides much valuable information about the land rights of women (who, though they may not own land, own much if not most of its produce), the leasing of land (money rents, though still small, are now common), inheritance, rights of slaves, rights over trees, and a variety of other matters. Among her general conclusions is the observation that the ease with which land is transferred is "one stage towards the commercialization which has, in some areas of Ibo country, already been reached". But against this it might be argued that the very ease of transference may operate against commercialization. The practice of pledging, for example, though it has its dangers, is a safety-valve, and, as Miss Green herself observes, gives flexibility to the land situation.

Altogether this monograph is well worthy of study by students of Colonial problems, and it will obviously also be of great practical value to the Government of Nigeria.

C. K. Meek.

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—— —— —— Extra Volume. Selections from Sir C. W. Malet's Letter-Book, 1780–1784. Edited by RAGHUBIR SINH. pp. xxiii, 166. Bombay, 1940. Rs. 2–8–0.

A REJOINDER

Two India Office publications were reviewed in the columns of the last number of *BSOS*. Professor Tritton's notice of Dr. Levy's catalogue of the *kalām* Arabic MSS., though in general not unkindly, contains some statements which appear to call for correction. As Dr. Levy is now on Active Service abroad, I should like to say a few words on his behalf.

In general it has been Dr. Levy's practice to give the authors' names in the separate entries as they are written in the manuscripts being described. This is a sensible and useful procedure; and it is hoped that this explanation disposes of the first of Professor Tritton's series of criticisms. The entries 2137 and 2138 could not have been treated as two copies of the same work, seeing that in fact they are copies of two different works.

If Mr. Elwell-Sutton, in writing of my volume of palæographical specimens, had examined the character of the examples chosen, he might have found that a large proportion were authors' autographs; that some were particularly fine specimens of calligraphic style; and that the whole presented an interesting range covering the entire classical period of Arabic and Persian calligraphy. All the specimens

were chosen from manuscripts in the India Office collection. Those who are interested in bibliography will recall that similar reproductions of calligraphic specimens have illustrated the Berlin, British Museum, Bodleian, and Khedivial collections.

A. J. ARBERRY.

NOTE ON THE LATE SIR GEORGE GRIERSON'S MSS., ETC.

A considerable collection of the late Sir George Grierson's manuscripts and papers has recently been placed in the India Office Library A detailed inventory is accessible, compiled by Mr. E. H. Hall, of the Library staff, who worked for Sir George Grierson for many years; and the collection includes material such as indexes (some unpublished) which Mr. Hall himself prepared under Sir George Grierson's direction. An indexed bibliography of Grierson's publications (391 titles, excluding 67 reviews), also compiled by Mr. Hall. has been of material assistance in orienting the collection. Apart from a few Sanskrit and Prakrit MSS., these literary remains consist of materials gathered in connection with Grierson's varied activities—the Prakrit grammarians, the Behari "seven grammars" and dictionary, the Kashmiri publications and dictionary, the Padumāwatī, and so forth. But the material necessarily goes beyond what was published, and some of it belongs to works projected but never published. It includes Maithili and other manuscript sources mentioned in the introduction to Grierson and Hoernle's *Behari Dictionary*, and a considerable bulk of slips for that dictionary. An unpublished paper by Hoernle on the epoch of the Ta'līq script and Vincent Smith's manuscript notes on the Bundelkhand dialect were found among the papers.

H. N. R.

OBITUARY

Commandant Joseph Gaspard Hackin

War has taken from us Joseph Hackin, a gallant gentleman and e scholar. He was by origin a Luxemburger, born at Boevange-sur-ert in 1886. His brilliant career as a soldier began in 1914, when oined the army of France as a private; he was mentioned in tches, and was raised in 1917 to the rank of lieutenant. In ember 1939, now a captain in the reserve, he returned to the y, and in March 1940 he was given the charge of relations between Eastern Mediterranean command and the French Legation in ghanistan. When General de Gaulle raised his standard, Hackin at nce joined him and devoted his full energies to the task of retrieving e honour of France. The Department of External Relations of the ree French Forces was placed under his charge. Unhappily he was ot destined to fight the good fight long: enemy action early in 1941 ut an end to his life of eager activity and high achievement. He was only 54 years of age. With him perished also his wife, who had shared his labours and taken a part with him in the great work of the French Archæological Mission in Afghanistan.

Hackin has earned a title to enduring honour by his services in the cause of Oriental archæology and art. He graduated with distinction in the University of Paris, becoming finally Docteur-ès-Lettres in 1916; and with Paris his whole future career was closely associated. He was placed on the staff of the Musée Guimet as Conservateur Adjoint in 1913, rising to the position of Acting Conservateur in 1923, and later becoming full Conservateur. One of his earliest literary works was *La Peinture Chinoise au Musée Guimet*, written by him and Chang Yi-chu and published in the *Annales* of the Museum for 1910. In 1911 appeared his *L'Art Tibétain*, a description of M. J. Bacot's collection on exhibition in the Museum; and in 1914 he contributed to M. V. Golubev's *Peintures Bouddhiques aux Indes*, which likewise formed part of the Museum's *Annales*. His volume, *Les Scènes Figurées de la Vie du Bouddha d'après des Peintures Tibétaines*, a fine and valuable study, appeared in 1916 as tome ii of the *Mémoires concernant l'Asie Orientale* published by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.

In 1922 began the great work with which Hackin's name will always be associated, the exploration of the ancient Buddhist sites

in Afghanistan, accomplished with brilliant success by the Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan, and the publication of the fruits of these labours, in all of which Hackin took an important part. He went thither on expeditions in 1924–5 and in 1929–1930, and was in 1934 promoted to the position of Director of the Délégation. He was joint author with the Godards of Volume II of the Delègation's *Mémoires*, namely *Les Antiquités Bouddhiques de Bāmiyān*, and sole author of Volume III, *Nouvelles Recherches Archéologiques à Bāmiyān*, in Volume VII, *Recherches Archéologiques au Col de Khair Khāna*, he had as collaborator J. Carl. A luminous survey of these explorations betwen 1922 and 1932 is presented in his *L'Œuvre de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan*, of which the first part, *Archéologie Bouddhique*, was published at Tokyo in 1933 by the Maison Franco-Japonaise, an institution of which he was French Director from 1930. In 1923 the catalogues of his Museum received from him an important contribution, *Les Collections Bouddhiques*, and in the next year he published *Formulaire Sanscrit-tibétain du x Siècle*, an edition and translation of an ancient Buddhist text discovered by Professor Pelliot's Mission. The *Influences of Indian art*, published by our India Society in 1925, is a collection of essays by six scholars, of whom Hackin was one ; and in the First Term of the Session 1925–6 he delivered in our School three public lectures on " Les Monuments Bouddhiques et les Antiquités de l'Afghanistan ". The links that bound him to London were indeed close, for he was a member of the Royal Central Asian Society, the Royal Geographical Society, and the India Society, and a Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Society. He became in 1928 Professor of Indian Archæology and Art at the École du Louvre, and in the same year was published a valuable contribution by him in a handsome *de luxe* volume, *Mythologie Asiatique*. His old Museum again in 1931 published a guide-book by him, this time *La Sculpture Indienne et Tibétaine au Musée Guimet* ; and in 1936 the results of his visit to the sites of Bäzäklik and Murtuq in Chinese Turkestan were presented in his *Recherches Archéologiques en Asie Centrale*. This summary of his career is far from exhaustive, but from it the reader will be able to form some conception of the fullness and richness of the life which has been lost to us.

L. D. B.

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